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A

# GENERAL HISTORY

OF

# MUSIC.

FROM THE

EARLIEST AGES to the PRESENT PERIOD.

BY

CHARLES BURNEY, Muſ. D. F. R. S.

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A

# GENERAL HISTORY

OF

# MUSIC.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Introduction of Muſic into the Church, and of its Progreſs there previous to the Time of Guido.*

THAT Muſic had very early admiſſion in the ſacred rites of the Egyptians and Hebrews, has been already ſhewn; and that it likewiſe conſtituted a conſiderable part of the religious ceremonies of the Greeks and Romans at all times, is certain, from teſtimonies, and deſcriptions of thoſe ceremonies, ſtill to be found in the moſt reſpectable writers of antiquity. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (*a*) relates that Dardanus, upon conſulting the Oracle concerning his ſettlement, among other things, had this anſwer relative to the cuſtody of the images of the Gods: "Remember to eſtabliſh in the city, "which you ſhall build, perpetual worſhip to the Gods, and "to honour them with ſafeguards, ſacrifices, ſolemn *Dances* "and *Songs* (*b*)." Indeed there remain no proofs that any other

(*a*) *Lib.* i.

(*b*) The late Mr. Spelman's note on this paſſage is curious with reſpect to chronology: "The oracle, ſays he, that was "delivered to Dardanus, if the authori-"ties quoted by Dionyſius, which are Calliſtratus,

language except poetry, through the vehicle of muſic, had admiſſion in the Rituals or Liturgies of the Pagans. All the prayers, thankſgivings, and praiſes offered up to their ſeveral divinities, were *Songs* and *Choruſes*, accompanied by muſical inſtruments, and generally, by *Dancing*, or at leaſt by a ſolemn *March* and by *Geſtures*. "If Muſic, ſays Cenſorinus, had not "been acceptable to the immortal Gods, a *Tibicen* would cer- "tainly not have aſſiſted *at every prayer* in their temples (*c*)." Horace calls muſic *a friend to the temple* (*d*); and ſays that "The guardian gods of Numida are to be appeaſed by incenſe "and *muſic* (*e*)" Maximus Tyrius calls it "The Companion "of Sacrifices *(f)*." And according to Proclus, the very avenues of the temple were furniſhed with muſic. "When they "approached the altars and temples they ſung, and the tibia "played in the receſs (*g*)."

It has already been obſerved, vol. I. that Plato was ſuch a friend to temple muſic, as to wiſh that no other ſhould be heard either by gods or men. And it appears that in all nations the firſt *public* uſe of muſic has been in the celebration of religious rites and ceremonies. Tacitus (*h*) informs us, that the

"liſtratus, Satyrus, and Arctinus, the moſt "ancient poet known in his time, have "not miſled him, is of the higheſt anti- "quity; ſince it was given to him before "he founded the kingdom of Troy, "which happened in the 3234th year of "the Julian period, (Petavius, lib. ii.) "about 50 years after the Iſraelites came "out of Egypt, and a little before the "death of Joſhua; 266 years before Troy "was taken by the Greeks, in the reign "of Priamus. It is very remarkable that "this oracle is in very good hexameter "verſe, and the *language not at all differ- "ent from that of Homer*, who writ 500 "years after this period; nor from the "language of thoſe poets who writ 500 "years after Homer." Spelman's Dionyſius, vol. I. p. 153. If this account could be relied on, the difficulty concerning Orpheus being the author of the verſes aſcribed to him, vaniſhes, as well as that of Homer not having been able to write or read, for want of language, and even letters, in ſuch remote antiquity. See Wood's Poſthumous Publication.

(*c*) *Niſi grata eſſet immortalibus Diis muſica, profectò, nec tibicen omnibus ſupplicationibus in ſacris ædibus adhiberetur.* De Die Nat. c. 12.

(*d*) *Amica templo.* Lib. III. Od. 2.

(*e*) *Et Thure & fidibus juvat placare— cuſtodes Numidæ Deos.* Lib. i. Od. 36.

(*f*) *Socia* Sacrificiorum. Serm. 21.

(*g*) *In Chreſtomat. apud* Photium.

(*h*) Initio *Libri de Morib. Germ.*

ancient

ancient Germans uſed to ſing the praiſes of their Gods Teuton, or Tuiſto, and Mannus, in verſes, with which they likewiſe recorded the moſt memorable events in their hiſtory.

The propenſity which the early Chriſtians had to ſinging pſalms and hymns, may be gathered Acts xvi. 25, where St. Paul himſelf and Silas are deſcribed ſinging in a dungeon (*i*); which was afterwards imitated by other ſaints and martyrs. The ſame apoſtle, Epheſ. v. 19. recommends the ſinging of pſalms, hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs at feſtivals, it ſhould ſeem after the manner of the *Scolia* of the Greeks, which were not only convivial ſongs, and panegyrics to deceaſed heroes, but hymns to the Gods. St. James clearly diſtinguiſhes prayer from ſong; chap. v. ver. 13 (*k*). "Is any among you afflicted? "let him pray. Is any merry? let him ſing pſalms." And St. Paul has the ſame diſtinction, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15: "I will "*pray* with the ſpirit, and I will *pray* with the underſtanding "alſo: I will *ſing* with the ſpirit, and I will *ſing* with the un-"derſtanding alſo (*l*)."

Lucian ſpeaks of the pſalm-ſinging rage of the firſt Chriſtians; and Pliny the Younger accuſes them of Singing, or rather *Chanting* hymns to Chriſt *as to a God* (*m*).

Juſtin Martyr, who flouriſhed in 163, has left, in his Apology to the emperor Antoninus Pius, a clear and indiſputable teſtimony of the early uſe of hymns by the Chriſtians. "Approv-"ing ourſelves grateful to God, by celebrating his praiſes with "hymns and other ſolemnities (*n*)."

(*i*) "And at midnight Paul and Silas "prayed and *ſang* praiſes unto God." ὕμνουν τὸν Θεόν.

(*k*) Ψαλλέτω. *Pſallat.*

(*l*) Ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ νοΐ.—*Pſallam ſpiritu, pſallam et mente.* See likewiſe Epheſians, chap. v. ver. 19. and Coloſſ. iii. 16.

(*m*) *Quaſi Deo.* Lib. x. Ep. 97. What Mr. Melmoth tranſlates *a form of prayer*, is, in the original, *carmen*. Tertullian ſpeaking of Pliny perſecuting the Chriſtians, ſays, that all he accuſed them of was, that, beſides neglecting to ſacrifice, they held meetings before day-break *to ſing in honour of Chriſt as a God.* And Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, tranſlates the complaint which Pliny made againſt the Chriſtians to the emperor Adrian, thus: τὸν Χριστὸν δίκην Θεοῦ ὑμνεῖν. *Chriſto tanquam Deo canere.*

(*n*) *Gratos nos illi exhibentes rationales pompas, et hymnos celebramus*—&c.

Upon theſe occaſions, however, we do not find that a new ſpecies of muſic was invented for the purpoſe of praiſing God, after a manner peculiar to the Chriſtians; it is probable therefore that the muſic of the times, and, perhaps, that of the Pagan hymns, was adopted. Origen, in writing againſt Celſus, who had treated the Chriſtians as Barbarians, ſays that "The Greeks pray in Greek, the Romans in Latin, and other "people in the language of their country celebrate the praiſes "of God to the utmoſt of their power." And when Celſus obſerves, that "though the Pagans ſing hymns to Minerva "and to Apollo, they imagine they worſhip the great God." This father adds, but "We know the contrary, for we ſing "hymns to none but the ſupreme Being, and to his only Son, "in the ſame manner as they ſing to the Sun, Moon, Stars, "and all the heavenly hoſt (*o*)."

Clemens Alexandrinus has a curious paſſage alluding to the church and to religious muſic (*p*): "This is the choſen moun-"tain of the Lord, unlike Cithæron, which has furniſhed ſub-"jects to Tragedy: It is dedicated to Truth: a mountain of "greater purity, overſpread with chaſte ſhades.—It is inhabited "by the daughters of God, the fair Lambs, who celebrate to-"gether the *venerable Orgies*, collecting the choſen *Choir*. The "ſingers are holy men, their ſong is the hymn of the Al-"mighty King: Virgins chant, Angels glorify, Prophets diſ-"courſe, while Muſic ſweetly ſounding is heard (*q*)."

Philo, ſpeaking of the nocturnal aſſemblies of the Therapeutæ, whom Euſebius calls Chriſtians, upon the vigils of ſaints, ſays: "After ſupper their ſacred ſongs began: when "all were ariſen they ſelected from the reſt two Choirs, one of

(*o*) *Cum hymni* Minervæ, *&* Soli *canuntur, magnum Deum magis coli videri: at nos*, ſubdit, *contra eſſe ſcimus. Hymnos enim canimus Soli ſummo DEO, et unigenito ejus verbo, atque DEO; et laudamus DEUM, et unigenitum ejus eodem modo, ac Sol, Luna, & Stellæ, et tota cæleſtis militia.*

(*p*) *Hic eſt mons Deo dilectus, qui non tragœdiis*, &c. *Admonit. ad Gentes.*

(*q*) This is the ſame muſical language which the Greeks and Romans uſed long before the promulgation of the Goſpel.

"men,

" men, and one of women, in order to celebrate ſome feſtival, " and from each of theſe a perſon of a majeſtic form, and well " ſkilled in muſic, was choſen to lead the band. They then " chanted hymns in honour of God, compoſed in different " meaſures and modulations, now ſinging together, and now " anſwering each other, by turns (*r*)."

This paſſage ſufficiently proves the uſe of muſic by the primitive Chriſtians, even before churches were built, or their religion was eſtabliſhed by law. And Euſebius (*s*) in ſpeaking of the conſecration of churches throughout the Roman dominions, in the time of Conſtantine the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, ſays, " that there was one common conſent in *chanting* forth " the praiſes of God: the performance of the ſervice was exact, " the rites of the church decent and majeſtic: and there was a " place appointed for thoſe who ſung pſalms; *youths* and *vir-* " *gins*, *old men* and *young*."

It is in vain to ſeek for any regular ritual before this period, though St. Iſidor, and, after him, all the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtical writers, tell us poſitively that St. Peter firſt ſettled the order of the maſs (*t*); nor can I find better authority for the eſtabliſhment of muſic in the church during the reign of Conſtantine, than that of Euſebius, who was his cotemporary, and a principal agent in the eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of the times. And though the veracity of this hiſtorian may in ſome inſtances have been ſuſpected, yet that ſcepticiſm muſt be exceſſive which will not allow the Fathers, and even credulous Monks to be faithful in their accounts of ſuch tranſactions as are indifferent to their cauſe; and when neither their own honour nor

(*r*) *De vita contemp.* All the early Greek fathers encouraged nocturnal ſinging of pſalms and hymns, eſpecially on the vigils of Saints, and the eves of great feſtivals, on which account the cuſtom was continued much longer in the Greek church than in the Roman. Indeed the *Meſonyctticon*, or midnight ſervice, and the *Pernoctations*, are ſtill retained in the Liturgy of that communion. *See Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church of Ruſſia.*

(*s*) Lib. ii. cap. 3.

(*r*) Mabillon, *de Liturg. Gallic.* p. 5.

intereſt

intereſt can be affected by deviations from truth. It was in the year 312 from the coming of our Saviour, that Chriſtianity, after the defeat of Maxentius, became the eſtabliſhed religion of the Roman empire. The primitive Chriſtians, previous to this important æra, being ſubject to perſecution, proſcription, and martyrdom, muſt frequently have been reduced to ſilent prayer in dens and caves.

In 313, Conſtantine built ſeveral ſumptuous churches for the Chriſtian worſhip, and in 314, the celebration of the uſual ſecular games in Italy was omitted, to the great mortification of the Pagans. From this time, to the reign of Theodoſius, a period of near ſeventy years was ſpent in vain ſtruggles by the zealots of Paganiſm for the reſtoration of their ancient religion; and in ſucceſsful endeavours on the part of the Chriſtians for the eſtabliſhment of their new worſhip, and ſettling the performance of its rites and ceremonies in the moſt decorous and ſolemn manner.

It was in the time of this Emperor, about the year 384, that the Capitoline games were aboliſhed. A circumſtance perhaps no leſs fatal to the cultivation of muſic and poetry, than favourable to good order and decorum. However, according to St. Chryſoſtom, this Emperor uſed to have muſicians, performers on the flute and harp, to play to him while he was at table.

It was during this reign that the Ambroſian chant was eſtabliſhed in the church at Milan. St. Auguſtine (*u*) ſpeaks of the great delight he received in hearing the pſalms and hymns ſung there at his firſt entrance into the church, after his converſion. "The voices flowed in at my ears, truth was diſtilled "in my heart; and the affection of piety over-flowed in ſweet "tears of joy." He afterwards gives an account of the origin of ſinging the church ſervice at Milan, in the eaſtern manner.

(*u*) Conf. L. ix. c. 6.

" The church of Milan, ſays he, had not long before begun to " practiſe this way of mutual conſolation and exhortation " with a joint harmony of voices and hearts."

This was about the year 386, during the perſecution of the orthodox Chriſtians by the Empreſs Juſtina, mother to the then young Emperor Valentinian II. in favour of the Arians. " At this time, continues St. Auguſtine, it was firſt ordered that " hymns and pſalms ſhould be ſung after the manner of eaſtern " nations, that the people might not languiſh and pine away " with a tedious ſorrow, and from that time to the preſent it is " retained at Milan, and imitated by almoſt all the other con- " gregations of the world (*x*)."

Muſic is ſaid by ſome of the fathers to have drawn the Gentiles frequently into the church through mere curioſity; who liked its ceremonies ſo well, that they were baptized before their departure (*y*).

About this time, during the contention between the orthodox Chriſtians and the Arians, we find by Socrates the hiſtorian, L. vi. c. 8. that the Heretics uſed to ſing hymns, marching through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, *in proceſſion*, with which the vulgar were ſo much captivated, that the orthodox, under the direction of St. Chryſoſtom, thought it neceſſary to follow the example which had been ſet them by their greateſt enemies. Proceſſional ſinging had been long practiſed by the Pagans, but no mention is made of it among Chriſtians before this period.

With reſpect to the muſic that was firſt uſed by the Chriſtians, or eſtabliſhed in the church by the firſt Emperors that were converted, as no ſpecimens remain, it is difficult to determine

(*x*) St. Ambroſe, to whom the eſtabliſhment of this manner of ſinging in the weſtern church is attributed, was made Biſhop of Milan in 374, over which See he preſided till the year 398.

(*y*) The generality of our parochial muſic is not likely to produce ſimilar effects; being ſuch as would ſooner drive Chriſtians with good ears *out* of the church, than draw Pagans *into it*.

of

of what kind it was. That ſome part of the ſacred muſic of the Apoſtles and their immediate ſucceſſors, in Paleſtine and the adjacent countries, may have been ſuch as was uſed by the Hebrews, particularly in chanting the pſalms, is probable; but it is no leſs probable that the muſic of the hymns which were firſt received in the church, wherever Paganiſm had prevailed, reſembled that which had been many ages uſed in the temple-worſhip of the Greeks and Romans. Of this, the verſification of thoſe hymns affords an indiſputable proof, as it by no means reſembles that of the pſalms, or of any other Hebrew poetry. And examples may be found in all the Breviaries, Miſſals, and Antiphonaries, ancient and modern, of every ſpecies of verſification which has been practiſed by the Greek and Roman poets, particularly the Lyric; ſuch as the Alcmanian, Alcaic, Sapphic, &c. (*z*)

Father Meneſtrier (*a*) conjectures, with great appearance of truth, that the manner of reading and ſinging in the church was taken from the public theatres, which was ſtill open when chanting was eſtabliſhed; and the paſſion of our Saviour being a kind of tragedy, it is very probable that in ſinging it to the people, the Prieſt imitated the melody of tragedy: whence the cuſtom was derived of performing the maſs by different perſons, and in different tones. It is certain, at leaſt, that the moderns have taken their ideas of tragedy from religious myſteries (*b*).

As Chriſtianity was firſt eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt, which was the reſidence of the firſt Emperors who had embraced that faith; and as the whole was regulated by the counſel, and un-

(*z*) St. Hilary, Biſhop of Poitiers, and St. Ambroſe, are ſaid to have been the firſt that compoſed hymns to be ſung in the weſtern churches. Both theſe fathers flouriſhed about the middle of the fourth century; but Prudentius, a Chriſtian poet, cotemporary with Theodoſius, who died in 305, was author of moſt of the hymns in the Roman Breviary.

(*a*) *Traité des Repreſentations en Muſique, Anciennes et Modernes.*

(*b*) *Differt. ſur la Recitation des Tragedies Anciens.* Par l'Abbé Vatry. Mem. des Inſcrip. tom.

der

der the guidance of Greek fathers, it is natural to ſuppoſe that all the Rites and ceremonies originated there, and were afterwards adopted by the weſtern Chriſtians; and St. Ambroſe is not only ſaid by St. Auguſtine (*c*) to have brought thence the manner of ſinging the hymns, and chanting the pſalms which he eſtabliſhed at Milan, and which was afterwards called the *Ambroſian chant*, but Euſebius (*d*) tells us, that a regular choir and method of ſinging the ſervice were firſt eſtabliſhed, and hymns uſed in the church, at Antioch, the capital of Syria, during the time of Conſtantine; and that St. Ambroſe, who had long reſided there, had his melodies thence (*e*). Theſe melodies, and the manner of ſinging them, were continued in the church, with few alterations, till the time of Gregory the Great.

But beſides St. Ambroſe, Auguſtine, and Gregory, who have all left clear teſtimonies of their approbation, and even cultivation, of muſic in the weſtern church, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians are unanimous in recording the ſanction that was given to it in the Eaſt, by St. Baſil, Chryſoſtom, and Jerom *(f)*. And we find early mention, after the Chriſtian religion was eſtabliſhed by law, of Chanters and Canons being appointed to officiate daily in the church; theſe were called in the eccleſiaſtical Canons *Canonici*, *Pſaltæ*, and were diſtinct from the Readers. Of their origin, however, no certain account has been given, though there is no doubt of their uſe previous to the council of Laodicea, about the middle of the fourth century (*g*). But it is probable that they were eſtabliſhed in imitation

(*c*) *Confeſſ* L. ix. c. 7.

(*d*) L. ii. c. 17.

(*e*) Antioch was founded by Seleucus, one of Alexander's Captains, and by him made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian Empire; ſo that it may be regarded as a Grecian city. An order of Monks was eſtabliſhed there in the early ages of Chriſtianity, whoſe diſcipline obliged them to preſerve in their monaſtery a *perpetual pſalmody*, equally perennial with the veſtal fire, or perpetual lamps of antiquity. *Pſalmody-iſland*, in the dioceſe of Niſmes, had its name from a monaſtery founded by Corbilla, a Syrian Monk of this order, about the end of the fourth century. This kind of pſalmody is known in the Monkiſh writers by the name of *Laus perennis*; Gregory de Tours calls it *Pſalterium perpetuum*.

(*f*) Vide Gerbert, *De Cantu et Muſica Sacra*. Vol. i. p. 31.

(*g*) *Canonicus*, a Canon, is not ſuppoſed to have any reference to *cano*, to *ſing*:

of the Jewiſh temple worſhip, where that was known; and in other places, remote from Paleſtine, perhaps the Pagan religious ceremonies may have ſuggeſted to the Chriſtians theſe inſtitutions.

St. Ignatius, who, according to Socrates (*h*), had converſed with the Apoſtles, is generally ſuppoſed to have been the firſt who ſuggeſted to the primitive Chriſtians in the Eaſt the method of ſinging pſalms and hymns alternately, or in dialogue; dividing the ſingers into two bands or choirs, placed on different ſides of the church. This is called *Antiphona*; and this cuſtom ſoon prevailed in every place where Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed. Though Theodoret in his hiſtory (*i*) tells us that this manner of ſinging was firſt practiſed at Antioch. But for its origin, Socrates, and ſeveral of the fathers, pretended that it was revealed to St. Ignatius by a viſion, in which he had ſeen choirs of angels praiſing the holy Trinity in this manner by ſinging *alternate hymns*. But *Suidas*, under the word Χορος, ſays that "the choirs of churches were, in the time of Con-"ſtantius, the ſon of Conſtantine the Great, and of Flavian, "Biſhop of Antioch, divided into two parts, who ſung the "*Pſalms* of *David* alternately: a practice that began at An-"tioch, and was thence diſperſed into all parts of the Chriſtian "world." Suidas may have taken this account from St. Auguſtine or Theodoret; but he never names his authors. However, he plainly aſſigns a much later origin to the practice than Socrates, who gives the invention to Ignatius (*k*). Indeed it ſeems as if the primitive Chriſtians had had no conceptions more ſublime of the celeſtial employment, or joys of the bleſſ-

*ſing*: Canonicus is one *cui cura datum eſt ut canones ſerventur*—one who takes care that divine worſhip be regularly performed. And the council of Laodicea, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been held in 314, and others in 319, forbids, *Art.* 15. all perſons to ſing in the church, except the *Singing-canons*.

(*h*) L. vi. *cap.* 8.

(*i*) L. ii. c. 24.

(*k*) Conſtantius reigned from 337 to 361.

ed,

ed, than that they were eternally ſinging. The ancient hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, ſtill retained in the church, appears to have furniſhed the poet Dante with a model of the 28th Canto of his *Paradiſo*, where, under three different hierarchies, conſiſting each of three choirs or choruſes, the heavenly hoſt of Cherubim and Seraphim are ſinging perpetual Hoſannahs. Milton has aſſigned them the ſame employment:

——— Their golden harps they took;
Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their ſide
Like quivers hung, and with preamble ſweet
Of charming ſymphony they introduce
Their ſacred ſong, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, ſuch concord is in Heaven (*l*).

PARAD. LOST, Book iii.

St. Ambroſe and St. Gregory having been celebrated not only as fathers of the church, but of church muſic, I ſhall endeavour to point out the particular obligations which ſacred ſong had to the genius and patronage of theſe pious perſonages.

There are few writers on eccleſiaſtical muſic who do not ſpeak of the Ambroſian chant, and of its being different from the Gregorian; but no ſatisfactory account has been given of their ſpecific difference; nor was I able, in hearing the ſervice performed at the Duomo of Milan, or by a peruſal of the Miſſals or other books publiſhed in that city on the ſubject of *Canto fermo*, to diſcover it, by any conſiderable deviation from the melodies uſed in the ſervice of other cathedrals in France or Italy, where the Gregorian chant is ſaid to ſubſiſt. The truth

(*l*) Orazio Benivoli compoſed in the laſt century a maſs for the ceſſation of the plague at Rome, upon the ſame idea, for ſix choirs, of four parts each, the ſcore conſiſting of twenty-four different parts: it was performed in St. Peter's church, of which he was Maeſtro di Capella, and the ſingers, amounting to more than two hundred, were arranged in different circles of the dome; the ſixth choir occupying the ſummit of the cupola.

is, there are no veſtiges of the Ambroſian chant remaining, ſufficient to aſcertain its peculiar character. The fragments of it that Gafurio has inſerted in his *Practica Muſica* are very ſuſpicious, not only as they have a much more modern appearance than even the ancient Gregorian chants that are come down to us, but on account of the *number* of modes in which he gives them, which amount to eight; whereas all writers on theſe ſubjects agree in ſaying that St. Ambroſe only uſed the four authentic modes, and that the four plagal were added afterwards by St. Gregory.

Though I ſhall not travel into the land of conjecture in ſearch of Ambroſian chants, it ſeems allowable to imagine, that, from their Greek origin, they muſt have been conſtructed on the tetrachords, by which all the melody of the ancient Greeks was regulated (*m*). And M. Rouſſeau has truly remarked, that there is no more analogy between their ſyſtem and ours, than between a tetrachord and an octave.

St. Ambroſe, as already related from St. Auguſtine, having introduced into the weſtern churches the method of chanting the Pſalms, in imitation of the eaſtern manner of ſinging them, no memorable change ſeems to have happened in eccleſiaſtical muſic till the year 600, about 230 years after the time of St. Ambroſe, when Gregory the Great reformed the chant.

The Greek eccleſiaſtics had retained the names, at leaſt, of the four ancient modes: the Dorian from D to d. The Phrygian from E to e. The Æolian, which is improperly called the Lydian, from F to f (*n*). And the Myxolidian from G to g, which they likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the Greek numerical terms *Protos*, firſt: *Deuteros*, ſecond; *Tritos*, third; and *Tetartos*,

(*m*) See Differt. vol. I. from p. 8 to 12.

(*n*) The Lydian mode, as has been ſhewn in the firſt vol. p. 48, and p. 90, is a *whole tone* above the Phrygian; but the modern Greeks, according to the Abate Martini, place it a tone lower, between the Dorian and the Phrygian.

fourth

fourth (*o*). There was, however, no other reſemblance between theſe modes and thoſe of the ancient Greeks, of the ſame denomination, than there would be in modern muſic between the keys of D, E, F, G, minor, and the different ſpecies of octave produced by the ſounds belonging to the key of C natural, as they lie between D and d, E and e, &c.

Theſe four modes, which, according to ſome eccleſiaſtical writers, acquired the appellation of *authentic*, from their having been ſelected and appointed for the ſervice of the church of Milan by St. Miroclet and St. Ambroſe, were by St. Gregory, either for variety, or convenience of the voice, encreaſed to eight, by aſſigning to each *authentic*, what was denominated its *plagal*, that is, according to the moſt probable derivation of the term, its adjunct, or collateral, mode (*p*). Each of theſe had the ſame *final*, or key-note, as its relative *authentic*, from which there is no other difference than that the melodies in the four *authentic* or principal modes are generally confined within the compaſs of the eight notes *above* the key-note; and thoſe in the four *plagal* or relative modes, within the compaſs of the

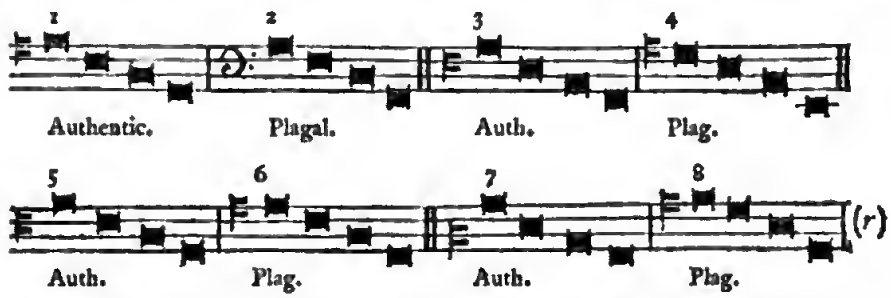
(*o*) Theſe terms, long retained in the Gregorian chant, ſeem to point out the Greek origin of the eccleſiaſtical modes; they are ſtill retained in the Greek church, but after the modes were multiplied to eight they could not with propriety be applied to thoſe which were originally called firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth, as by the intercalation of four new modes, they became the firſt, third, fifth, and ſeventh.

(*p*) *Plagalis*, from πλαγιος, *obliquus*, *à latere*. Theſe terms, *authentic* and *plagal*, are, with reaſon, cenſured by Meibomius and Bontempi, as barbarous. Bontempi propoſes, inſtead of the word *authentic* to ſubſtitute *principal*; and for *plagal*, *relative*, or *collateral*. Theſe diſtinctions in the Romiſh church are ſimilar to the diſcriminations made by the Greek muſical writers where they claſs their modes under the denominations of *principal* and *ſubordinate*, with the diſtinction of *hyper* and *hypo*. See vol. I. p. 50. It is not ſurpriſing that the primitive Chriſtians ſhould give Greek names to the ſpecies of octaves in imitation of the Greek modes; nor, if we reflect on the ſimplicity that was aimed at, and the humble ſtate of thoſe who firſt employed muſic in their religious worſhip, ſhall we wonder at the incorrect and artleſs manner in which it was done. How the Roman church acquired Greek terms in Canto Fermo it is eaſy likewiſe to imagine, if we recollect that it was a preſent from Greek fathers: and Gregory, in reforming the maſs, not only retained theſe Greek terms but adopted others, both from the Greek and Hebrew languages and ceremonies, in order to conciliate parties and acquire converts: as *Kyrie Eleiſon* from the Greek, and *Hallelujah* from the Hebrew.

eight notes *below* the fifth of the key. The *numeral* names of the modes were now altered; the four *authentic* being diſtinguiſhed by the odd numbers 1, 3, 5, 7; the four *plagal* by the even numbers, 2, 4, 6, 8: but muſic ſpeaks to muſicians more intelligibly with its own characters, than with thoſe of any other language: I ſhall therefore give a ſhort example of each mode in Gregorian notes, which by delineating the capital and ſpecific feature of each, will render them recogniſable whenever they occur (*q*).

In the Romiſh Miſſals, Breviaries, Antiphonaries, and Graduals, only four lines are uſed in the notation of the chants; with two clefs, the baſe and tenor, or thoſe of F and C, which are removable; and two kinds of notes, the ſquare and the lozenge; the firſt for long ſyllables, and the ſecond for ſhort. In ſome modern French Miſſals a third ſpecies of note is uſed, generally at a cloſe; this is ſquare with a tail added to it, and is of longer duration than either of the other two. However, the Italians ſeldom uſe any other than ſquare notes in their Canto Fermo, nor did the French, in their more ancient books.

Eſſential Sounds of the Eight Tones or Eccleſiaſtical Modes.




(*q*) Theſe characters are not ſuppoſed to have been invented by St. Gregory, nor were they in uſe till many ages after his time; but ſince their invention, having been appropriated chiefly to the purpoſe of writing eccleſiaſtical chants in the Antiphonary of that Pontif, they obtained the appellation of *Gregorian Notes*.

(*r*) Glareanus and Zarlino admit of twelve modes, by allowing two to each of the ſeven ſpecies of octave, except B, which, for want of a true fifth, has no authentic;

The only accident allowable in Canto Fermo is a flat to B, which is removed by a ♮. No character of ♯ occurs in genuine chants of high antiquity. The firſt and ſecond modes are frequently tranſpoſed into A, a fifth higher. In ſome modern Miſſals a flat is placed at the clef upon B, for the fifth and ſixth modes; but the ſtrict adherents to antiquity murmur at this licence, and rather chuſe to impoveriſh the melody, by making a fourth of the key a *noli me tangere*, than admit this innovation. As it is, no one ſcale or key of the eight eccleſiaſtical modes is complete: for the firſt and ſecond of theſe modes being regarded, according to the modern rules of modulation, in the key of D minor, want a flat upon B; the third and fourth modes having their termination in E, want a ſharp upon F; the fifth and ſixth modes being in F, want a flat upon B; and the ſeventh and eighth generally beginning and ending in G major, want an F ſharp.

Such are the out-lines and general rules of the eccleſiaſtical modes and Canto Fermo; there are indeed peculiarities and exceptions to moſt of them; but as this book is deſigned chiefly for the peruſal of my countrymen, who have little curioſity, and *no uſe* for theſe modes, it ſeems unneceſſary to enter minutely into a diſcuſſion of their anomalies.

Eccleſiaſtical writers ſeem unanimous in allowing that it was the learned and active Pope Gregory the Great, who collected the muſical fragments of ſuch ancient hymns and pſalms as the firſt fathers of the church had approved, and recommended to the primitive Chriſtians; and that he ſelected, methodized, and arranged them in the order which was long continued at Rome, and ſoon adopted by the chief part of the weſtern church *.

authentic; and F, which having no true fourth, admits of no plagal. However, no other than the eight modes given above are in uſe, as it does not appear that the four laſt which were propoſed by Glareanus, have been adopted in the church.

* Gregory began his Pontificate in 590.

The

The anonymous author of his life, publiſhed by Caniſius, ſpeaks of this tranſaction in the following words: "This Pon-" tif compoſed, arranged, and conſtituted the *Antiphonarium* " and chants uſed in the morning and evening ſervice (*s*)."

Arnold Wion cites many writers of the middle ages, ſuch as Walafred, Berno, Radulph, and Sigebert, who not only ſpeak of a ſinging ſchool founded by him at Rome, but tell us that he baniſhed from the church the *Canto Figurato* as too light and diſſolute; and that his own chant was called *Canto Fermo* from its gravity and ſimplicity (*t*). This Pope is likewiſe ſaid by

(*s*) Fleury, in his *Hiſt. Eccl.* tom. viii. p. 150, gives a circumſtantial account of the *Scola Cantorum*, inſtituted by St. Gregoty. It ſubſiſted three hundred years after the death of that Pontif, which happened in 604, as we are informed by John Diaconus, author of his life. The original *Antiphonarium* of this Pope was then ſubſiſting; and the whip with which he uſed to threaten to ſcourge the boys; as well as the bed on which he reclined in the latter part of his life, when he viſited the ſchool in order to hear them practiſe. Two colleges were appropriated to theſe ſtudies; one near the church of St. Peter, and one near that of St. John Lateran; both of which were endowed with lands.

(*t*) It is not eaſy to conceive how the *Canto Figurato*, if it meant *florid ſong*, as at preſent, could gain admiſſion into the church, when plainneſs and ſimplicity were moſt likely to be encouraged by its rulers, or even how it could have exiſtence during the firſt ages of Chriſtianity; for then ſyllabic and metrical muſic only, ſeem to have been uſed in the temples, and even theatres of the Pagans. Meibomius indeed has inferted, in his preface to the ſeven ancient Greek writers on muſic, *Te Deum Laudamus*, ſet, in the opinion of this learned critic, to nearly the ſame chant as was uſed to that hymn in the time of St. Ambroſe and St. Auguſtine, its ſuppoſed authors, and expreſſed in ſuch a notation as would have been then uſed; but I cannot help thinking this chant corrupted by graces of more modern tunes, as *three notes* frequently, and ſometimes even *four* and *five*, are applied to one ſyllable, which deſtroy the proſody of the language; a licence which would not have been tolerated by the ancients. But in tracing the uſe of the word *figuratus*, when applied by the ancient eccleſiaſtical writers to *Cantus*, it does not ſeem to have the ſame acceptation as at preſent, that is, *giving more than one note to a ſyllable:* Du Cange gives the following example of its uſe in the middle ages: *in eodem faccello miſſam de B. Virgine* in figurativo *quotidie decantari ſuis ſumptibus ordinavit.* "He ordered a maſs to be daily ſung *with notes* in the ſame chapel at his own expence." An old French poet, ſpeaking of the celebration of the maſs on the feaſt of St. Magloire in 1315, by the Biſhops of Laon and Lagonne, together with the Abbots of St. Germain, St. Geneviève, and St. Dennis ſays, they ſung

L'*Alleluja* mout hautement,
Et bien, et *meſurément.*

which is a manifeſt diſtinction from *chanting*. In Zarlino's ſenſe of the word *figurato*, the ancients, in their vocal muſic, admitted of no *other Canto*. And it is the *Canto Fermo* itſelf, that is incompatible with *metrical* muſic. Zarlino, *Inſtit. Harm.* prima part. cap. 8. expreſsly defines *Canto Figurato* to be *Canto Miſurato:* a *meaſured melody*, in which *notes*, that is—"*figure*" poſition

by eccleſiaſtical writers, to have been the firſt who ſeparated the chanters from the regular clergy; obſerving that ſingers were more admired for their fine voices than for their precepts or their piety.

It is imagined that St. Gregory was rather a compiler than a compoſer of eccleſiaſtical chants, as muſic had been eſtabliſhed in the church long before his Pontificate; and John Diaconus, in his life (*u*), calls his collection *Antiphonarium Centonem*, the ground-work of which was the ancient Greek chant, upon the principles of which it was formed. This is the opinion of the Abbé Lebeuf (*x*), and of many others. The derivation is reſpectable; but if the Romans in the time of St. Ambroſe had *any* muſic, it muſt have been compoſed upon the Greek ſyſtem: all the arts at Rome, during the time of the Emperors, were Greek, and chiefly cultivated by Greek artiſts; and we hear of no muſical ſyſtem in uſe among the Romans, or at leaſt none is mentioned by their writers on the art, but that of the Greeks.

It has been long a received opinion that the eccleſiaſtical *tones* were taken from the reformed modes of Ptolemy; but it is difficult to diſcover any connection between them except in their names; for their number, upon examination, is not the ſame, thoſe of Ptolemy being *ſeven*, the eccleſiaſtical *eight*. And indeed the Greek names given to the eccleſiaſtical modes, do not agree with thoſe of Ptolemy in the ſingle inſtance of key, but with thoſe of higher antiquity (*y*).

—of different lengths were uſed; in oppoſition to *Canto Fermo*, in which the notes were all of a length, as in our pſalmody; or at leaſt of no ſtated meaſure, as in our cathedral ſervice. Buontempi ſays the ſame, p. 199. *Il Canto Figurato acquiſtoſſi l'Epiteto Figurato dalle varie figure* (notes) *che vi s'introducevano.* This removes the difficulty, and makes it probable, that by ſaying Gregory baniſhed the *Canto Figurato*, it was only implied that he baniſhed *rhythmic* ſinging, as too lively; he would not let *verſe* be ſung, or perhaps would not let it be ſung *as* verſe, becauſe it was gay and paganiſh.

(*u*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 6.

(*x*) *Traité Hiſtorique et Pratique ſur le Chant Eccleſiaſtique.* Chap. iii.

(*y*) See p. 48. & ſeq. vol. i.

It ſeems, however, as if ſome idea of the genealogy of the eccleſiaſtical modes, and their *deviation* from more ancient muſic might be aequired, by ſuppoſing that the pious fathers, who introduced the uſe of muſic firſt in the churches, would naturally make it as ſimple as poſſible, to avoid the reproach of contaminating the Chriſtian ſervice with Pagan *Lenocinia* (z). For the ſame reaſon, therefore, as they rejected all but the Diatonic genus, they likewiſe rejected all the variety and complication of *modes* and tranſpoſed ſyſtems, with their difficulties of execution. They took the Hypodorian mode, or natural ſcale of A, allowing the variety of B flat, occaſionally, with the change from the disjunct to the conjunct ſyſtem which was in every mode, and the different ſpecies of octave which *every* mode alſo admitted. All this was ready to their hands. That they called them *Modes* or *Tones* was not ſurpriſing, conſidering them to have been a *part* of the ancient modes or *toni*, though not the whole: they ended like the old modes upon different *finals*, and were at different *pitches*, though in the ſame ſcale. And indeed, beſides the effects of tranſpoſition, by adopting *parts* only of each ſpecies for their chants, and not the whole, they made them really different keys to the ear, as in the following examples:

Mediatio (a).

*Sæculorum Amen.*

(z) St. Jerom, in his Commentary on the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, ch. v. ver. 19. p. 652. "Speaking to yourſelves in "pſalms and hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs, "ſinging and making melody in your "heart to the Lord," cries out, *Audiant hæc adoleſcentuli: audiant bi quibus pſallendi in eccleſia officium eſt, Deo non voce, ſed corde cantandum: nec in Tragœdorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendæ, ut in eccleſia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica, ſed in timore, in opere, in ſcientia ſcripturarum.*

(a) *Mediatio* implies the middle of a chant, or the ſound which terminates the firſt part of a verſe in the Pſalms. The punctuation of the Pſalms in the Engliſh Pſalter, where a colon is conſtantly placed in the middle of a verſe, and frequently when the ſenſe requires not ſo long a pauſe, expreſſes this *Mediatio*, or breath-place, marked out for thoſe who chant the Pſalms in the cathedral ſervice.

for

Final (*c*).

EVOVA E (*b*).

for theſe two fragments of genuine plain-ſong in the firſt mode, give true ideas of modulation into two diſtinct keys; the firſt in F with a major third, and the ſecond in D minor (*d*).

It might be expected that ſome better traces of the muſic, that ſo much delighted the Greeks and Romans, would be found in the Canto Fermo of the church; but if we reflect upon the manner in which the Chriſtian religion was eſtabliſhed, ſuch expectations will vaniſh. The Roman empire having

(*b*) EVOVE, or ÆVOVE, are the vowels, and, io *Canto Fermo*, thorepreſentation of the two laſt words, in the *Gloria Patri*.

(*c*) *Final*, the laſt ſound of a verſe in a chant, which if *complete* is on the key note; if *incomplete*, on ſome other ſound of the key: it is theo called a demi-cadence, and the termination is poſtponed to the next verſe; this uſually happens io our douhle chants.

(*d*) The Ahbé Lebeuf, who has examined and compared the Canto Fermo of the ſeveral ages of the church with great diligence and ſagacity, is of opinion, that there is a ſtrong reſemblance io the tranſitions from one key to another io that, and in the ancient Greek muſic: the Greeks more frequently modulated from the key note to its fifth below, than to the fifth above, ſee vol. i. p. 51. This is diſcoverable in the fragments of their muſic that are come down to us. See Differt. ſect vii. as well as io the precepts of their Theoriſts. It is the ſame in the ancient chants of the church. B h commonly occurs in a melody that begins in the key of C or A; which implies a modulation ioto F or D, the fifth below each of theſe keys; but no F ♯, which would iodicate a traoſition into the fifth above, is diſcoverable. Indeed, ſometimes in the key of F the B is made oatural, which leads to C, the fifth above; however, ſuch traoſitions are very uocommon in this, as well as in the Greek muſic.

The terminations, or cloſes of Greek Melodies, and eccleſiaſtical chaots, have likewiſe a great ſimilitude, though they differ ſo much from thoſe of modern muſic. In this laſt, the cloſe is on the key note, io the Greek it is on the third; at leaſt ſuch is the Final of the airs to which the reader is referred: and io the *Canto Fermo*, one of the moſt common cloſes is in the third of the tone or mode in which the chant begios. The want of a ſharp ſeventh to ſeveral of the modes furniſhes another reſemhlance, in the riſing from the flat ſeventh to the key note at a cloſe; this occurs ſeveral times in the fragments, eſpecially io the Ode of Pindar, vol. i. Differt. ſect. vii. Another ſimilitude is diſcoverable in the frequent interruption of the Diatonic progreſſion by leaps of thirds, as in St. Ambroſe's *Te Deum* &c. and in the eccleſiaſtical intonations &c. Merſennus was alſo ſtruck with the ſame reſemblance: ſpeaking of the Greek melodies, he ſays, "they plainly appear, "from the fragmeots remaioing, to have "been" *Simplicibus tonorum eccleſiaſticorum cantibus . . . Omnino Similes.* Harmon. lib. vii.

from the beginning oppoſed and perſecuted the proſelytes to this new doctrine, its rites were celebrated only in caves and deſarts, without pomp or ſplendor. Its firſt protectors were the princes of new-founded monarchies, barbarians whom the mild and benevolent doctrines of Chriſtianity, by degrees, rendered leſs ſavage and ferocious. On this account, and from the horror with which the followers of the new religion beheld the diſſolute manners of the Pagans, the fathers of the church declaimed bitterly againſt public ſpectacles, in which the ancient muſic was ſtill practiſed; and to adopt into the church theatrical melodies would have been a ſcandal and mortal ſin: nor, perhaps, did the Pagans themſelves uſe them in their temples. Beſides, the new Chriſtians, being chiefly illiterate, and of mean rank, would hardly have been capable of executing the refined and difficult muſic of the theatre, which was uſually performed by ſkilful and eminent profeſſors. Thus vaniſhed entirely the idea of Greek and Roman ſecular muſic, with the knowledge of the Greek characters, now become uſeleſs, as nothing remained to be expreſſed by them but ſimple ſounds, ſuch as were common to Chriſtians and Barbarians.

After the converſion of the Emperors, when the Chriſtian religion was eſtabliſhed by law, theatres, and all kinds of public ſpectacles being diſcouraged, and, by degrees, ſuppreſſed, many of the princes themſelves regarding them with horror; the ſimple, artleſs, and inſipid pſalmody of the primitive Chriſtians was continued, though magnificent churches were built; and eccleſiaſtical rites, in other reſpects, were celebrated with every allurement which could captivate the vulgar, and render its ceremonies pleaſing to the ſenſes.

Though the original melodies uſed in the Antiphonary, which includes the chants of the Graduals in the Maſs, the Reſponſes, Leſſons, and Antiphonaries that accompany the Pſalms, were adopted in the church at different times, but reformed and digeſted by St. Gregory; yet they bear evident

marks of the age when they were inſenſibly received in the church: language was beginning to loſe the diſtinctions of long and ſhort ſyllables, eſpecially in chanting; in which there was little variety of notes, either as to length or modulation (*d*), for the vocal organs of the new Chriſtians not having been accuſtomed to a refined and artificial muſic, could not eaſily form the ſemitones, nor execute a variety of paſſages: on which account a change of key ſeldom happens in Canto Fermo, and words are ſung to long notes of nearly equal value. For want of ſemitones, cadences are made from the flat ſeventh riſing a whole tone, in the ſame manner as among the Canadians and other ſavage people. There was no need of great muſicians to invent, or ſuperior beings to inſpire ſuch melody as this; the Prieſts themſelves, who regulated the public worſhip, might have formed it by mere inſtinct, as it ſo much reſembles that of a rude and uncivilized people *(f)*.

At preſent, however, this kind of ſinging is become venerable from its antiquity, and the uſe to which it is ſolely appropriated: and its ſimplicity, and total difference from ſecular muſic, precludes levity in the compoſition, and licentiouſneſs

(*e*) The variety of " ", or long and ſhort ſyllables, expreſſed by ſquare and lozenge notes, is a modern attempt, only obſerved in the French printed Miſſals; the ancient MSS. and even modern *printed* books of *Canto Fermo* in Italy, have no ſuch diſtinctions. All notes are, in general, equally ſquare and Gothic; but whether round or ſquare, their length is the ſame. *Le note del Canto Fermo ſi cantano tutte in un'iſteſſa miſura, cioè tante vale una quanto l'altra, è ſia tonda, è quadra.* Breve Inſtruttione alli Giovani per imparare *il Canto Fermo*, del Gioſ. Mar. Stella. In Roma, 1675.

(*f*) Vide Eximeno, p. 394, 395. *Dell' Origine & delle Regole della Muſica in Roma.* 1774. This author, who writes with a ſtrength and eloquence that are ſeldom found in muſical treatiſes, ſeems to have expreſſed himſelf with too much violence in ſuppoſing, that when muſic was firſt admitted into the church, the uſe of rhythm and proſody began to be neglected, becauſe the new languages, then forming from barbarous dialects, and Latin ill pronounced, paid no regard to either: but they have never been loſt in the Latin language, and in all Roman Catholic churches the ſervice has ever been performed in Latin. In chanting the Pſalms indeed there is no *fixed diſtinction* of long and ſhort ſyllables; but this confuſion could not have reached the Latin language at the time of St. Gregory.

in

in the performance. As to the want of variety with reſpect to modulation, ſuch as are much accuſtomed to the eccleſiaſtical tones, pretend that a very different effect is produced to the ear by theſe *different ſpecies* of *octave*, even though the idea of the key be not changed; and it muſt be allowed that theſe tones, which ſeem all to belong to one key and ſcale, do admit the variety of minor and major, as was before obſerved.

There is a curious chapter in the Micrologus of Guido, which has for title *De Tropis & vi Muſicæ*; in which he attributes all imaginable difference of character and effect to the ſpecies of octave, or eccleſiaſtical tones, for he ſpeaks of no other *tropi*; aſcribing *garrulity* to one; *voluptuouſneſs* to another; *ſweetneſs* to a third, &c.

M. Rouſſeau, Art. *Plain Chant*, ſays that the "Chriſtians having introduced ſinging into their religious worſhip, at a time when muſic was very much degenerated, deprived the art of the chief force and energy which it had ſtill retained, by a total inattention to rhythm and metre, and by transferring it from poetry, with which it had always been connected, to the proſe of the ſacred writings, and to a barbarous kind of verſe, worſe for muſic than proſe itſelf. Then one of its two conſtituent parts vaniſhed, and the melody being uniformly dragged without any kind of meaſure, in notes of nearly equal lengths, loſt, by being deprived of rhythm and cadence, all the energy which it received from them (*g*). Hence plain ſong degenerated into a pſalmody always monotonous, and often ridiculous; and yet ſuch of theſe melodies as have been faithfully preſerved, notwithſtanding the loſſes they have ſuſtained, afford

(*g*) In the Canto Fermo of the Romiſh church, as in our cathedral chanting, ſome ſyllables are ſung ſo ſlow, and others pronounced with ſuch rapidity, that both verſe and proſe are equally injured; and yet, the firſt Reformers of the church thought chanting to be too light, and like common ſinging; and that there would be more reverence and ſolemnity in making every ſyllable of equal length and importance; a practice which is ſtill continued in parochial pſalmody.

real judges valuable ſpecimens of ancient muſic and its modes, though without meaſure and rhythm, and merely in the Diatonic genus, which can only be ſaid to be preſerved in all its purity in Canto Fermo. Theſe modes, in the manner they have been retained in the ancient eccleſiaſtical chants, have ſtill a beauty of character, and a variety of expreſſion, which intelligent hearers, free from prejudice, will diſcover, though formed upon a ſyſtem different from that in preſent uſe."

Notwithſtanding the imperfection of the ſcales, and little variety of keys in the eccleſiaſtical chants, ſecular muſic ſeems for many ages to have had no other rules, but to have been ſtrictly confined to a few keys in the Diatonic genus, without the Liberty of tranſpoſitions. Hence came the timorous pedantry of excluding all other keys and ſcales but thoſe uſed in the church; which kept every kind of melody meagre and inſipid, and in ſubjection to the rules of eccleſiaſtical chanting. For it appears, that the only major keys uſed in Canto Fermo are C and its two fifths F and G; and the only minor keys A, E, and D. And in four of theſe keys the ſcale is deficient, as there is no ſeventh or *note-ſenſible* to G, A, or D. This accounts for ſo ſmall a number of the twenty-four keys which the *general* ſyſtem, and ſcale of modern muſic furniſhes, having been uſed by the old compoſers; as well as for the temperament of the organs by which theſe modes were afterwards accompanied. And as all muſic in parts ſeems, for many ages after the firſt attempts at counterpoint, to have been compoſed for the ſervice of religion upon Canto Fermo and its principles; it likewiſe accounts for the long infancy and childhood of the art, till it broke looſe from the trammels of the church, and mounted the ſtage as a ſecular amuſement.

If imperfection in one place be perfection in another, let a mutilated ſcale be a meritorious characteriſtic only in the church; for on the ſtage and in the chamber, where zeal and gravity give

no

no aſſiſtance to the compoſition or performance, every refinement and artifice are requiſite to ſtimulate attention, and captivate the hearer. Let all the ſharps, and ſix of the ſeven ſingle flats be excommunicated; let them have no admiſſion within the pale of the church; but let them not be cut off from all ſociety elſewhere, or the anathema be extended beyond its limits.

But even ſo late as the preſent century this barbariſm has had its partizans: for the late Dr. Pepuſch was deſirous of reſtoring muſic by the revival of theſe eccleſiaſtical ſcales, to its original *imperfection*, and has given rules (*h*) for compoſing in all keys without flats and ſharps, in imitation, it ſhould ſeem, of the Lipogrammatiſts of antiquity, who wrote long poems without the admiſſion of a particular letter. The reſtrictions and myſteries of ancient modes are luckily abandoned in ſecular muſic, like the vain diſtinctions and occult qualities of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy in the ſchools.

From the time of St. Gregory to that of Guido, there was no other diſtinction of keys than that of Authentic and Plagal; nor were any ſemitones uſed but thoſe from E to F, B to C, and, occaſionally, A to B b. But, at preſent, if the greateſt maſter of modern harmony, with the moſt fertile genius for melody, were to torture his brain in order to compoſe in all the keys without the uſe of other ſounds than thoſe of the Diatonic ſcale of C natural; when, with the moſt unwearied labour and determined perſeverance he had extracted the eſſence of theſe modes, and formed it into an elaborate compoſition, he would ſtill have much more difficulty in finding lovers of muſic with dulneſs and patience ſufficient to hear it performed, than he had in producing it.

(*h*) See *Treatiſe of Harmony*, and vol. i. p. 449.

The

The paſſages already cited from the fathers only manifeſt their approbation of muſic, but neither tell us of what kind it was, nor whether a regular eccleſiaſtical chant was univerſally eſtabliſhed. It ſeems, however, as if the Liturgy was not ſettled by Canons, nor a uniformity of chanting ordained till the time of St. Gregory, though we find a very early diſtinction made between the manner of *ſinging* the hymns, and *chanting* the pſalms. St. Athanaſius, and Geronticus, a Monk of Alexandria, and many of the fathers of the fourth century, have left teſtimonies and admonitions concerning this diſtinction (*i*). It is, however, the opinion of the learned Padre Martini, to which the Prince Abbot of St. Blaſius ſubſcribes, that the muſic of the firſt five or ſix ages of the church, conſiſted chiefly in a plain and ſimple chant of uniſons and octaves, of which many fragments are ſtill remaining in the Canto Fermo of the Romiſh Miſſals. For, with reſpect to *muſic in parts*, as it does not appear, in theſe early ages, that either the Greeks or Romans were in poſſeſſion of *harmony* or *counterpoint*, it is in vain to ſeek it in the church. Indeed, for many ages after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, there is not the ſlighteſt trace of it to be found in the MS. *Miſſals*, *Rituals*, *Graduals*, *Pſalters*, and *Antiphonaria* of any of the great libraries in Europe, which have been viſited and conſulted expreſsly with a view to the aſcertaining this point of muſical hiſtory.

After the moſt diligent enquiry concerning the time when *inſtrumental muſic* had admiſſion into the eccleſiaſtical ſervice, there is reaſon to conclude, that, before the reign of Conſtantine, as the converts to the Chriſtian religion were ſubject to frequent perſecution and diſturbance in their devotion, the uſe of inſtruments could hardly have been allowed: and by all

(*i*) It ſeems as if the chief diſtinction was, that the hymns were frequently ſung by ſingle perſons, and the pſalms generally chanted in a chorus of the whole congregation.

that can be collected from the writings of the primitive Christians, they seem never to have been admitted. But after the full establishment of Christianity, as the national religion of the whole Roman empire, they were used in great festivals, in imitation of the Hebrews, as well as Pagans, who, at all times, had accompanied their psalms, hymns, and religious rites, with instrumental music.

The proofs *for*, and *against*, the early admission of musical instruments in the service of religion before this period, are so numerous, that to give them all, and discuss the point, would be an endless labour to the reader and to myself. The two following passages, however, from fathers of the church, seem conclusive as to the *private* use, at least, of instrumental music in the service of religion, before the time of Constantine, as well as its *public* admission into the church during the reign of that Emperor.

Clemens Alexandrinus (*k*) says, "Though we no longer "worship God with the clamour of military instruments, such "as the trumpet, drum, and fife, but with peaceful words; "this is our most delightful festivity: and if you are able to "accompany your voices with the lyre or cithara, you will "incur no censure. (*l*)" And afterwards, he says: "Ye shall "imitate the just Hebrew King, whose actions were accept-"able to God." He then quotes the Royal Psalmist;—"Re-"joice, ye righteous, in the Lord — praise becomes the "just,—praise the Lord on the Cithara and on the Psaltery "with ten strings."

Eusebius, in his Commentary on the Sixtieth Psalm, mentions these instruments. He, likewise, in his Exposition of the Ninety-second Psalm, says, "When they (the Christians) "are met, they act as the Psalm prescribes: First, they con-

(*k*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 4. *Pedagogi.*

(*l*) Κἂν πρὸς κιθάραν ἐθελήσῃς ἢ λύραν ᾄδειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν. Suizerus, *Thes. Eccl.* V. Ὄργανον

"fess

" ſeſs their ſins to the Lord. Secondly, They ſing to his name, " not only with the voice, but upon an inſtrument of ten " ſtrings, and upon the Cithara."

Inſtruments, however, ſeem not to have had admiſſion indiſcriminately in the early ages of the church; the Harp and Pſaltry only, as the moſt grave and majeſtic inſtruments of the time, were preferred to all others. Neither Jews nor Gentiles were imitated in the uſe of Tabrets and Cymbals in the Temple ſervice. The prieſts of Bacchus and Cybele, in their public proceſſions and celebrations of religious rites, had rendered theſe inſtruments ſo odious to the Chriſtians, that all the Fathers were very ſevere and peremptory in prohibiting their uſe (*m*).

Though modern eccleſiaſtical writers diſſemble or deny the uſe of Dancing in the religious ceremonies of the church, yet the numerous anathemas againſt it, in the works of the Fathers, are ſufficient proofs that it had been practiſed among the primitive Chriſtians, as well as the Hebrews and Pagans. The following paſſage from St. Auguſtine's eighth ſermon, not only proves that the early Chriſtians made *dancing* a part of their Sunday's amuſement, but puts it out of all doubt that the primitive and pious believers accompanied their ſacred ſongs with inſtruments. " It is better to dig or to plough on the Lord's " Day, than to *dance*. Inſtead of ſinging pſalms to the Lyre " or Pſaltry, as virgins and matrons were wont to do, they " now waſte their time in *dancing*, and even employ maſters " in that art."

Father Meneſtrier (*n*), after ſpeaking of the religious dances of the Hebrews and Pagans, obſerves that the name of *Choir* is ſtill retained in our churches for that part of a cathedral

(*m*) According to Jamblicus, *De vita Pythag.* lib. i. cap. 25. theſe inſtruments were forbidden by the Samian Sage to be uſed by his diſciples, to whom he only allowed the lyre.

(*n*) *Des Ballets, Anc. et Mod.* A Paris. 1682, p. 12. et ſeq.

where the Canons and Prieſts ſing and perform the ceremonies of religion (*o*). The choir was formerly ſeparated from the altar, and elevated in the form of a theatre, encloſed on all ſides with a baluſtrade. It had a pulpit on each ſide, in which the epiſtle and goſpel were ſung, as may ſtill be ſeen at Rome in the churches of St. Clement and St. Pancratius, the only two that remain in this antique form. Spain, continues he, has preſerved in the church, and in ſolemn proceſſions, the uſe of dancing to this day; and has theatric repreſentations made expreſsly for great feſtivals, which are called *Autos Sacramentales*. France ſeems to have had the ſame cuſtom till the twelfth century, when Odo, Biſhop of Paris, in his ſynodical conſtitutions, expreſsly orders the Prieſts of his dioceſe to aboliſh it in the church, cemeterics, and public proceſſions (*p*). The ſame author, however, in his Preface, informs us, that he himſelf had ſeen, in ſome churches, the Canons, on Eaſter Sunday, take the choriſters by the hand, and *dance* in the choir, while hymns of jubilation were performing.

M. Tournefort, in his travels through Greece, remarks, that the Greek church had retained, and taken into their preſent worſhip, many ancient Pagan rites, particularly that of "carrying and *dancing* about the images of the Saints, in their proceſſions, to ſinging and muſic (*q*)."

But the union of acting, *dancing*, and ſinging, will hereafter be ſhewn to have been allowed in the church, when the firſt *Oratorios* or ſacred dramas, were performed there.

(*o*) The word comes from χορος, a *dance*, or a *company of dancers*. The derivation is remarkable, and not one of thoſe that can be ſuſpected of proceeding from fancy, and accidental ſimilitude of ſound. One of the acceptations of the term χορος, given by Suidas, is —το συστημα των εν ταις εκκλησιαις ᾀδοντων—a *company of ſingers in a church*; that is, a *choir*. It ſeems likewiſe to have been ſometimes uſed, like our word *choir*, in the *local* ſenſe: χορος, ſays *Suidas* και αι χορευται, και ὁ τοπος, &c. that is *dancers*, and *the place* in *which* they *danced*. It is ſo uſed by Homer, Od. viii. 260. Αυτιαρ ὁ χορον.—They made ſmooth, or level, the *place* appointed for *dancing*.

(*p*) *Conſtitut.* 36.

(*q*) Tournefort, let. iii. 44.

Some remains of this dancing ſpirit is ſtill obſervable in the ſervice of the Romiſh church, the prieſts continuing in motion during the whole celebration of the maſs. Mr. Hume, in his account of the ceremonies uſed by Archbiſhop Laud, at the conſecration of St. Catherine's church (*r*), tells us, that this prelate, who was a great venerator of ancient rites, and deſirous of reviving the religious obſervances of the Catholics, "As he approached the Communion-Table, made many lowly "reverences; and coming up to that part of the table were the "bread and wine lay, he bowed ſeven times. After reading "many prayers, he approached the ſacramental elements, "and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the "bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he ſuddenly let "fall the napkin, flew back a ſtep or or two, bowed three "ſeveral times towards the bread; then he drew near again, "and opened the napkin, and bowed as before."—He did the ſame by the cup in which was the wine.—If this is not leaping and jumping, as in common dancing, it amounts at leaſt to ſuch a degree of *geſticulation* as the ancient Romans comprehended under the term *Saltatio*.

Having furniſhed inconteſtible proofs of the early uſe of muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, in the church, its *Notation* ſeems a ſubject of enquiry not unworthy the curioſity of muſical readers.

Not only the Greek appellatives for the muſical ſcale were in uſe during the time of Boethius, who died in 526, but the ſame kind of notation, by letters of the alphabet, in different forms and poſitions, which he has applied to the Diagram in his Fourth Book, chap. iii. (*s*).

(*r*) Hiſt. of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 200. 1ſt. edit. 4to.

(*s*) Some account of this celebrated muſical writer, and his Tract, has been given in the firſt volume, p. 487. note (*a*); and in this I ſhall beſtow a few words on his chapter concerning Notation; in which, though the title promiſes an exhibition of Greek and *Roman* muſical characters, yet only the Greek are explained, nor

Boethius, in his chapter on Notation ſays, that as his diviſion of ſtrings into concords will give a genealogy of the neceſſary ſounds in the three genera, it becomes neceſſary for him to deſcribe muſical notes, that the name of every one may be known by thoſe ſigns. "The ancient muſicians, ſays he, "invented and publiſhed certain ſymbols of ſounds by which "the name of every ſtring was known, and of theſe there was "a different ſeries for each genus and mode, in order to avoid "the repetition of the original and entire name of each ſound "in the ſyſtem. In this ſummary manner, a muſician, who "wiſhed to write a melody to verſes, placed over the rythmi-"cal compoſition of metre theſe ſigns: ſo that by this inven-"tion, not only the words of the verſes, which are formed of "letters, but alſo the melody itſelf, which is expreſſed by the "like ſigns, might be tranſmitted to poſterity. Of theſe "modes we will ſpeak, of the Lydian, and its ſigns in the *three* "*genera*.—"(*t*) He ſays nothing, in this chapter, of a Roman Notation; but tells us that he adheres to the *Grecian*, "as it "is his chief care *not to turn any thing out of the courſe of an-*"*tiquity:* there will be two rows of characters, ſays he, the "higher for the words, and the lower for the inſtrument that "accompanies the finger:" he there defines the characters in his Diagram, which conſiſts of thoſe to be found in Alypius, for the Lydian mode, and which have been explained in the Diſſertation prefixed to the firſt volume, page 15. and page 30. note (*), in decyphering the melodies to the Greek hymns.

nor does a ſingle Roman letter occur for a muſical note, in the courſe of the whole chapter; the title of which, *Muſicarum per Græcas et Latinas literas Notarum Nuncupatio*, is juſtly condemned and exploded by Meibomius, who has prefixed a correct copy of it to his edition of Alypius, where he obſerves that the words *ac Latinas* are not to be found in the Selden MS. of Boethius, who only mentions the Greek alphabetic notes.

(*t*) Boethius, as well as every other Latin writer on muſic, thought it neceſſary to encumber his Treatiſe with definitions and calculations of the intervals *in all the genera*, though the *practice* of the chromatic and enharmonic was wholly unknown to the Romans.

Upon

Upon the whole it ſeems as if Boethius only uſed Roman letters as mere marks of reference in the diviſions of the monochord, *not as muſical notes or characters*; indeed, at the end of chap. xvi. book iv. he ſays, *ſit biſdiapaſon conſonantia hæc*, let the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, repreſent the concords in the double octave. But theſe letters coincide with our ſcale only accidentally, which is manifeſt from the promiſcuous uſe of them throughout the work, where A, for example, frequently happens to repreſent *hypate hypaton*, which correſponds with our B on the ſecond line in the baſe.

And in book v. chap. xiii. he uſes the letters R and X; and throughout, the Roman letters cannot, from the context, be regarded as the muſical characters in common uſe, ſince Boetbius, in his chapter on Notation, never mentions their being received as ſuch, nor tells us that tbey were of one or two kinds, as he does of the Greek *.

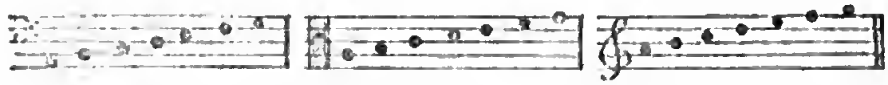
It ſeems, therefore, certain at leaſt that the Roman letters were not uſed as muſical characters during the time of Boethius, in whoſe Treatiſe no traces of them are to be found; but that ſuch a notation had been adopted between the time of this author and St. Gregory, who, according to the unanimous ſuffrage of poſterior writers on the ſubject of Eccleſiaſtical Chanting, reduced their number from fifteen to ſeven; which, by being repeated in three different forms, fur-

* I cannot quit Boethius without obſerving that his Tract on Muſic, which, to read, was long thought neceſſary to the obtaining a muſical degree in our univerſities; and which, with great parade, has been ſo frequently praiſed, quoted, and pronounced, by writers on that art, to be of the greateſt importance to every muſician, contains nothing but matters of mere ſpeculation and theory, tranſlated from Greek writers of higher antiquity; which, if neceſſary to be known at this time, would be more profitably ſtudied in the original: but the theory of every art being vain and uſeleſs, unleſs it guide and facilitate practice, the definitions, calculations, and reveries of Boethius, are no more uſeful or eſſential to a modern muſician, than Newton's *Principia* to a dancer.

niſhed

niſhed a notation for three octaves; the graveſt of which he expreſſed by capitals, the mean by minuſcules, and the higheſt by double letters, thus: which in modern notes would conſtitute the following ſcale.

A B C D E F G a b c d e f g aa bb cc dd ee ff gg



And theſe letters are ſtill retained in moſt parts of Europe, as *denominations* of muſical ſounds, though a different *entablature* and *notation* is uſed in practice. The ſolmization aſcribed to Guido, however, was long preferred to this more preciſe and intelligible muſical alphabet, which, at preſent, ſeems likely to become univerſal.

Mabillon (*u*) ſays, that before the ninth century letters were uſed for notes in Canto Fermo; and, about the middle of the ninth century, Agobard, Archbiſhop of Lyons, collected, as he tells us himſelf (*x*), into one book, all the ſeveral chants, as they were ſung throughout the year, in his own church, under the title of *Antiphonarium*. This paſſage ſeems to imply a muſical notation in common uſe at this time, at leaſt in France; but whether it was that of the letters of the Roman alphabet which St. Gregory is ſuppoſed to have firſt adopted, inſtead of the endleſs perplexities of the Greek notation, is uncertain.

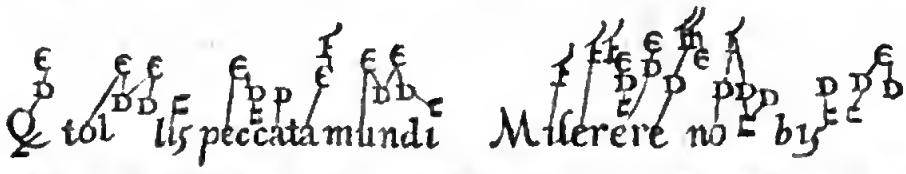
In all the MSS of the Micrologus of Guido, written two centuries after, alphabetic notes are uſed in the following manner; which are explained in Gregorian notes.

(*u*) *Annal. Benedict.* tom. iv. *Append.* No. vii. p. 632.

(*x*) *Agobard. de Divina Pſalmodiæ.* Biblioth. pp. cit. tom. xiv. p. 321.

dc ♮ c de d c ♮ a♮c d a GFGG *(y)*.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum in fæcula.

Theſe letters had ſometimes linear ligatures, of which a curious ſpecimen is given by Padre Martini (*z*), from an ancient MS. of Guido, in the poſſeſſion of that diligent hiſtorian.




Qui tol - - lis pec - ca - ta mundi miſe - - - re -
re no - - - - - bis.

Beſides the improvement in alphabetic notation, the invention of other kinds of notes has been attributed to St. Gregory: theſe conſiſted of lengthened points, placed at different elevations, over each ſyllable of the words that were intended to be ſung in his *Antiphonarium*. Whether this expedient was firſt ſuggeſted by Gregory, or by ſucceeding tranſcribers of his Ritual, is uncertain. Eckehard, Jun. (*a*) ſeems to think that he only uſed the *literal notation*: for, ſpeaking of Peter, one of the ſingers ſent into France by Pope Adrian, at the requeſt of Charlemagne, he ſays, that "this chanter firſt ſuperſeded the "uſe of alphabetic characters by certain notes (*b*) placed over "words that were to be ſung; which Notker Balbulus afterwards explained to a friend (*c*)."

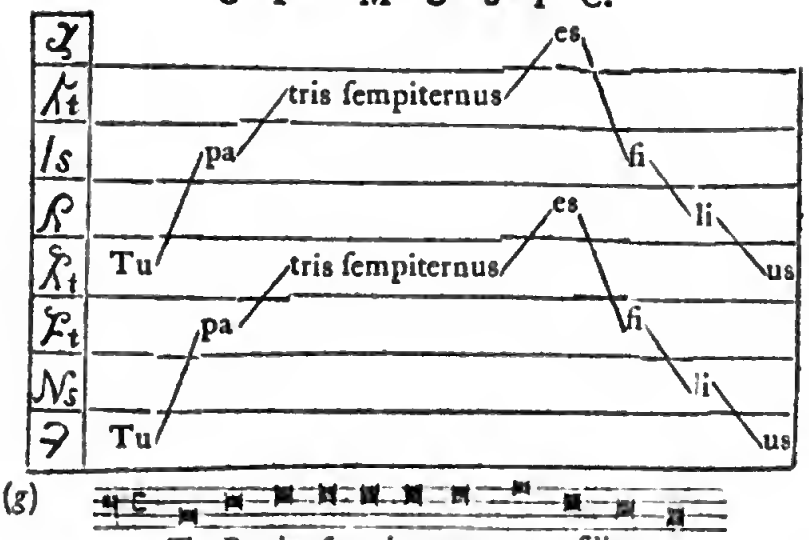
(*y*) From a MS. of Guido in the Lorenzinian Library at Florence.
(*z*) Storia Della Muſica, tom. i. p. 178.
(*a*) *De Caſibus Sancti Galli, cap.* 4.
(*b*) *Notulis.*
(*c*) This work of Notkerus is ſtill extant in the fifth vol. of *Antiq. Lect. Canifii*, part ii. p. 739.

The Gregorian Chant ſeems to have been expreſſed by notes different from the letters of the alphabet, if not by Pope Gregory himſelf, at leaſt very ſoon after the death of that Pontiff. The Monk of Angoulême, author of the Life of Charlemagne, anno 787, ſays, that "The Antiphonarium "of Gregory was written by himſelf in *Roman notes*; and that "all the chanters of France learned the Roman, now called "the French note." One of theſe notes, ſays Du Cange, was placed over each ſyllable (*d*).

There is a beautiful MS. Pſalter in the library of Bennet Coll. Cambridge, ſuppoſed to have been brought from Rome by Auſtin the Monk, in the time of Pope Gregory. I had formed hopes, that in this ſome kind of notation would be found, but none appears. In the ſeventh chapter of the Statute Book of Aix la Chapelle, in the year 879, and in that of Charlemagne (*e*), it is, however, ordained, that "*notes*, chants, "and grammar, ſhould be taught in every monaſtery and "Dioceſe."

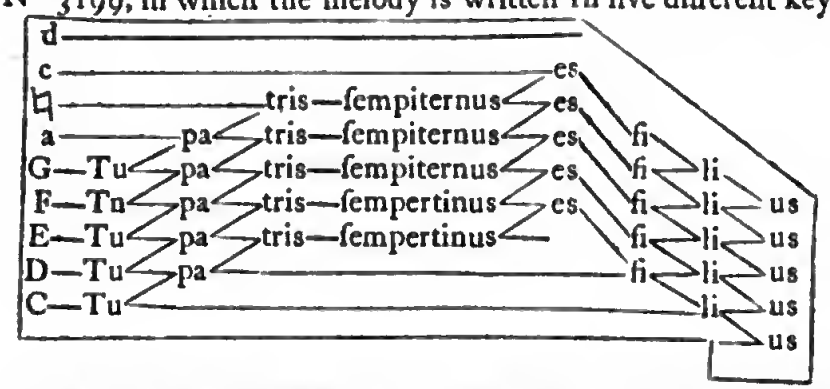
Lines began to be uſed in the tenth century, as appears from an ancient manuſcript Treatiſe on Muſic, by Odo the Monk, written about the year 920 (*f*). Theſe were eight or nine in number. At firſt, the ſyllables of the pſalm or hymn, that was to be ſung, were placed in the ſpaces between theſe lines, thus:

(*d*) *Gloſſ. ad Script. Med. et Inf. Latinit.*
(*e*) Lib. i. cap. lxviii. and lib. vi. cap. 277.
(*f*) *Trithem. de Scriptorib. Eccleſ.* N. 292.




Tu Patris ſempiternus es filius.

After this an alphabetic character was placed at the beginning of each line, capitals for the grave ſounds, and minuſcules for the acute; as may be ſeen in the following ſpecimen from a MS. of Guido's Epiſtle to the Monk of Pompoſo, in the Laurenzinian library at Florence, and in the Britiſh Muſeum, N° 3199, in which the melody is written in five different keys.



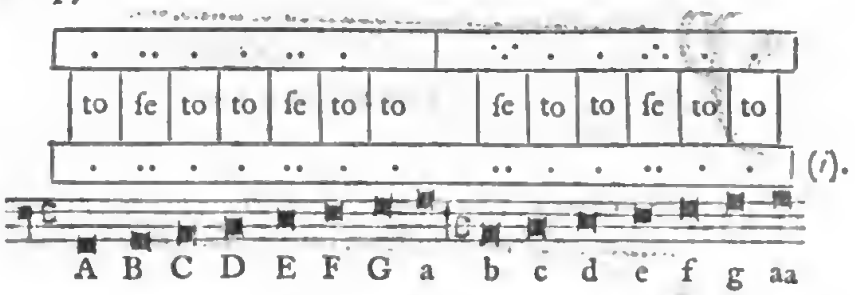

(g) Theſe eight lateral characters, or ciphers, imply the eight tones of the church, D, E, F, G, authentic, and plagal; the ſmall letters t, and s, tone and ſemitone. Of the repetition of ſyllables over each other, an account will be given in the next chapter.

Tu Patris ſempiternus es filius.

&c.

Tu patris ſempiternus es filius.

To this kind of notation ſucceeded *Points*, a ſcale formed of which is given from a tract written by the great muſical Monk Hubaldus (*h*), who flouriſhed about the year 880. The MS. is ſtill ſubſiſting in the Malateſta Library of the Minor Conventual Fathers at Cevena, and in that of the King of France at Paris, N°. 7202, of which laſt I procured a copy.




(*i*).

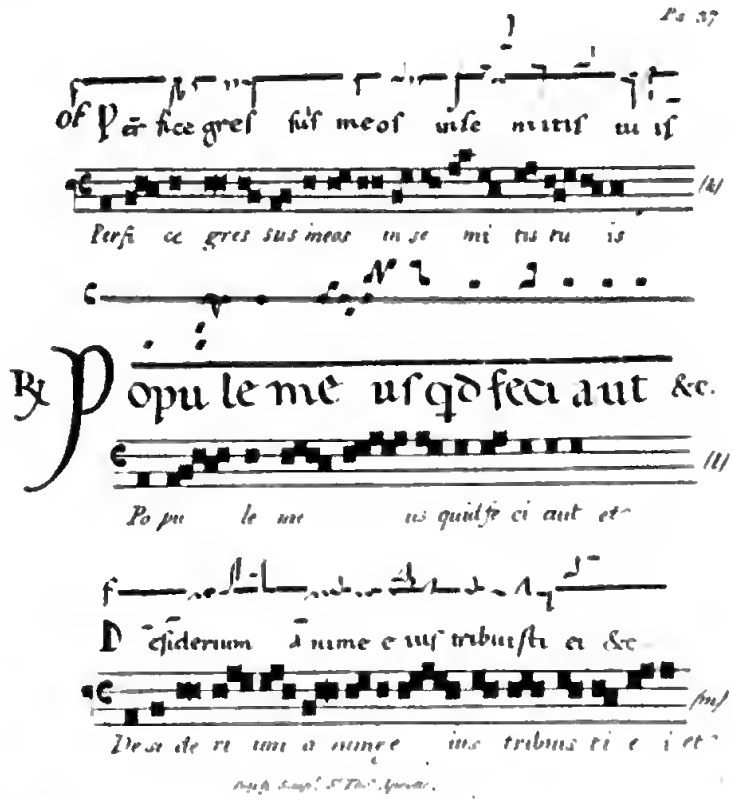
The three following examples of ancient notation by points, are given from P. Martini, tom. i. p. 184. in which only one line is uſed to aſcertain the predominant ſound of the chant: a red line for the clef of F, and a yellow one for that of C. This ſeems to have been the firſt time that a line was

(*h*) *Enchiridion Muſicæ authore* Uchubaldo, *Francigena*.

(*i*) This example robs Guido of the glory of having invented *Points*, however double points, or *Counterpoint*, may belong to him; but this claim will be diſcuſſed in the next chapter; and it is but juſt to obſerve here, that the above ſpecies of notation ſeems never to have been in general uſe.

drawn

drawn through notes of the ſame elevation, and the origin of clefs; which are only Gothic letters corrupted or diſfigured.



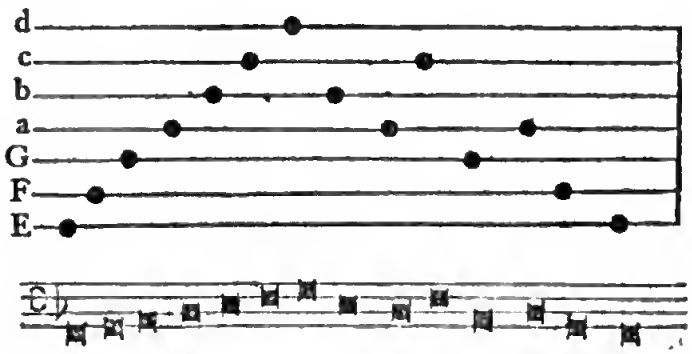
(k) From a fragment of an ancient Miſſal written about the year 900, which is preſerved in the archives of the cathedral at Modena.

(l) From an ancient miſſal in the poſſeſſion of P. Martini. Guido, in the prologue to his *Antiphonarium*, ſpeaks of this kind of notation, where the red line implies the clef of F, and the yellow that of C.

Quaſdam lineas ſignamus varils coloribus
Ut quo loco, qui ſit ſonus, mux diſcernat oculus;
Ordine tertiæ voces ſplendens crocus radiat,
Sexta ejus, ſed affinis flavo rubet minio.

(m) From an ancient Miſſal.

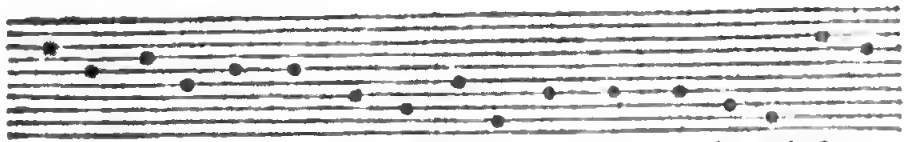
Vincenzio Galilei (*n*) ſays, that a little before the time of Guido the *points* were placed on ſeven *lines*, only, without uſing the ſpaces; perhaps in imitation of the ſeven ſtrings of the ancient lyre:



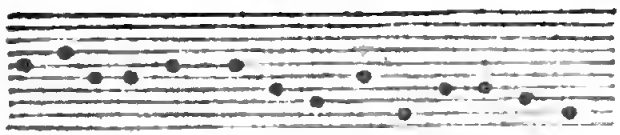

The ſame writer has exhibited, in a ſpecimen of this notation, an example of very ancient Roman melody, concerning the authenticity of which he had not the leaſt doubt, as it was communicated to him, he ſays, by a Florentine gentleman, who had found it in an extreme ancient MS. of the moſt perfect preſervation of any that he had ever ſeen. It is not indeed of ſo exquiſite a kind as to make us lament the loſs of ſuch muſic; though the diſpoſition of thoſe who could be pleaſed with it may have been to them a great bleſſing.

(*n*) Dial. della Muſ. Anti. e Moder. p. 36.

Clanget

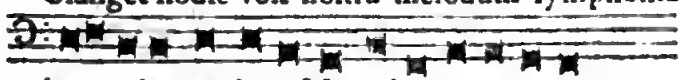


Clanget hodi-e vox noſtra melodum ſymphoni-a inſtant.



annua jam quia præclara ſolemnia, &c. (*o*).

Clanget hodie vox noſtra melodum ſymphonia inſtant annua



jam quia præclara ſolemnia.

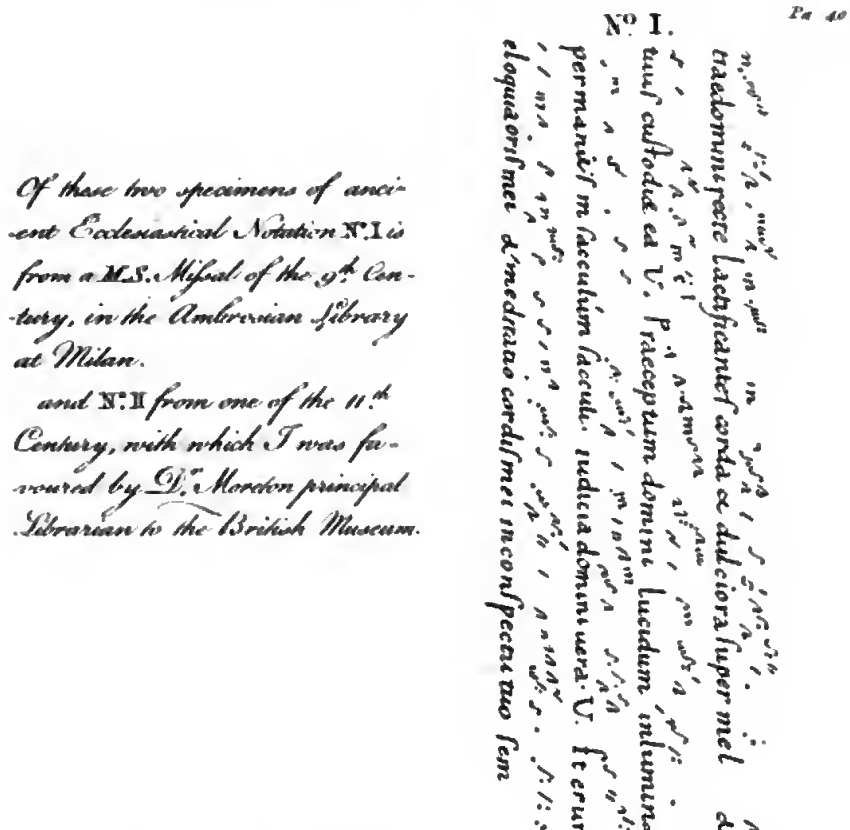
Few however of theſe methods of notation ſeem to have been *generally* received in cotemporary Miſſals, after the Greek characters were diſuſed; for in the MS. ſpecimens which I have ſeen, the marks placed over the words, in the middle ages, previous to the time of Guido, often appear arbitrary, and to have been adopted only in ſome particular church, convent, or fraternity.

Points were firſt uſed ſimple, afterwards with tails; ſometimes detached, ſometimes confluent; and ſometimes united and diſtorted like hieroglyphics. I collected examples of this notation in the Ambroſian Library at Milan, in the Vatican at Rome, at Antwerp, and in the libraries and convents of ſeveral other cities on the Continent: many of which are, indeed, unintelligible at preſent to the moſt learned librarians and antiquaries I conſulted. Of theſe I ſhall, however, give ſpecimens, more to convince the reader of the rude ſtate of muſic in theſe barbarous ages, than to diſplay its beauties, or my own ſagacity in deciphering the characters.

(*o*) It was from theſe *Points* being placed over each other in the firſt notation of muſic in different parts, that the term *Contrapunctum*, *Counterpoint*, had its origin.

Pa 40

Nº I.



Of Justi

traedomini pacte lactificantes corda et dulciora super mel et fauum nam et seruus

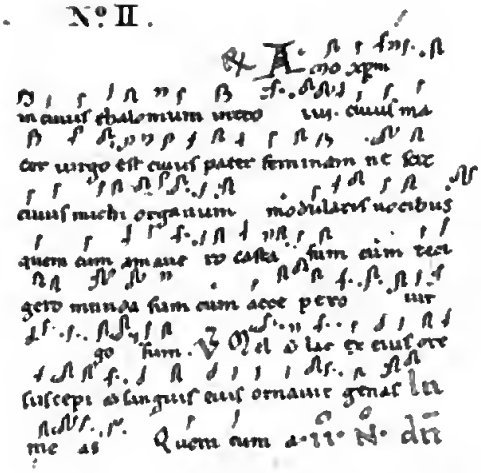
tuus custodiet ea V. Praeceptum domini lucidum inluminans oculos timor dei sanctus

permanens in sacculum sacculi iudicia domini uera V. Iterunt uicompla ceant

eloquia oris mei et meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo sem per SFC.

Of these two specimens of ancient Ecclesiastical Notation Nº I is from a M.S. Missal of the 9th Century, in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

and Nº II from one of the 11th Century, with which I was favoured by Dr. Moreton principal Librarian to the British Museum.



Nº II.

Hapsy. sc. St Thomas Apostle.

A few examples of ſuch muſic will perhaps ſuffice to enquirers reaſonably curious in Gothic antiquities; and, indeed, ſuch as *can* be decyphered may comfort the reader of taſte for the unintelligible ſtate of the reſt. The hiſtory of barbarians can furniſh but ſmall pleaſure or profit to an enlightened and poliſhed people: and the eccleſiaſtical chants of the early and middle ages of Chriſtianity, have no other conſtituent part of good muſic than that of moving in ſome of the intervals belonging to the Diatonic ſcale; nor do any ſtronger marks of ſelection and deſign appear in them, than might be expected in a melody formed by a fortuitous concourſe of muſical ſounds. And, indeed, theſe chants bear nearly the ſame proportion to a marked and elegant melody, as a diſcourſe drawn from Swift's Laputan Mill would do with one written by a Locke or a Johnſon.

The characters, however, in the laſt two ſpecimens are not arbitrary marks, or ſigns of ſingle ſounds; but, like thoſe uſed in ſome ancient Greek Miſſals, of which an account will be given hereafter, expreſſed different inflexions of voice, for which, in modern notation, ſeveral characters would be required. As lines ſeem firſt to have been uſed for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the clef, and to interſect ſuch notes as were of the ſame elevation, it would not be difficult to diſcover the melody intended to be expreſſed by theſe characters in ancient Miſſals, if their force was known, and their ſituation determined by lines drawn through them.

The appellations given to theſe characters were, in general, barbarous, though ſome of them ſeem intended, by their form, as well as import, to delineate the motion of the voice (*o*).

(*o*) The names of ten of the muſical notes uſed in the middle ages occur in two Latin verſes given by Du Cange, in his Gloſſary, from Theogerus, Biſhop of Metz,

They ſeem, before lines were applied to them, to have been in general uſe from the ninth to the fourteenth century; as they are not only to be found in the MSS. above mentioned, but in innumerable others which are ſtill preſerved in the ſeveral libraries and convents of Europe, whence Walther has given ſpecimens in his *Lexicon Diplomaticum*; and in theſe MSS. they differ no more than letters in the hand-writing of individuals of the ſame age and nation. In many of them particular words at the end of a verſe, or ſentence, have groups of notes given to them, which, in modern muſical language, would be called *Diviſions*. Some of theſe appear in the fragment from the Ambroſian MS. and Walther (Tab. VI.) has decyphered a chant of the eleventh century, in which the ſecond ſyllable of the verb *ſanantur* has a *volata* or flight of notes ſet to it, conſiſting of near ſeventy different ſounds.

The ſame diligent and ingenious antiquary has likewiſe aſcertained the notation of a MS. of the twelfth century, by drawing lines through the characters, Tab. XII. and elſewhere has not only given proofs of this ſpecies of notation having been in uſe till the fourteenth century, but exhibited (Tab. XXIV.) an explanation of the *ſinging-clefs* and *muſical notes* of the middle ages, with which I ſhall preſent my readers, in order to enable the ſtudious in muſical antiquities, to decypher the characters uſed in the Canto Fermo of the middle ages wherever

Metz, *apud Bernardum Pez*, tom. i. *Anecd. Præfat.* p. 15. under the article *Heptaphonos*.

*Is* (Chriſtus) *in ævum ſit benedictus.*
*Heptaphonos, ſtrophicus, punctus, porrectus, oriſcus,*
*Virgula, cephalicas, clinis, quiliſma, podacus.*

And the forms of ſome of them are likewiſe preſerved in a MS. Latin tract on muſic, ſuppoſed to have been written in the twelfth century, which I ſaw in the Jeſuit's college at Antwerp. See *Preſent State of Muſic in Germany*, &c. vol. i. p. 32 and 48, firſt edit. John Cotton, the author of this tract, who is ſuppoſed to be an Engliſhman, ſpeaking of the different finals of the intonations of the Pſalms, ſays: *Tercius neumandi modus a Guidone inventus. Hic ſit per virgas, clipes, quiliſmata, puncta, podatus, ceteraſque hujuſmodi notulas ſuo ordine diſpoſitas.*

they

they ſhall find them, previous to the uſe of lines, Gregorian notes, or the invention of a time-table.

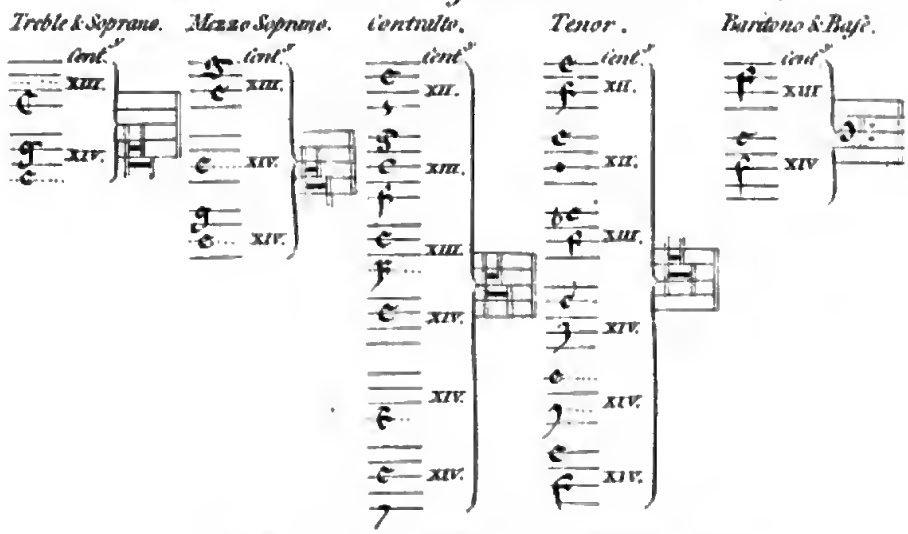
And as the learned Abbot of St. Blaſius (*p*) has given in his ſecond vol. a plate of the metrical accents and characters for inflexions of voice uſed about this time, amounting to forty, with their ſeveral names underneath, in Hexameter verſe, I ſhall inſert a copy of this plate on the oppoſite page, as it will furniſh appellations to the muſical characters which Walther explains, and point out the meaning of others, which occur in both Latin and Greek Miſſals of the ages anterior to Guido, and the uſe of lines. Some of theſe characters, as their names imply, are grammatical, ſome metrical, ſome repreſentatives of muſical ſounds, and others perhaps were appropriated to the graces or embelliſhments which were then uſed in melody.

But it may be eaſily imagined, while theſe notes were uſed without lines to aſcertain their exact ſituation, that they muſt be very uncertain guides; and the author of the Antwerp MS. already mentioned, in ſpeaking of theſe characters, as *Neumæ*, which was a term applied to diviſions upon a ſingle vowel at the end of a pſalm or anthem, as a recapitulation of the whole chant, juſtly obſerves, that "theſe irregular ſigns muſt be "productive of more error than ſcience, as they were often ſo "careleſsly and promiſcuouſly placed, that while one was "ſinging a ſemitone or a fourth, another would ſing a third "or a fifth (*r*)."

(*p*) *De Cantu et Muſica Sacra*, p. 59, and pl. X. N° 2.

(*r*) *Qualiter autem iſtæ irregulares neumæ errorem potius quam ſcientiam generent, in* virgulis *&* clinibus, *atque* podatis *conſiderari per facile eſt: quandoquidem & equaliter omnes diſponuntur et nullus elevationis vel depoſitionis modus per eas exprimitur. Unde fit ut unuſquiſque tales neumas pro libitu ſuo exaltet aut deprimat, ut ubi tu ſemitonium vel diateſſaron ſonas, alius ibidem ditonum vel diapente faciat. Cap. 21.*

## SINGING CLEFS of the MIDDLE AGES.

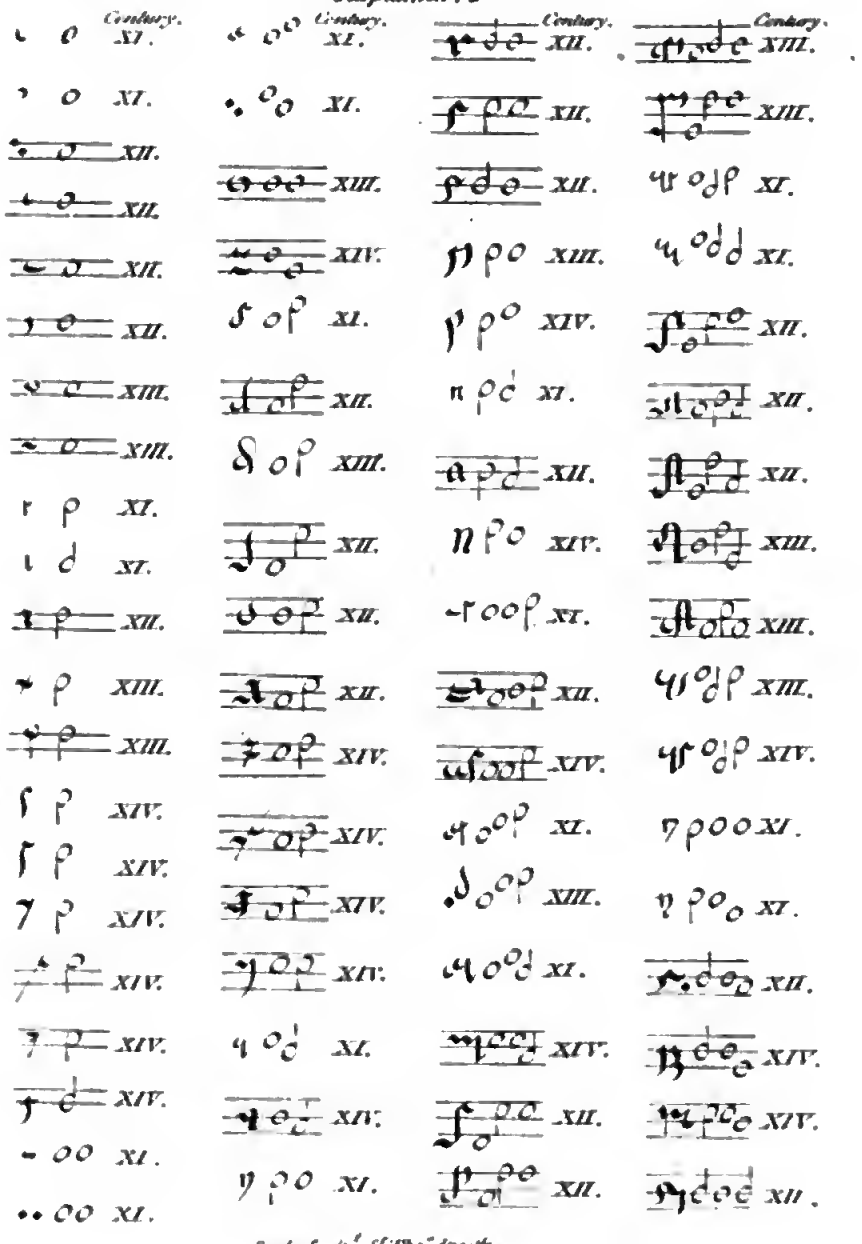



*The Names & correspondent Signs of Musical Sounds.*

Scandicus & salic. climacus torcul. anc.
Pentason. strophicus gnomo. porrect. oriscus.
Virgula. cefalic. clinis. quilisma. podatus.
Pandula. pinnosa. guttralis. tramea. cemr.
Proslam. baromenon. trigon tetradius. ygon.
Pentadicon & trigonicus & fraucul. orix.
Bisticus & gradicus. tragicon diatm. exon
Ypodic. centon. agradat. atticus astus.
Et pressus minor & maior n̄ plurib. utor.
Neumarx signis erras qui plura refingis.

Bach Sculp. S. Tho. Apostle

# MUSICAL CHARACTERS in ANCIENT MISSALS Explained.



| Century. | Century. | Century. | Century. |
|---|---|---|---|
| XI. | XI. | XII. | XIII. |
| XI. | XI. | XII. | XIII. |
| XII. | XIII. | XII. | XI. |
| XII. | XIV. | XIII. | XI. |
| XII. | XI. | XIV. | XII. |
| XIII. | XII. | XI. | XII. |
| XIII. | XIII. | XII. | XII. |
| XI. | XII. | XIV. | XIII. |
| XI. | XII. | XI. | XIII. |
| XII. | XII. | XII. | XIII. |
| XIII. | XII. | XII. | XIII. |
| XIII. | XIV. | XIV. | XIV. |
| XIV. | XIV. | XI. | XI. |
| XIV. | XIV. | XIII. | XI. |
| XIV. | XIV. | XI. | XII. |
| XIV. | XI. | XIV. | XIV. |
| XIV. | XIV. | XII. | XIV. |
| XI. | XI. | XII. | XII. |
| XI. | | | |

Bonh. Sculp.t St. Tho.s Apostle

It may eaſily be imagined that neither this, nor any other notation could inſtantaneouſly become general; improvements in arts long remain local in every age and country; and it is natural to ſuppoſe that the characters in queſtion were long unknown, or of but ſmall uſe, in ſome parts of Europe, while they were received and ſucceſsfully practiſed in others.

Though the moſt ancient melodies uſed in the church may have been adopted from the Pagan Greeks, it ſeems as if they had been at firſt retained by memory, and handed down to diſtant ages by tradition; for no monuments remain, either in the Eaſtern or Weſtern church, of muſic written in characters ſimilar to thoſe in Alypius, or of the Greek hymns inſerted in the Diſſertation prefixed to the firſt volume of this work. For though Meibomius has ſet ſuch notes to *Te Deum Laudamus*, in his preface to the ſeven ancient Greek writers on muſic, yet he does not pretend to have found them in that form in any MS. of antiquity; his ſole deſign in applying them to this venerable chant, being to ſhew how perfect a maſter he was of the ancient Greek notation.

The ſchiſm between the Greek and Latin churches, which happened in the ninth century, prevented ſuch changes as were made in the Roman Ritual, after that period, from being adopted; and the notation uſed before, ſeems long to have been continued in the Greek church. In Ruſſia, however, all the Rituals were called in at the beginning of the laſt century; and a uniform liturgy was eſtabliſhed, in which the modern method of writing muſic was received. But in the Greek iſles a notation peculiar to its inhabitants is ſtill in uſe, which is not only as different from ours as their alphabet, but totally unlike that in the ancient Miſſals.

In examining the moſt ancient of theſe in the Vatican library, which were written in capitals, the firſt notation I could

could diſcover conſiſted chiefly of accents; and when ſmall letters were afterwards uſed, theſe accents were only ſomewhat lengthened. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, they very much reſemble the characters to be found in cotemporary Latin Miſſals. However the melodies in the lower ages became more elaborate, and the notes more numerous than in thoſe of higher antiquity.

St. John Damaſcenus, who lived in the eighth century, is celebrated by the writers of his life, and by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, as the compiler and reformer of chants in the Greek church, in the ſame manner as St. Gregory in the Roman. And Leo Allatius (*s*) under the title *Octoëchus* (*t*), *Eight Tones*, tells us they were compoſed by J. Damaſcenus. Zarlino goes ſtill further, and informs us (*u*) that in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity the ancient Greek notation by letters having been thrown aſide, John Damaſcenus invented new characters, which he accommodated to the Greek eccleſiaſtical tones; and that theſe characters did not, like ours, merely expreſs ſingle ſounds, but all the intervals uſed in melody; as a ſemitone, tone, third minor, third major, &c. aſcending and deſcending, with their different duration. This reſembles in many particulars, the notation juſt exhibited from the eccleſiaſtical books of the Romiſh church, before the time-table and characters in preſent uſe were invented, or, at leaſt, generally received.

The Abate Martini of Venice, with whoſe friendſhip I was honoured when I viſited that city in 1770 (*x*), having viſited the Greek iſles, in hopes of acquiring ſuch a knowledge of the muſic practiſed there at preſent, as would enable him to judge whether any of the miraculous powers attributed to it by their ancient inhabitants ſtill remained, as well as to compare

(*s*) *De Libris Eccleſ. Græcorum.*
(*t*) Οκτωήχος.
(*u*) *Inſtit. Harm. 4ta. parte. cap.* viii.
(*x*) See Preſent State of Muſic in France and Italy, p. 154. firſt edit.

its

its excellence with that of his own country; and as this learned and ſagacious enquirer confided to me his papers on that ſubject, this ſeems the time to communicate to my readers a ſketch of their contents.

The ſyſtem of modern Greek muſical notation, according to the Abate Martini, ſeems much more complicated and obſcure than the ancient. The characters convey nothing to the mind either by their form or names, the greateſt part of which cannot be conſtrued; and the reſt are conſtrued to no purpoſe. Their ſignification, as words, does not point out their meaning as muſical characters; and all that I can diſcover is, that ſome of them ſeem deſcriptive of geſticulations: ſuch as ὑψωτισμα, which, perhaps, directed the prieſt to look up, or ſtretch his hands towards heaven. Οταυρος, which might direct him to make the ſign of the croſs, or to carry the croſs. Λυγισμα, *flexio*, *contortio*. Indeed, it is ſaid in the papers, that ſome of theſe characters are for the Χειρονομια, or *Legerdemain*, and not δια φωνην, for the *voice*. This is the more likely, as the Greek ſervice abounds in geſticulations and manual dexterity.

The Abate was informed, that though the oriental Greeks have ſigns for muſical ſounds equivalent to ours, they ſing more by tradition than ſcience. However, the diſtinctions for the duration of ſounds, ſuch as our time-table furniſhes, are ſtill wanting. The Abate procured an extract from a tract upon the muſic of the modern Greeks, written by Lampadarius; but who he was, or when he lived, no one could inform him. In this it appears, that the characters amount to more than fifty; among which moſt of the names of thoſe muſical terms, given by Du Cange, from a MS treatiſe on the eccleſiaſtical muſic of the Greeks, are to be found (*x*).

(*x*) *Gloſſ. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis.* Du Cange, who has ſo amply collected and explained the characters uſed by the modern Greeks in chymiſtry, botany, aſtronomy,

To inſert theſe here, and endeavour to explain them, will perhaps be conferring but a ſmall favour on my readers; for from the ſcarcity of muſic written in ſuch characters, ſo few will be their opportunities of making uſe of any knowledge they may acquire by the ſtudy of them, that it would be like learning a dead language in which there are no books, or a living language without the hope of either reading or converſing in it.

I ſhall, however, for the gratification of the curious in theſe matters, exhibit here fourteen muſical characters which occur in Greek MSS. of the Evangeliſts, written in capitals during the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, though, at preſent, they are wholly unintelligible, even to the Greeks themſelves. I have already obſerved that the more ancient the MSS. the fewer and more ſimple are the notes: the *Codex Alexandrinus*, in the Britiſh Muſeum, has none; and the *Evangeliſteria* MSS. in the Harleian Collection, 5785, 5598, both of the tenth century, have only ſuch as theſe, which were copied in Greece by the Abate Martini.

nomy, and other arts and ſciences, is ſilent as to their muſical notation; nor have I been able to acquire any information on that ſubject, except what the Abate Martini has ſupplied me with. The title of the Treatiſe, by *Lampadarius*, is the following: Τεχνολογία τῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης. The extract from it, which is in my poſſeſſion, is too long for inſertion here; nor would it be of much uſe could I allow it room, as no equivalents to the Greek characters are given in our own notation. But with reſpect to the author, I find among the memorandums which I made in the King of Sardinia's library at Turin, an account of a Greek MS. of the fifteenth century, N° 353. *b.* I. 24. in which *Lampadarius* is often mentioned as author of the muſic to the hymns and prayers it contains. Fabricius, likewiſe, Bibl. Græc. vol. ii. p. 269, 564, and 586, ſpeaks of a MS. in the Selden Collection at Oxford, and another in the Jeſuits library at Louvain, in which there are explanations of the notes uſed by the modern Greeks, and muſical compoſitions by ſeveral authors, particularly *Lampadarius*. In the patriarchal church of Conſtantinople, there are four ſingers, who are placed on the right and left ſides of the choir: the firſt on the right is called Πρωτοψάλτης, the principal ſinger; the firſt on the left Λαμπαδάριος, *Lampadarius*; the two others who aſſiſt the principals are called *Domeſtici*. It is probable that Lampadarius, who flouriſhed about the year 1300, either took his name from the office he filled; or, on account of his eminence in muſic, that his name was given to the office.

The *Codex Ephrem.* in the King's library at Paris, of the fifth century, has likewiſe the ſame kind of muſical notes; and it is aſſigned as a reaſon for the *Codex Alexandrinus* not having them, that it was written for private uſe, not for the ſervice of the church.

Kircher *(y)* undertakes to give his reader an idea of modern Greek muſic and its characters; and has indeed collected a great number of notes and their names, but pretends not to furniſh equivalents in the muſic of the weſtern world. And to inſert ſuch barbarous names, and more barbarous characters here without explanation, would no more help to initiate a ſtudent in the myſteries of Greek muſic, than the Hebrew or Chineſe alphabet. At the firſt glance they very much reſemble the characters uſed in *Choregraphy*, an art invented about two hundred years ago to delineate the figures and ſteps of dances. They are too numerous and complicated to be all inſerted and explained here; however, to the following, as they moſt frequently occur, I ſhall give the names, and correſpondent notes in our own muſic, by the ſtudy of which the muſical reader would be able to form ſome idea of the melody they are intended to expreſs.

There are eight aſcending and ſix deſcending characters, ſome for ſingle ſounds, and others for wider intervals, as thirds and fifths, ſuch as Zarlino, in the paſſage mentioned above, had imagined were invented by J. Damaſcenus; and all theſe have their particular *Chironomia*, or ſigns for the geſtures with which the prieſt is to accompany the inflections of voice.

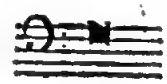
ἴσον. The beginning, or firſt note of every chant, is called *Iſon*, which is equivalent to the key or tone in which any melody is ſung.

*(y) Muſurgia, Tom. i. p. 72.*

*Aſcending*

*Ascending Notes.*

τό ὀλίγον (z), - - id est exigua



ἡ ὀξεῖα, - - - - acuta

ἡ πετασθὴ (a), - - volatilis

τὸ κὺφισμα, - - - levitas

or τὸ πελασθὸν (b), - - volatile

τὸ κέντιμα, - - - stimulus

ἡ ὑψυλὴ, - - - - alta

τὰ δύο κεντίματα, - - duo stimuli

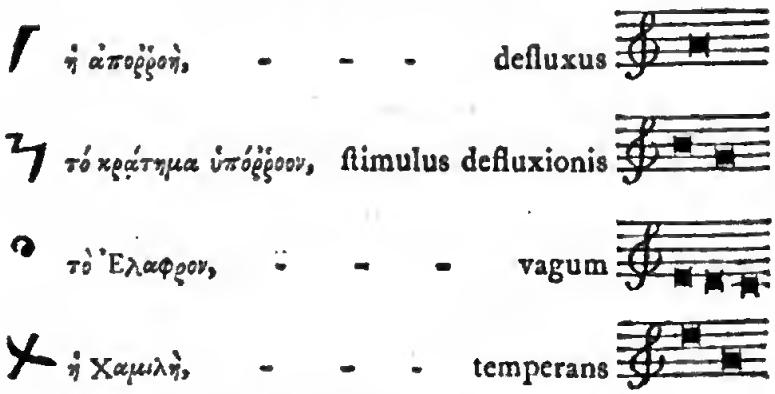
*Descending Notes.*

ὁ Ἀπόςροφος, - - apostrophus

οἱ δύο Ἀπόςροφοι, - duo apostrophi

(z) Kircher, to whom even Egyptian hieroglyphics are easy, has resolved the names of these Greek notes into Latin. Musurg. *ubi supra.*

(a) Perhaps πετασις.
(c) πεταστον




The octaves to all theſe ſounds are expreſſed by different characters.

The Abate Martini heard the Greeks, in Paſſion Week, ſing ſeveral tropes or modes, which they now term ἤχοι, in four parts, in the ſtyle of Paleſtrina; and this kind of muſic they call *Cretan*, but why, is not eaſy to divine, unleſs they learned counterpoint while the Venetians were maſters of the iſland (*c*).

The Abate ſays, that he often heard the common people of Greece ſing in concert, and obſerved that they made frequent uſe of the *fourth: della conſonanza che noi chiamiamo oggi quarta.* By this he muſt mean that he uſed it as a concord in two parts, or if there were more than two parts, in poſitions where our harmony forbids the uſe of it; otherwiſe it would not have affected his ear as a ſingularity.

The fact is curious; and I find it confirmed by Zarlino, who obſerved the ſame practice in the Greek church at Venice. The fourth we ſhall find was in ſuch favour during the time of Guido, as to be preferred in deſcant to every other concord, and thought to conſtitute the moſt pleaſing harmony. This

(*c*) The Venetians were in poſſeſſion of Crete, or Candia, from the beginning of the thirteenth century till 1669, when they were driven thence by the Turks, after a ſiege of more than twenty years.

partiality

partiality may probably have ariſen from the importance of *fourths* in the ancient Greek ſyſtem, and the want of a temperament to render thirds and ſixths more agreeable; but the improvements in harmony ſoon brought it into diſgrace in Italy, while, from a contrary cauſe it has kept its ground to the preſent time in Greece, at leaſt among the populace. And, indeed, even in Italy, it ſeems to have retained a part of its ancient privileges long after the time of Guido, and when harmony was thought to be in great perfection: for Zarlino ſays, that Juſquin, and the other old Flemiſh maſters, uſed it frequently in their compoſitions: *nella parte grave, ſenza aggiungerle altro intervallo* (*d*).

The preſent ſtate of Greek muſic, indeed, does not confirm or favour the opinion of Dr. Brown, who aſſerts, with his uſual courage (*e*), that "about four hundred years after Guido, the debauched art once more paſſed over into Italy from Greece: certain *Greeks*, who eſcaped from the taking of Conſtantinople, brought a refined and enervate ſpecies of muſic to Rome, &c." As many travellers aſſert that the modern Greeks have no muſic in parts, we may ſuppoſe, that in thoſe places where it was heard by the Abate Martini, it had been brought thither by the Venetians, during the time that they had poſſeſſions in the Archipelago.

That the Greek muſic has undergone many alterations ſince the ancient treatiſes that are come down to us were written, is certain from the change and increaſe of its vocabulary. Bryennius (*f*) has given, as names of intervals, a liſt of barbarous terms not to be found in any preceding writer within my knowlege; and in the Greek Gloſſary of Du Cange, and the

(*d*) *Inſtit. Harm.* p. 152. and *Dim. Harm.* p. 88.

(*e*) *Differt.* on Muſic and Poetry, p. 209.

(*f*) Lib. iii. ſect. 3.

Abate Martini's papers, a great number occur that are not to be found either in writers of high antiquity, or in Bryennius (*g*).

The technical language of the Greeks has always been copious, and in muſic perhaps its ſeeming redundance is more conſpicuous then in any other art or ſcience. But in other arts and ſciences Words are repreſentatives of Things exiſting; whereas, in denominating the tones and inflexions of voice, which, to realize, require new creation, there can be no correſpondence between the type and ſubſtance. The colours, the forms, and objects, which a painter wiſhes to repreſent, are in nature; and the poet, in all the ebullition of wild enthuſiaſm and fervid imagination, deſcribes what he has ſeen and felt, or what *is* to be ſeen and felt, and for which common language muſt ſupply him with ſymbols. But it has never entered the thoughts of man to give names to all the minute ſhades of colour between black and white, or to the gradations by which light is propagated between the time of total darkneſs and the ſun's meridian. And yet, in a ſcale of ſounds, from the loweſt muſical tone in the human voice to the higheſt, where octaves are not repreſented by ſimilar ſigns and appellatives, the names and characters muſt be numerous. The lines and clefs of the European muſic have certainly freed it from many perplexities with which it was embarraſſed, even in the artleſs times of Canto Fermo.

But however flowery the Greeks may have made their eccleſiaſtical melody, or however they have multiplied its charac-

(*g*) Manuel Bryennius flouriſhed under the elder Palæologus about the year 1320. It is probable that he was a deſcendant of the houſe of *Brienne*, an ancient French family, that went into Greece during the Cruſades, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. (Fabric. *Bib. Gr.* Du Cang. *Fam. Byzant.*) In this author, *lib.* iii. *ſect.* 4. the words Ἦχος, and πλάγιος, appear for *tonus* and *obliquus*; and πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, τέταρτος, are uſed to diſtinguiſh the modes or tones: a proof that he was a modern Greek. Padre Martini is of opinion that theſe terms were firſt introduced in church muſic, to exclude the Pagan titles of Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, &c.

ters,

ters, the deſire of permanence in the heads of the Weſtern church, with reſpect to all ſacred matters, long kept muſic in the plain and ſimple ſtate in which it was left by Pope Gregory the Great; for we do not find, till the invention of counterpoint, that it received any material change or improvement. Our own Bible and liturgy, if they remain in their preſent ſtate five or ſix hundred years, will, perhaps, be unintelligible to the vulgar, though written in the beſt language of this country when they were introduced into the church. And the Greek and Roman languages, which were ſo well underſtood by the primitive Chriſtians, became dead and obſolete by degrees, to all but the learned in after-ages. The preclusion of change or innovation in ſacred concerns which has occaſioned permanence, has likewiſe been the cauſe of inelegance and obſcurity.

But I ſhall now quit the ſubject of church muſic among the Greeks and Romans, and cloſe this chapter with an account of its eſtabliſhment in England and France.

It is the opinion of Biſhop Stillingfleet (*b*) that St. Paul himſelf viſited this iſland, and that the Goſpel was propagated here during the time of the apoſtles. He ſpeaks of Diocleſian's perſecution; of its being ſtopt by Conſtantius; and of the flouriſhing ſtate of the Britiſh church under Conſtantine. He treats likewiſe of the great antiquity of epiſcopal government here; of the ancient endowments of churches, even before the time of Conſtantine, and of the privileges granted by that Prince. He gives an account of the ſchools of learning eſtabliſhed here by Germanus and Lupus, early in the fifth century; of the public ſervice of the Britiſh church; and of the difference between the Gallican and Roman ſervice. But the part of his work, which more immediately concerns the pre-

(*b*) *Originæ Britannicæ*, 1685.

ſent

ſent enquiries, is his account of the arrival of Auguſtine the Monk in England; and what he ſays of the manner of performing the maſs by the early Chriſtians, and of the ſuperiority of the ancient Roman church muſic over that of all the other Weſtern churches. I ſhall not however croud my pages with long quotations from a work of which ſo many copies are diſſeminated throughout the iſland; but content myſelf, and, I hope, my readers, with merely pointing it out to their peruſal.

We learn from Venerable Bede, and from William of Malmſbury, that Auſtin the Monk, commonly called the Engliſh apoſtle, who was ſent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great, to convert the Saxons, inſtructed them in eccleſiaſtical muſic.

The account which Bede gives (*i*) of the converſion of the Saxons in 596, being inſerted in all the hiſtories of this country, it does not ſeem neceſſary to give it a place here. However, there are a few circumſtances in his narration, which are too much connected with the eſtabliſhment of muſic in the Engliſh church to be omitted. Bede tells us, that when Auſtin, and the companions of his miſſion, had their firſt audience of King Ethelbert in the Iſle of Thanet, they approached him in proceſſion, *ſinging Litanies*; and that, afterwards, when they entered the city of Canterbury, they ſung a *Litany*, and at the end of it, *Allelujah*.

But though this was the firſt time the Anglo-Saxons had heard the Gregorian Chant, yet Bede likewiſe tells us (*k*), that our Britiſh anceſtors had been inſtructed in the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican church by St. Germanus, and heard him ſing *Alleluja* many years before the arrival of St. Auſtin.

Several letters, which paſſed between that Pontiff and him, during his miſſion, are ſtill extant. He was the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury. "The principal difference, ſays

(*i*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* i. *cap.* 25. (*k*) *Lib.* i. *cap.* 20.

"Biſhop

" Biſhop Stillingfleet (*l*), between the Roman and Gallic " Ritual, which the Britons had adopted before the arrival " of Auſtin, was in the *Church Muſic*, in which the Romans " were thought to excel other weſtern churches ſo far, that the " goodneſs of their muſic was the principal incitement to the " introduction of their offices."

Milton relates, from the Saxon annals, that in the fourth year of the reign of Egbert, 668, by means of Theodore, a learned Monk of Tarſus in Greece, whom Pope Vitalian had ordained Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongues, with ſeveral liberal arts, as arithmetic, *muſic*, aſtronomy, and the like, began firſt to flouriſh among the Saxons(*m*).

Venerable Bede was himſelf an able muſician, and is ſuppoſed to have been the author of a ſhort muſical tract, *De Muſica Theorica, et Practica ſue Menſurata* (*n*). Of the two parts of this Treatiſe aſcribed to Bede, the firſt *may* have been written by him; the ſecond, however, is manifeſtly the work of a much more modern author; for we find in it, not only the mention of muſic in two or three different parts, under the name of *Diſcant*, but of inſtruments never mentioned in writers cotemporary with Bede; ſuch as the *organ*, *viole*, *atola*, &c. A *notation* too of much later times appears here, in which the *long*, the *breve*, and *ſemibreve* are uſed, and theſe upon *five lines* and ſpaces, with equivaleut reſts and pauſes. The word *modus* is alſo uſed for *time*, in the ſenſe to which the term *mood* was applied after it ceaſed to mean *key*. Upon the whole it ſeems as if this laſt part of the tract attributed to Bede, was written about the twelfth century; that is, between the time of Guido and John de Muris.

Bede, however, informs us (*o*) that, in 680, John, Præcentor of St. Peter's in Rome, who was ſent over by Pope

(*l*) *Orig. Brit.* p. 237.
(*m*) Milton's Hiſt. of Engl. b. iv. p. 65.
(*n*) Vide Edit. Coll. 1688. vol. i. p. 344.
(*o*) *Vit. Abbat. Wiremoth, & Eccleſ Hiſt. lib.* iv. *cap.* 18.

Agatho

Agatho to inſtruct the Monks of Weremouth in the art of ſinging, and particularly to acquaint them with the manner of performing the feſtival ſervices throughout the year, according to that which was practiſed at Rome. And ſuch was the reputation of his ſkill, that "the maſters of muſic "from all the other monaſteries of the North came to hear "him; and prevailed on him to open ſchools for teaching "muſic in other places of the kingdom of Northumberland."

Theſe are marks of grace and modeſty which our neighbours the French could not boaſt, even in ſuch early times of ignorance and ſimplicity. For we have, from cotemporary writers, the relation of a ſerious quarrel between Gallic and Roman muſicians, ſo early as the time of Pope Adrian and Charlemagne, concerning ſuperiority of taſte and knowlege; a quarrel which has been ſince often renewed, but which, had it been left to the reference of unprejudiced and intelligent judges of other nations, would have been ſoon determined without ever coming to a ſecond *trial* or combat. The French, however, after every defeat, revive with ſtill greater clamour their pretenſions to a *Titular Sovereignty*, without having the leaſt claim to it, either from inheritance, conqueſt, or former poſſeſſion.

The ſtory of this ancient muſical quarrel is ſomewhat long, but the neceſſity of inſerting it here at full length ſeems the greater, as it not only ſhews the antiquity of the ridiculous rivalry and hatred ſtill ſubſiſting between French and Italian muſicians, but is a convincing proof that the Engliſh were not the only people obliged to the Romans for the method of chanting the Pſalms, and ſinging the Hymns in their cathedral ſervice. Muſical miſſionaries were ſent, at this time, from Rome to other parts of Europe, to inſtruct the converts to the Goſpel in the church ſervice; which accounts for that ſimilarity and almoſt identity of melody, obſervable in the ſacred muſic

of

of all the countries of Europe at the time of the Reformation, till when, little other muſic was known or practiſed than that of the church.

" The moſt pious King Charles having returned to celebrate " Eaſter at Rome, with the Apoſtolic Lord, a great quarrel " enſued, during the feſtival, between the Roman and Gallic " ſingers. The French pretended to ſing better, and more " agreeably, than the Italians: and the Italians, on the con- " trary, regarding themſelves as more learned in Eccleſiaſtical " Muſic, which they had been taught by St. Gregory, accuſed " their competitors of corrupting, diſfiguring, and ſpoiling the " true chant. The diſpute being brought before our ſovereign " Lord the King, the French, thinking themſelves ſure of " his countenance and ſupport, inſulted the Roman ſingers; " who, on their part, emboldened by ſuperior knowlege, " and comparing the muſical abilities of their great maſter, St. " Gregory, with the ignorance and ruſticity of their rivals, " treated them as fools and barbarians. As their altercation " was not likely to come to a ſpeedy iſſue, the moſt pious " King Charles aſked his chantors, which they thought to be " the pureſt and beſt water, that which was drawn from the " ſource, at the fountain-head, or that, which, after being " mixed with turbid and muddy rivulets, was found at a great " diſtance from the original ſpring? They cried out, unani- " mouſly, that all water muſt be moſt pure at its ſource; upon " which, our Lord the King ſaid, Mount ye then up to the " pure fountain of St. Gregory, whoſe chant ye have mani- " feſtly corrupted. After this, our Lord the King applied to " Pope Adrian for ſinging maſters, to correct the Gallican " Chant, and the Pope appointed for that purpoſe Theodore " and Benedict, two chantors of great learning and abilities, " who had been inſtructed by St. Gregory himſelf: he like- " wiſe granted to him *Antiphonaria*, or Choral Books of that

" Saint, which he had written himſelf in Roman notes. Our " Lord the King, at his return to France, ſent one of the two " ſingers, granted to him by the Pope, to Metz, and the other " to Soiſſons; commanding all the ſinging maſters of his king- " dom to correct their *Antiphonaria*, and to conform in all " reſpects to the Roman manner of performing the church " ſervice. Thus were the French Antiphonaria corrected, " which had before been vitiated, interpolated, and abridged, " at the pleaſure of every Choir-man; and all the chantors of " France learned from the Romans that chant which they now " call the French Chant. But as for the beats, trills, ſhakes, and " accents of the Italians, the French were never able to execute " or expreſs them; nor, for want of ſufficient flexibility in the " organ of voice, were they capable of imitating, in theſe " graces, any thing but the tremulous and guttural noiſe of " goats (*p*). The principal ſchool of ſinging was eſtabliſhed " at Metz, and in the ſame proportion as the Roman chant " exceeded that of this city, the ſingers of Metz ſurpaſſed all " thoſe of other French ſchools. The Roman chantors like- " wiſe inſtructed thoſe of France in the art of *Organizing* (*q*); " and our ſovereign Lord Charles having, beſides, brought " with him into France maſters in grammar and arithmetic, " ordered thoſe arts to be cultivated throughout his dominions;

(*p*) *Chevrotter, et far una teſſe di capra*, are expreſſions applied in France and Italy to ſuch ſingers as have a bad ſhake.

John Diaconus, in his Life of St. Gregory, gives in queer and barbarous Latin, ſcarcely to be tranſlated, a curious account of the vocal abilities of the ancient Germans and French, who, in attempting to ſing the Gregorian Chant, were wholly unable to expreſs its ſweetneſs; "injuring it by barbarous changes, ſuggeſted, ſays he, either by their natural ferocity or inconſtancy of diſpoſition. Their figures were gigantic, and when they ſung it was rather thunder than muſical tones. Their rude throats, inſtead of the inflexions of pleaſing melody, formed ſuch rough ſounds, as reſembled the noiſe of a cart jolting down a pair of ſtairs."—*Quaſi plauſtra per gradus confuſè ſonantia, rigidas voces jactant.* Vita S. Greg. cap. ii.

(*q*) *Arte* Organandi. This term will be explained in the next chapter.

" for,

" for, before the reign of the ſaid Lord the King, the liberal " arts were neglected in France (*r*)."

Among the Anglo-Saxon Benedictines, who contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the Gregorian Chant in this iſland, was Benedict Biſcop, the preceptor of Venerable Bede; who, having been five times at Rome, and well received by Pope Agatho, acquired a perfect knowlege in the monaſtic rules, the *Choir Song*, and all eccleſiaſtical rites. His diſciple Bede, who wrote his Life, informs us, that it was chiefly from him that the *Roman Chant* was ſo well known in the monaſteries of his founding in the Biſhoprick of Durham, Girwy, and Weremouth; in the laſt of which Bede ended his days (*s*).

Adrian; Stephen, Monk of Canterbury; Friar James, and many others, are celebrated by Bede for their ſkill in ſinging after the Roman manner. It was then the cuſtom for the clergy to travel to Rome for improvement in muſic, as well as to import maſters of that art from the Roman college. At length the ſucceſſors of St. Gregory, and of Auſtin his Miſſionary, having eſtabliſhed a ſchool for eccleſiaſtical muſic at Canterbury, the reſt of the iſland was furniſhed with maſters from that ſeminary. Indeed, Roman muſic and ſinging were as much in favour here, during the middle ages, when there

(*r*) *Et reverſus eſt Rex piiſſimus Carolus*, &c. Vide Annal. & Hiſt. Francor. ab an. 708, ad an. 990. Scriptores Coetaneos. Impr. Francofurti 1594. Sub vitâ Caroli magni. Charlemagne died in 813.

The Abbé Velly, who, in his *Hiſt. de France*, tom. i. p. 53. gives the ſame account of the eſtabliſhment of the Roniſh chant in France, adds; that " the monarch was " likewiſe deſirous of introducing into his " churches the Liturgy, or Maſs, as uſed " at Rome; but here he met with greater " difficulties.—The French clergy, jea- " lous of their ancient uſages, oppoſed, in " a body, this meaſure, as an innovation; " the royal authority, however, at length " prevailed."—After ſuch an account of Charlemagne, it is hardly poſſible to read the following paſſage without amazement. " Charles confirmed the inſtrument with " his hand, that is to ſay, by *making his* " *mark*; for it is to be obſerved, that this " Prince, one of the moſt learned men of " his age, *could not write!*" According to Mezeray, the addition to the ſignature of this prince, at the bottom of each treaty, muſt have been *engraved*; for he there ſays, " I have ſigned it with the " pommel of my ſword, and promiſe to " maintain it with the point."

(*s*) Biſcop died 703, and Bede 735.

were no operas or artificial voices to captivate our countrymen, as Italian compoſitions and performers are at preſent.

It was at the latter end of the ninth century, that our Alfred flouriſhed; a Prince, whom all his hiſtorians celebrate, not only as a great ſovereign, legiſlator, warrior, politician, and ſcholar, but as an excellent muſician. And Aſſer, Fryer John, Grimbald the Monk, all his cotemporaries, ſpeak in high terms, not only of his own performance, but of the encouragement he gave to muſic, among other ſciences, in the Univerſity of Oxford.

During this period muſic, ſuch as it was, muſt have been thought a moſt important part of a learned education, as it was one of the ſciences which conſtituted the *Quadrivium*, or higheſt claſs of philoſophical learning: conſiſting of muſic, arithmetic, geometry, and aſtronomy, as the *Trivium* did of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. But the methods of teaching both the theory and practice of muſic, were ſo dark, difficult, and tedious, before its notation, meaſure, and harmonial laws were ſettled, that youth generally ſpent nine or ten years in the ſtudy of it, ſeemingly to very little purpoſe. But, under all theſe diſadvantages, it appears to have been ſo much more agreeable to the Monks than their other ſtudies, that they ſeem to have cultivated it in retirement, at the excluſion of almoſt every thing elſe that was connected with reaſon and philoſophy. Innumerable are the muſical treatiſes to which theſe ſtudies gave birth, during this dark period, and torpid ſtate of the human mind; while homicide was the firſt ſecular virtue, and while, among eccleſiaſtics, the beſt ſinger was eſteemed the moſt learned man (*t*).

So deſtitute of literature was this iſland, during the youth of Alfred, that he was twelve years old before a maſter, properly

(*t*) Fabricii, Bib. Lat. tom. i. p. 644.

qualified,

qualified, could be procured, in the weſtern kingdom, to teach him the alphabet. But, while yet unable to read, he could repeat a variety of Saxon ſongs, which he had learned in hearing them ſung by others, who had themſelves, perhaps, only learned them by tradition (*u*). His genius, indeed, is ſaid to have been firſt rouzed, and ſtimulated by this ſpecies of erudition, which has often made a conſiderable progreſs even among barbarians.

The well known ſtory of Alfred entering and exploring the Daniſh camp, in the diſguiſe of a harper (*x*) or minſtrel, and being muſician ſufficient to impoſe on the enemy for many ſucceſſive days, is related by Ingulf, Henry of Huntington, Speed, Malmeſbury, Sir. H. Spelman, Milton, and almoſt all the beſt modern hiſtorians *(y)*. And this excellent Prince not only encouraged and countenanced the *practice* of muſic, but, in 886, according to the Annals of the Church of Wincheſter, and many ancient writers, founded a Profeſſorſhip at Oxford for the cultivation of it as a *Science*; and the firſt who filled the chair was Friar John of St. David's, who not only read lectures upon muſic, but logic and arithmetic.

St. Dunſtan is mentioned by ſeveral German writers not only as a great muſician, but as the inventor of muſic in four parts: A miſtake that has ariſen from the ſimilarity of his name with that of *Dunſtable*, one of the earlieſt writers on Counterpoint in this country; at leaſt it is certain, that muſic in four parts was not only unknown here, but throughout Europe, in the

(*u*) Flor. Vigorn. ſub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in ALFR. p. 814. and MS. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. N° 47. f. 82.

(*x*) Alfred tranſlates the Latin word *Plectrum* into Heapp-nægel, Sax. by which it ſhould ſeem, that the harp, in the time of this royal muſician, was played like the ancient lyre, with a *plectrum*. Nægl, is likewiſe Saxon for a nail of the finger or toe. H app-næglar, alſo implies the pins or pegs of a harp.

(*y*) See *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 100. et ſeq. 1773. 4to.

tenth

tenth century, during which Dunſtan flouriſhed (*z*). Indeed, almoſt all the Monkiſh writers thought it neceſſary to make a *conjurer* of this turbulent prelate. Fuller (*a*), who has conſulted them all, tells us, that he was an excellent muſician, which, according to this writer, was a qualification very requiſite to eccleſiaſtical preferment; for, he informs us, that, "preaching, in thoſe days, could not be heard for ſinging in "churches." However, the ſuperior knowledge of Dunſtan in muſic, was numbered among his crimes; for being accuſed of *magic* to the King, it was urged againſt him, that he had conſtructed, by the help of the Devil, (probably before he had taken him by the noſe), a Harp, that not only moved of itſelf, but played without any human aſſiſtance (*b*) With all his violence and ambition, it may be ſuppoſed, that he was a man of genius and talents; ſince it is allowed, by the leaſt monkiſh among his hiſtorians, that he was not only an excellent muſician, but a notable painter and ſtatuary, which, ſays Fuller, "were two very uſeful accompliſhments for the furtheranee of "Saint-worſhip either in pictures or in ſtatues."

Indeed, it is expreſsly ſaid, in a MS. life of this prelate (*c*), that among his ſacred ſtudies, he cultivated the arts of writing, *harping*, and painting. It is likewiſe upon record, that he caſt two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands (*d*). And according to William of Malmeſbury, who wrote about the year 1120, the Saxon had organs in their churches before the Conqueſt. He ſays, that Dunſtan, in the reign of King Edgar, gave an organ to the abbey of Malmeſbury; which, by

(*z*) Dunſtan died 988, aged 64.

(*a*) *Church Hiſtory*, 1660.

(*b*) If the modern Merlin had lived in an age ſo ignorant of mechanics, he would have been thought a far greater magician than his name-ſake of King Arthur's days, and to have deſerved a faggot much more than either St. Dunſtan or Friar Bacon.

(*c*) *Vit. St. Dunſtan.* MSS. Cott. Brit. Muſ. FAUSTIN. b. xiii.

(*d*) *Monaſt. Anglic.* tom. i. p. 104.

his

his deſcription, very much reſembled that in preſent uſe (*e*). William, who was a monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunſtan was inſcribed in a Latin diſtich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes (*f*).

As Dunſtan is ſaid, by ſeveral writers, to have furniſhed many Engliſh churches and convents with *Organs*, this ſeems the place to ſpeak of the origin of that eccleſiaſtical inſtrument, and of its firſt introduction into the church.

The moſt ancient proof of an inſtrument reſembling a modern organ blown by bellows, and played with keys, very different from the Hydraulicon, which is of much higher antiquity, as has been already ſhewn in the firſt volume of this work, p. 512, is a Greek epigram in the Anthologia, attributed to the Emperor Julian the Apoſtate, who flouriſhed about 364.

I ſhall here give a literal tranſlation of this epigram, which, though it contain no very beautiful or poetical images, will anſwer the hiſtorical purpoſe of aſcertaining the exiſtence of an inſtrument in the fourth century, which, in many particulars, reſembled a modern organ (*g*).

" I ſee reeds of a new ſpecies, the growth of another and a " brazen ſoil; ſuch as are not agitated by our winds, but by " a blaſt that ruſhes from a leathern cavern beneath their roots; " while a *robuſt* mortal (*h*), running with ſwift fingers over-

(*e*) *Organa, ubi per æreas fiſtulas muſicis menſuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras.*

(*f*) *Vit. Aldhelm.* Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii. p. 33. *Oſb. Vit. S. Dunſt.*

(*g*) I ſhall inſert the original here, for the ſatisfaction of the learned reader, from the Anthol. lib. i. cap. 86, 8.

Αλλοίην ἰρὸν δονάκων φύσιν· ἧτα αὖ' ἄλλης
Χαλκείης τάχα μᾶλλον ἀνεβλάστησαν ἀρόσσης,
Ἀγρίοι, οὐδ' ἀνέμοισιν ὑφ' ἡμετέροις διέποντο,
Αλλ' ὑπο ταυρείης πρυλοφοῦς σπέλεγγος ἄητας.
Νέφθις ἐυτρήτων καλάμων ὑπὸ ῥίζας ὀλύσσει.
Καί τις ἀνὴρ ἀγέμοχος ἔχων δυὰ δάκτυλα χερῖν,
Ἰητας ἀμφαφόων καινὰς συμφράδμονας αὐλῶν·
Οἷ' ἀνταλὸ συρτῶντες, ἀπολλίζουσιν ἀοιδάν.

(*h*) ἀγεμοχος, a tall, ſturdy fellow, alluding to the force neceſſary to beat down that kind of clumſy *carillon* keys of this rude inſtrument of new invention.

" the

" the concordant *keys* (*i*), makes them, as they ſmoothly dance, " emit melodious ſounds."

Nothing material is omitted in the verſion of this epigram, or rather enigma, upon the organ, though not a very ingenious one; for the word ἄυλων, the *pipes*, diſcovers the whole myſtery.

At the time of Caſſiodorus, who flouriſhed under King Vitigas the Goth, in 514, the Hydraulicon, or water-organ, began to loſe its favour, and the wind-organ, blown by hand-bellows, became common; of which he gives the following deſcription: " The organ, ſays he, is an inſtrument compoſed " of divers pipes, formed into a kind of tower, which, by " means of bellows, is made to produce a loud ſound; and in " order to expreſs agreeable melodies, there are, in the inſide, " movements made of wood, that are preſſed down by the " fingers of the player, which produce the moſt pleaſing and " brilliant tones (*k*)."

Several eccleſiaſtical writers mention the organ as an inſtrument that had very early admiſſion into the church, at periods ſomewhat different in different parts of Europe. To Pope Vitalian is aſcribed its firſt introduction at Rome in the ſeventh century; and ancient annaliſts are unanimous in allowing, that the firſt organ which was ſeen in France was ſent from Conſtantinople as a preſent from the Emperor Conſtantine Copronymus the Sixth, in 757, to King Pepin (*l*); which, as well as Julian's epigram, gives the invention to Greece, where the Hydraulicon had likewiſe its origin (*m*).

Venerable Bede, who died 735, ſays nothing of the uſe of organs, or other inſtruments, in our churches or convents,

(*i*) The rulers of the pipes, κανονες; literally, *keys*.

(*k*) Organum *itaque eſt quaque turris quædam diverſis fiſtulis fabricata, quibus flatu follium vox copioſiſſima deſtinatur; & ut eam modulatio decora componat, linguis quibuſdam ligneis ab interiore parte conſtruitur, quas diſciplinabiliter* magiſtrorum digiti *reprimentes*, grandiſonam efficiunt et ſuaviſſimam cantilenam. In Pſalm. CL.

(*l*) Mabill. *Annal. Benedict.*

(*m*) See vol. i. *ubi ſupra.*

when

when he is very minutely deſcribing the manner in which the Pſalms and Hymns were ſung.

However, in a celebrated Miſſal of the tenth or eleventh century, among the *Barberini* MSS. at Rome, N° 1854, where directions for the performance of the ſeveral parts of the ſervice are given, in the midſt of the leſſon from *The Song of the Three Children*, after the 27th verſe: "Neither hurt nor "troubled them," are theſe words: *Here the prieſt begins to ſing* WITH THE ORGAN (*n*).

And, according to Mabillon and Muratori, organs became common in Italy and Germany during the tenth century, as well as in England; about which time they had admiſſion in the convents throughout Europe. And muſic, long before this period, having been received into churches and religious houſes, under the ſanction of Fathers, Popes, Prelates, and other eccleſiaſtical rulers, by whom it was incorporated into the Liturgy, it would naturally employ much of the leiſure and meditation of thoſe devoted to a monaſtic life; ſoften the rigour of religious diſcipline; animate zeal, and keep off languor and apathy in the monotonous taſk of daily devotion, to which the mind could not at all times apply itſelf with equal fervour. And being the only, or at leaſt the moſt pleaſant and rational amuſement which a religious profeſſion allowed, its effects were more likely to operate powerfully upon ſuch as were ſenſible of its charms in convents and religious houſes, where few other pleaſures came in competition with it; than upon perſons in the gay world, where the frequency and multiplicity of delights, and the facility with which they are obtained, often bring on ſatiety and indifference.

It does not appear in the dark ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition that the Anglo-Saxons, who then poſſeſſed the chief

(*n*) *Nec quidquam moleſtiæ intulit*, Hic canere inſipit cleris cum organis.

part of our iſland, were more barbarous than the inhabitants of the reſt of Europe, Italy excpted. Indeed, no works of taſte or genius, in the polite arts, appear to have been produced at this time in any part of it; and as to muſic, conſiſting merely of ſuch chants as were applied to the Pſalms and Hymns of the church, it ſeems to have been practiſed as much, and as ſucceſsfully, in our own country as in any other: for ſince the time that Auſtin, the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his ſucceſſor, Theodore, the Firſt Primate of all England, with his aſſiſtant, Adrian the Monk, eſtabliſhed the Roman Chant in England, our Canto Fermo, if we may believe the Monkiſh hiſtorians, was cultivated and taught by a great number of the moſt ingenious clergy of the time, who, they tell us, were *well ſkilled* in muſic (*o*). Of what this ſkill and this muſic conſiſted, if examples were to be given, they would, perhaps, not exalt the fame of our Saxon anceſtors: and it ſeems more for their advantage, and for the credit of our country, to let them reſt in peace, and to rely on the favourable character given of their muſical talents by cotemporary writers, than to ſweep off the cobweb veil, and ſhew what was then the nakedneſs of the land (*p*). Indeed, I have had but little leiſure for the ſtudy of Saxon antiquities, though I have collected many, nor ſhould

(*o*) Pope Gregory, who, according to Bede, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. ii. c. 1. firſt ordered *Alleluja* to be ſung in Britain, died 605, after reigning thirty years. Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Abbot Adrian, came from Rome, as the ſame writer informs us, in 668. Theſe introduced the Roman manner of ſinging in all our churches, which before had been only practiſed in Kent. The firſt ſinging maſter in Northumberland, except John, was Edde, ſirnamed Stephen, who was ſent thither out of Kent by Wilfred, Primate of all England.

(*p*) One obſervation I muſt make relative to the cultivation of muſic by our Britiſh and Saxon anceſtors, which is: that among the repreſentations of muſical inſtruments which have been found and publiſhed by the diligent Mr. Strutt, almoſt every one is to be ſeen that was practiſed by the Greeks and Romans in their moſt flouriſhing ſtate. But this, however, does not convince me that the natives of this iſland either invented or knew the uſe of theſe inſtruments; which it is moſt probable were brought hither by our conquerors the Romans, for the amuſement of their voluptuous commanders, and other great perſonages appointed to keep us in ſubjection; and therefore the repreſentations of theſe inſtruments, whether in painting or ſculpture, muſt have been copied from Roman models, which had

I have had ſpace for ſuch illuſtrations of them as concern my ſubject, if I had been ſufficiently qualified for ſuch a taſk. But Saxon antiquities have lately been ſo well explored by the learned members of the Antiquarian Society, by Mr. Strutt, and by ſeveral other writers, poſſeſſed of the neceſſary erudition, leiſure, and diligence for ſuch inveſtigation, that it is hoped a deficiency in theſe particulars will be the more readily pardoned.

had likewiſe been previouſly conſtructed from thoſe of Greece. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, ſeems to ſpeak very contemptuouſly of our anceſtors, with reſpect to the progreſs they had made in arts and ſciences, for, after mentioning Cæſar's expedition into Britain, he ſays, "News "is daily expected from that iſland. The "coaſts, however, are well defended by "forts, and it has been diſcovered that "the ſilver mines which were expected to "be found there, are merely imaginary; "ſo that the whole booty the place "affords will conſiſt in ſlaves, among "whom I do not believe any will be "brought that are well ſkilled either in "*muſic* or literature."

——*In illa inſula, neque ullam ſpem prædæ, niſi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut* muſicis *eruditos expectare.*

Ep. l. iv. c. 16.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Invention of Counterpoint, and State of Muſic, from the Time of Guido, to the Formation of the Time-Table.*

THE ingredients which I have now to prepare for the reader, are in general ſuch as I can hardly hope to render palatable to thoſe who have more taſte than curioſity. For though the moſt trivial circumſtances relative to illuſtrious and favourite characters become intereſting when well authenticated, yet memory unwillingly encumbers itſelf with the tranſactions of obſcure perſons.

If the great muſicians of Antiquity, whoſe names are ſo familiar to our ears, had not likewiſe been poets, time and oblivion would long ſince have ſwept them away. But theſe having been luckily writers themſelves, took a little care of their own fame; which their brethren of after-ages gladly ſupported for the honour of the *corps*.

But ſince writing and practical muſic have become ſeparate profeſſions, the celebrity of the poor muſician dies with the vibration of his ſtrings; or if, in condeſcenſion, he be remembered by a poet or hiſtorian, it is uſually but to blazon his infirmities, and throw contempt upon his talents. The voice of acclamation, and thunder of applauſe, paſs away like vapours; and thoſe hands which were moſt active in teſtifying temporary approbation, ſuffer the fame of thoſe who charmed away their care and ſorrows in the glowing hour of innocent delight, to remain unrecorded.

If it be true that the progreſs of muſic in every country depends on the degrees of civilization and culture of other arts and

and ſciences among its inhabitants, and on the language which they ſpeak, the accents of which furniſh the ſkeleton and nerves of all vocal melody; great perfection cannot be expected in the muſic of Europe during the middle ages, when the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Germans, Franks, and Gauls, whoſe ideas were ſavage, and language harſh and inſolent, had ſeized on its moſt fertile provinces. All the dialects that are now ſpoken in Europe are a mixture of Celtic and Latin; and as the inhabitants of Italy preſerved the Roman language longer than thoſe of other countries remote from the ſeat of empire, more veſtiges of the Latin tongue ſtill remain in Italy than elſewhere. For though there are many terms in it that they were forced to receive from the Barbarians who invaded them, yet the chief part of the language is ſtill Latin corrupted, and ſometimes ſoftened and improved. And as literature, arts, and refinements, were encouraged more early in Italy at the Courts of the Roman Pontiffs, than in any other country, modern muſic has thence been furniſhed with its Scale, its Counterpoint, its beſt Melodies, its religious and ſecular Dramas, and with the chief part of its Grace and Elegance. Italy, in modern times, has been to the reſt of Europe what ancient Greece was to Rome; its inhabitants have helped to civilize and poliſh their conquerors, and to enlighten the minds of thoſe whoſe ſuperior force and proweſs had frequently enſlaved them.

Few perſons who ſpeak or write on the ſubject of the preſent ſyſtem of muſic expreſs the leaſt doubt of *Counterpoint* having been invented by Guido, a monk of Arezzo, in Tuſcany, about the year 1022. But there is nothing more difficult than to fix ſuch an invention as this upon any individual: an art utterly incapable of being brought to any degree of perfection, but by a ſlow and gradual improvement, and the ſucceſſive efforts of ingenious men during ſeveral centuries, muſt

muſt have been trivial and inconſiderable in its infancy; and the firſt attempt at its uſe neceſſarily circumſcribed and clumſy.

Guido, however, is one of thoſe favoured names to which the liberality of poſterity ſets no bounds. He has long been regarded in the empire of muſic as *Lord of the Manor*, to whom all ſtrays revert, not indeed as chattels to which he is known to have an inherent right and natural title, but ſuch as accident has put into the power of his benefactors; and when once mankind have acquired a habit of generoſity, unlimited by envy and rival claims, they wait not till the plate or charity-box is held out to them, but give freely and unſolicited whatever they find without trouble, and can relinquiſh without loſs or effort.

But, in order to aſcertain with ſome degree of method and accuracy how much modern muſic has been indebted to this celebrated monk, it ſeems neceſſary to give a liſt and analyſis of the writings that have been attributed to him. The tract which is moſt frequently mentioned, and, except by the few that have ſeen it, is ſuppoſed to contain all the inventions with which Guido has been inveſted, is the MICROLOGUS (*q*). Of this work there are three copies among the MSS. in the King of France's library at Paris: the moſt ancient of which, N° 7211, is of the twelfth century; and of this I obtained a copy, which was collated with the other two. It is a ſhort treatiſe in monkiſh Latin, and full of obſcurities, containing an account of the author's method of teaching boys to ſing, with rules for the proper performance and compoſition of the plain chant.

Though it is natural to expect to find in this treatiſe an account of the inventions and improvements commonly attri-

(*q*) Μικρολόγος, an epitome, or compendium.

buted

buted to him (*r*); yet it is vain to ſeek them. He does not *expreſsly claim* any of the inventions; and his expreſſions are ambiguous, even where he ſeems to ſpeak as an inventor: it is always--*nos* ponimus--*noſtris* notis--*noſtram* diſciplinam. Sometimes this ſeems to be only the dignified egotiſm of an author, and ſometimes it ſeems literal. One of the additions to the ſcale of the ancients he ſeems however clearly to diſclaim. The account is that he added the Greek *gamma* at the bottom of the ſcale; but in this treatiſe his account of the notes begins thus: "In primis ponitur Γ Græcum *à modernis ad-*"*jectum*" (*s*).

Another expreſſion ſeems to imply that the diſtinction of B flat and B natural was not of his invention: for he ſays (*t*), "b vero rotundum—adjunctum vel molle *dicunt:*" *they* call. Yet, in his ſecond chapter, where he gives the notes, he ſeems to ſpeak as if this invention was his own: between a and ♮, ſays he, we put another b, which we make round; but the firſt we make ſquare, thus a. b ♮. c. &c (*u*)."

His invention of the *hexachords* muſt have been poſterior to this treatiſe: for when he gives the ſcale he never mentions them; nor is the term once uſed in the whole manuſcript.

His ſcale is always mentioned as going up to e e; but in the Micrologus he only gives it up to d d. The other note I ſuppoſe was added afterwards when his ſcale was arranged into hexachords.

He ſeems by his expreſſion to claim the honour of having

(*r*) "Thus far go the improvements "of *Guido Aretinus*, and what is called "the Guidonian ſyſtem; to explain which "he wrote a book he called his *Micrologus*." Malcolm, p. 558.

(*s*) Zarlino ſeems to allude to this, *Iſtit. Harm.* p. 103. & 148. in ſpeaking of Guido's *Introduttorio*, by which the Italians generally mean his Micrologus.

(*t*) Cap. VIII. *de Aliis affinitatibus et* D *et* ♮.

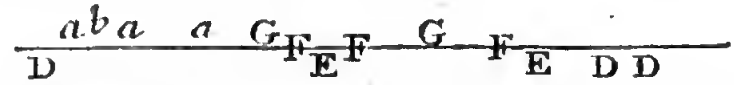
(*u*) The *natural* in MS. muſical tracts for many centuries after the time of Guido, was expreſſed by a Gothic B, thus: ♮, and the flat by an Italic b; whence one was called B *quadrum*, and the other B *rotundum*.

added

added the tetrachord *ſuperacutarum* as he calls it; for he ſays, "*addimus*, hic eiſdem literis, ſed variis figuris, tetrachordum ſuperacutarum, &c." Theſe notes, ſays he, many call ſuperfluous. "*Nos*, autem, maluimus abundare, quam deficere."

The invention of the ſyllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *ſol*, *la*, muſt likewiſe have been poſterior to this treatiſe; for they are not once mentioned in it.

His invention of *points* upon *parallel lines*, inſtead of the letters, is not to be found in the Micrologus. All his muſical examples are given in the letters Γ A B, &c. added to the vowels a, e, i, o, u. However, the manner of placing ſome of them ſeems to preſent a kind of embryo of that invention. For over the words *a line* is drawn, and the letters, like the characters deſcribed in the preceding chapter, are placed at different elevations with reſpect to that line, according to their different degrees of acuteneſs or gravity.




*Pri-mum quæ- ri - te reg -num De - i*, &c.

In moſt of the examples, however, the letters are placed of an equal height, and without a line; but perhaps this was the tranſcriber's fault, and to ſave time. Indeed the lines are not wanted to aſcertain the *literal* notation ſo much as that by characters; and both ſeem to have been in uſe in Guido's time, as he himſelf informs us in another work (*x*); for ſpeaking of the notes uſed by the Abbot Odo, he ſays "though ſigns are uſed for ſounds in the *Enchiridion*, yet, letters commonly anſwer the purpoſe of notation."

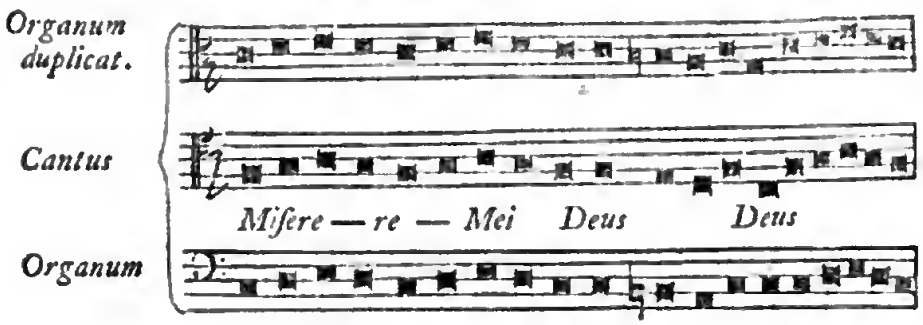
The moſt curious part of the *Micrologus* is the chapter *De*

(*x*) *De Divif. Monochor. ſecund. Boetium*, ex Cod. Medic. Laurent. apud Martinum.

*Diaphonia*,

*Diaphonia, et Organi jura*; as it ſhews the ſtate of muſic at the time it was written, and gives ſuch ſpecimens of the firſt rude attempts at harmony as may be ſafely pronounced authentic.

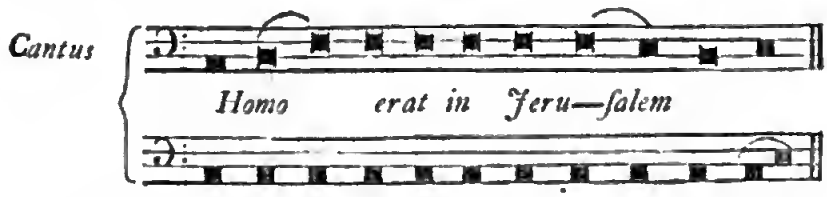
By *Diaphonia*, Guido only means *diſcant*; which ſays he, we call *organum (y)*. This conſiſted in ſinging a part *under* the plain-ſong, or chant. Some uſed only *fourths* for this purpoſe, but it was allowable to double either the plain-ſong or the *organum*, by octaves, *ad libitum*. The following is the example which he gives of the *organum*, or under part being doubled; in which there is a continued ſeries of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths. The ſounds are expreſſed by letters in the Micrologus; as C F c, D G d, &c. but, for the convenience of the reader, I ſhall write them in Gregorian notes.




But this method of diſcanting Guido ſeems to reject as harſh, and ſubſtitutes for it an improved method, perhaps, of his own

(y) The late M. Rouſſeau's account of *organizing* does not exactly agree with the examples given by Guido, which far from being confined to 3ds, ſcarcely ever admit that pleaſing concord; but Rouſſeau took his ideas of it from the Abbé Lebeuf's ſpecimens of the early attempts at counterpoint in France, which, at firſt, conſiſted only of a minor 3d to the 7th of the key before a cloſe, and for a concord ſo ſimple and eaſily formed, ſays Rouſſeau, the fingers who *organized* had extraordinary pay. *Organum* has frequently been imagined the inſtrument ſo called, not a vocal part added to the chant or plain ſong; and ſome have even been ſo abſurd as to make Guido in this part of the Micrologus talk of the *Organiſt*.

invention; but his expreſſion, as uſual, is ambiguous. *Superior Diaphoniæ modus durus eſt; noſter vero mollis.* This ſmoother and more pleaſing method of under-ſinging a plain-ſong conſiſts in admitting, beſides the fourth, and the tone, the major and the minor thirds; rejecting the ſemitone and the fifth (*z*). The under part might ſing in any of theſe four intervals with the upper, according to certain rules which he gives; but in a language almoſt totally unintelligible. He annexes examples, which, though they appear confuſed, and are probably very incorrectly tranſcribed (*a*), may be regarded as curious exhibitions of nearly the beſt harmony which ſeems to have been known in Guido's time; though very little ſuperior to that he had juſt cenſured as *harſh*. The following is a ſpecimen:




All the examples are in the ſame wretched *falſo bordone (b)*; and in every one of them the *fourth* is in the greateſt favour of all the concords: *principatum obtinet*, as he had laid it down. In ſpite of his diſapprobation the *organum* in conſecutive *fourths* is ſtill frequently admitted; and indeed few other concords are

(*z*) Though Guido ſo ſeldom admits the ditone or major 3d in his counterpoint, yet he has the merit of having firſt exalted it to the rank of a concord; it being invariably numbered with the diſcords by the ancients.

(*a*) For inſtance, ſeveral 5ths occur; an interval which he expreſly forbids, *under* the plain-ſong.

(*b*) This term, which the French call *faux-bourdon*, and the old Engliſh writers *fa-burden*, was applied in the early days of diſcant to ſuch counterpoint as had either a drone-baſe, (*bourdon* is French for a drone) or ſome part moving conſtantly in the ſame intervals with it: as in three parts, when the treble moves in 6ths with the baſe, the middle part will conſiſt of no other intervals than 3ds.

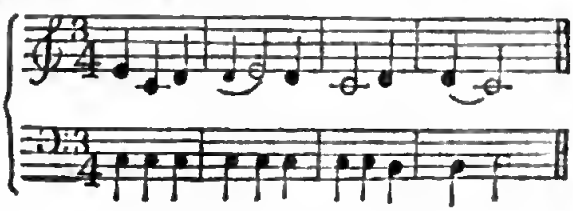
uſed

uſed till the laſt example, when 3ds, which before ſeem to have been only touched by accident, or as paſſing notes, are now honoured with an important part in the *Diſcant*.

The moſt ſingular circumſtance in this counterpoint is the rejection of the *fifth:* a rule to which he adheres even where the 5th below is to *our* ears the natural and fundamental baſe:

But it would be as abſurd, as hopeleſs, to try theſe firſt wild eſſays of Harmony by the improved rules of modern compoſition. This chapter, however, upon the Diaphonia, and the examples annexed, ſufficiently enable us to judge with what truth it has been ſo often aſſerted that Guido was the inventor of *Counterpoint*, or muſic in parts; what improvements he might afterwards make are not known; but he muſt have taken

(c) This harmony, if performed in triple time, would not offend modern ears: I write the *organum* an octave lower than Guido, for the convenience of keyed inſtruments.



large ſtrides, if from theſe uncouth and feeble attempts he advanced into the regions of pure harmony; or indeed produced any thing that the ear could now tolerate. Nothing can be more pleaſant, after ſeeing theſe ſpecimens, than the pomp with which Dr. Brown preſents this Monk to his readers. "After "many centuries had paſſed in darkneſs, GUIDO AROSE! and "with a *force of genius* ſurpaſſing that of all his predeceſſors, "*invented* the art of counterpoint, or *compoſition in parts* (*d*)."

The method Guido purſued in teaching boys to ſing, was by making them practiſe with the monochord (*e*), for the diviſion of which he gives ſome plain and eaſy rules, cap. 3. But here it is of importance to obſerve that he ſuggeſts no other than the old diviſion of Pythagoras. The title of his tract juſt quoted p. 5. *on the diviſion of the monochord*, tells us that he follows the principles of Boetius, who was a Pythyagorean in harmonics. The *diatonum ditonicum*, which the Abbé Rouſſier ſo much prefers to all others, and in which the fourth conſiſts of two major tones and a limma: $\frac{8}{9}\times\frac{8}{9}\times\frac{243}{256}$ (*f*), is the arrangement with which the ear of Guido was ſatisfied; nay, he ſays *no other diviſion can be found*. He never ſeems to have heard of Ptolemy's diviſion into major and minor tone and ſemitone: which, indeed, forms the only intervals that are conſiſtent with harmony, or with the major third being admitted as a concord.

In his chapter *De Diapaſon*, &c. he aſſigns a reaſon for uſing ſeven letters; and ſays that ſome *moderns* ſtill adhered to the old Greek ſyſtem of tetrachords ſo far, as to uſe but four characters, which they repeated from tetrachord to tetrachord, as we do from octave to octave.

This was ſolmiſation *à la Grec*. τα, τη, τω, τε, and the Engliſh, in general, make uſe of only four of the ſix ſyllables of the hexachords: *mi, fa, ſol, la*.

(*d*) Diſſert. on Poetry and Muſic, p. 198.

(*e*) The inſtrument which Guido recommends had probably a neck, and was *fretted*; as bridges, like thoſe on a common monochord, could not, without much practice, have been moved quick enough.

(*f*) See Vol. I. p. 460.

It

It has already been obſerved (*g*), that Guido, in ſpeaking of the eccleſiaſtical tones, which he explains in his Micrologus, c. XIV. aſſigns to them the ſame power over the human affections, as the ancients did to their modes. And now, having given a general idea of the contents of this celebrated manuſcript, I ſhall proceed to enumerate the other writings that have been attributed to Guido.

In the King of France's library at Paris, beſides three copies of the Micrologus, the following tracts, N° 7211, go under his name: *De ſex motibus vocum à ſe invicem, et dimenſione earum. Ejuſdem Rhythmus. Ejuſdem Liber de Muſica.* Part of theſe MSS. were tranſcribed in the eleventh, and part in the thirteenth century.

In the Vatican, a Dialogue on Muſic, which begins, *Quid eſt Muſica?* is given to Guido; but I found it afterwards to be the *Enchiridion* of Odo, Abbot of Cluny.

Padre Martini, in his *Saggio di Contrappunto*, p. 32, gives a long paſſage from a tract by Guido: *(Formulæ Tonor.* ex Codice Mediceo Laurent. XLIX.) "*Sunt præterea alia Muſicorum genera aptata,*" &c. This work is called by Guido himſelf, in his letter to Michael the Monk of Pompoſa, *Antiphonarium*, and is frequently quoted under that title by others.

And in the liſt of authors, annexed to his firſt volume, the ſame author, p. 457, includes: *De artificio novi Cantus, et Menſura Monochordi* Guidonis, apud Pez. Theſ. Anecd. nov. T. VI. (*h*). He likewiſe, in the ſame volume, quotes *Epiſt. ipſius Guidonis ad Michaelem Monachum Pompoſianum, ex Cod. Ambroſ.*

There is a ſmall volume of MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, N° 3199, which contains fifteen of the twenty chapters of

(*g*) P. 22. of this volume.

(*h*) Theſe are two diſtinct tracts, the latter of which is likewiſe in the Laurent. library at Florence, under the title, *De Diviſione Monochordi, ſecund. Boetium.*

Guido's

Guido's *Micrologus*; a ſhort tract, *De Conſtitutionibus in Muſica*, which ſeems to belong to that in which the famous paſſage occurs that was ſo ſevere on the ſingers of his time, and which has ſince been often quoted with pleaſure, as applicable to their ſucceſſors: *Temporibus noſtris ſuper omnes homines* Fatui *ſunt Cantores.*

Guido, in the prologue to his *Antiphonarium*, (apud Gerbutum, tom. II. p. 68.) ſpeaks of ſingers with ſtill more bitterneſs, in the following lines.

*Muſicorum et cantorum*
*Magna eſt diſtantia,*
*Iſti dicunt, illi ſciunt,*
*Quæ componit Muſica.*
*Nam qui facit, quod non ſapit,*
*Definitur beſtia.*
*Cæterum tonantis vocis*
*Si ludent* (al. Laudent) *acumina,*
*Superabit philomela,*
*Vel vocalis aſina.*
*Quare eis eſſe ſuum*
*Tollit dialectica.*
*Hac de cauſa ruſticorum*
*Multitudo plurima,*
*Donec fruſtra vivit, mira*
*Laborat inſania*
*Dum ſine magiſtro nulla*
*Dicitur antiphona.*

Between a Singer and Muſician
Wide is the diſtance and condition;
The one repeats, the other knows,
The ſounds which harmony compoſe.

And

And he who acts without a plan
May be defin'd more beaſt than man.
At ſhrillneſs if he only aim
The nightingale his ſtrains can ſhame;
And ſtill more loud and deep the lay
Which bulls can roar and aſſes bray.
[illegible] beings nicely [illegible]
Who ne'er can quit the leading-ſtring,
Or pſalm, without a maſter, ſing.

Here Guido ſpeaks of lines and ſpaces, and of coloured lines. Here alſo is the hymn *Ut queant laxis reſonare fibris*, in old eccleſiaſtical notation; and *Tu patris ſempiternus es filius*, written in the ſame manner as it is printed in this volume, p. 35. This tract is of conſiderable length, and clears up ſeveral points which the Micrologus had left diſputable. In ſect. 3d, *Quid eſt Armonia?* he gives a fair definition of harmony in the ſenſe it is now underſtood: *Armonia eſt diverſarum vocum apta coadunatio*, &c.—and ſpeaks of *Organum* as ſynonymous with *ſymphonia* and *diaphonia*, diſtinct from the inſtrument called an *organ*. But here, in treating of *ſymphonia vocum*, no 3ds are mentioned, and his harmony in four parts conſiſts only of 4ths, 5ths, and diapaſons, or 8ths.

In completing the ſcale, or ſeptenary, he quotes Virgil: *Orpheus Obloquitur numeris ſeptem diſcrimina vocum.* Then, after giving rules for *diateſſaroning* and *diapenting*, or organizing in a regular ſeries of 4ths and 5ths, he enumerates the eccleſiaſtical tones, and finiſhes by calling them by their Greek names: as *primus tonus vocatur Hypodorius, ſecundus Hypophrygius*, &c.

Guido, both here and in the Micrologus, uſes the terms *authentic* and *plagal* for the modes, and likewiſe the Greek diſtinctions

tinctions of *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetrardus* (*e*). I find in the Monks Hubald and Odo, who are both more ancient writers than Guido, theſe terms, and many others, which are ſtill retained in the muſic of the modern Greeks: a proof, that, before the ſeparation of the two churches, the Romans had their chants from the Greeks.

There is likewiſe in the ſame volume a ſhort tract, *De Tonis*, [illegible] tried to find in it ſome remarkable paſſages of that work which I remembered to have ſeen quoted elſewhere.

There are ſo few means by which a Monk devoted to an obſcure and tranquil ſtate can arrive at celebrity without quitting the plain path which piety and the duties of his profeſſion have marked out for his purſuit, that Guido ſeems to have excited the envy of his brethren by attempting it. Luckily the ſtudy of muſic was not incompatible with the rules of his order; and while he ſeems to lament the malignant effects of that enmity which his ſucceſsful ſtudies had created, he eſtabliſhed a reputation among the liberal and candid part of mankind, which has laſted more than ſeven hundred and fifty years. It was perhaps a ſtimulus to exceſſive devotion that the Monks ſeldom exerciſed their pens but in endeavours to ſwell their legends, by tranſmitting to poſterity the actions of thoſe inſane mortals, who by anticipating infernal torments, were honoured with the venerable title of ſaints. But theſe lives have long ceaſed to be read, even where the mind has little elſe to feed on; while the fame of thoſe who have bequeathed to their deſcendants ſome durable memorial of their exiſtence, which intereſts tradition, will never fade away; and had the life of Guido been written,

(*e*) Τετραρδος barbarized.

though

though pregnant with few events, it would have been peruſed with avidity as long as the art, whoſe powers he extended, ſhall afford pleaſure to mankind.

But concerning the life of this muſical legiſlator little is known, except that he was a Monk of the order of St. Benedict when he firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and afterwards Abbot of the Holy Croſs at Avellano, near Arezzo. Yet, luckily for his fame, he has himſelf recorded perhaps the moſt important and honourable event of his life, in a letter to his friend Michael, a Monk of Pompoſo, which Cardinal Baronius has inſerted in his Eccleſiaſtical Annals, vol xi. p. 74, and introduced it with an account of his having invented "a new method of teaching muſic, by which a boy might make a greater progreſs in a few months, than a man of intelligence and aſſiduity uſed to do in ſeveral years." This author likewiſe informs us that the ſingular ſervice which Guido had rendered muſic, having been communicated to Pope Benedict the VIII. that Pontif ſent for him to Rome, and treated him with great kindneſs: a circumſtance which happened, according to Baronius, in the year 1022.

It ſeems, however, as if Guido had not been ſo far dazzled by the ſplendour of a court or the honours he had received at Rome as to remain long in that city; for Benedict dying in 1024, we find by his own letter to the Monk Michael, that his ſucceſſor, John XX. or, as ſome ſay, the XIXth. had ſent three meſſengers to invite him to return to Rome. On his arrival there a ſecond time, his reception from the new Pontif was ſtill more flattering than from his predeceſſor. He frequently condeſcended to converſe with him freely on the ſubject of his muſical diſcoveries; and when Guido firſt ſhewed him his *Antiphonarium*, or notation of the Maſs for the whole year *, his Holineſs regarding it as a prodigy, would not quit his ſeat till he had learned to ſing a chant in it by Guido's new method, and had by this means accompliſhed that himſelf

* See p. 10, and 34.

which he hardly believed poſſible when it was reported to have been done by others.

The Pope, deſirous to retain him in his ſervice, preſſed him to continue at Rome; but Guido, finding himſelf unable from the bad ſtate of his health to bear the approaching heat and bad air of that city during ſummer, left it, upon a promiſe of returning thither in winter, to explain his new ſyſtem in a more ample manner to his Holineſs.

When he quitted Rome he made a viſit to the Abbot of Pomposo, a town in the duchy of Ferrara, who ſo ſtrongly ſolicited him to ſettle in his convent, that at length he conſented, in hopes, as he ſays, "of extending the fame of that great mo-"naſtery by his future labours."

It was here that he compoſed ſeveral of his muſical tracts, and, ſome imagine, his Micrologus, which he dedicated to Theobald, Biſhop of Arezzo, and which, according to a memorandum found on the back of the original MS. he finiſhed in the thirty-fourth year of his age. But if the Micrologus were written after his ſecond journey to Rome, and his acquiring ſo much fame for his new method of teaching to ſing by the ſyllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, &c. it is difficult to account for his utter ſilence about them throughout that work, where a literal notation is conſtantly uſed,

It now remains, either by paſſages from his own works, or the teſtimony of writers nearly cotemporary, to aſcertain the inventions that have been attributed to him. And theſe ſhall be conſidered ſeparately, under the following heads: *Gammut*, or the Greek gamma added to the ſcale; *Lines* and *Clefs*; the *Harmonic-Hand*; *Hexachords*, and *Solmiſation*; *Points*, *Counterpoint*, *Diſcant*, and *Organizing*; and the *Polyplectrum*, or ſpinet. I ſhall be thought too minute, perhaps; but however dull ſuch diſquiſitions may appear to miſcellaneous readers, they certainly conſtitute the *Buſineſs* of my Hiſtory. Theſe are facts, the reſt but flouriſhes; for it is unfortunate with reſpect to the muſic of the middle

middle ages, as well as of the ancient Greeks and Romans, that when ſo little is known there ſhould ſtill remain ſo much to be ſaid.

Mere muſic, however, ſays nothing to eyes that cannot read, or ears unable to hear it. To ſuch, therefore, as are both blind and deaf to muſical ſigns and ſounds, and contentedly ignorant of both, I fear this chapter will be very far from amuſing. But as there are many things belonging to a work of this kind, which though few will read, yet, if omitted, many would miſs, I ſhall endeavour to animate myſelf with the hopes that the few will at leaſt have curioſity and perſeverance ſufficient to travel with me to the duſty ſhelves of Gothic lore, and to the gloomy cells of Monks and Friars, where I am forced with great toil, and ſmall expectation, to ſeek my materials.

Menage, in his *Origine de la Langue Françoiſe*, gives the following derivation of the word *Gammut*. "Guido Aretinus, "a Benedictine Monk, who had been employed to correct "the eccleſiaſtical chants, about the year 1024, compoſed a "ſcale, conformable to the Greek ſyſtem, adding to it a few "ſounds above and below. And diſcovering afterwards that "the firſt ſyllable of each hemiſtich in the hymn to St. John "the Baptiſt *(f)*, written by Paul Diaconus, who lived about "the year 774, formed a regular ſeries of ſix ſounds aſcending:

*Ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la.*

"he placed at the ſide of each of theſe ſyllables one of the firſt "ſeven letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and be-"cauſe he accompanied the note which he added below the "ancient ſyſtem with the letter *gamma*, the whole ſcale was "called GAMMUT, a name by which it is diſtinguiſhed to this "day."

*(f) Ut queant laxis reſonare fibris*
*Mira geſtorum famuli tuorum*
*Solve polluti labii reatum*
*Sancte Johannes!*

The Abbé Lebeuf *(g)* gives a derivation of the word *gammut*, which does not ſeem ſo happy as many of his other conjectures. He thinks it probable, that after the ſeven ſounds in aſcending had been expreſſed by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, the ſecond octave was indicated by Greek characters, on which account Γ *gamma*, the Greek G, appeared at the top of the page or monochord, and by this means, *gammut* became the general name of all the notes. But this conjecture is not confirmed by the Micrologus of Guido, nor by any of the ancient MSS. of muſical treatiſes that I have ſeen.

It has been imagined likewiſe by the Abbé du Bos, with as little foundation, that Guido gave the name of *gamma* to the firſt note of his ſcale, becauſe the ſame ſound was expreſſed by that letter in the Diatonic genus of the Greeks; but upon examining the diagrams of Alypius, and the other Greek theoriſts, it appears, that this ſound would have been below the proſlambanomenos, or moſt grave ſound in all their ſyſtems; nor does the note which we call G, or *gammut*, occur in any one of the Greek diagrams, except in Ariſtides Quintilianus, who ſays, p. 25, that whenever a ſound was wanted below the proſlambenomenos of the Hypodorian mode, it was expreſſed by the letter omega Ↄ, recumbent, as the *laſt* or loweſt ſound in all the ſyſtems. This, ſays Meibomius, in his notes, p. 240, accounts for Guido's placing the ſound G or Γ below A in his ſyſtem, but gives no reaſon for the preference of that letter to every other in the alphabet.

Poor Guido, like other ancient authors, is often praiſed, and ſometimes cenſured, for ideas which never entered his head: and in the preſent inſtance, Meſſrs Menage, Lebeuf, Du Bos, and Meibomius have been beſtowing their ingenuity on the *dent d'or*, before they were aſſured of its exiſtence; for, alas! the Greek letter gamma had been uſed by Odo, the Monk of Cluni, in his *Enchiridion*, for the loweſt ſound of the muſical ſcale, a century before the writings of Guido were known;

*(g) Traité du Chant Eccl.* p. 155.

and

and he ſpeaks of it himſelf, in his Micrologus, as a note *added by the moderns (h)*.

The Abbot Berno, too, who wrote ſeveral tracts on muſic about the beginning of the 11th century, ſays, that the moderns placed the Greek letter at the beginning of the ſcale, out of reverence to the Greeks, from whom muſic was derived *(i)*.

But when a lower ſound than proſlambanomenos, which the Romans had expreſſed by the letter A, was found neceſſary to complete the ſcale, as octaves were repreſented by the ſame letters in different forms, it was natural to uſe the Greek Gamma for that purpoſe; and as to the intention of expreſſing gratitude to the Greeks, that thought ſeems more likely to have occurred to thoſe who were gueſſing at a reaſon *afterwards*, than to have been in the minds of thoſe who added Γ to the diagram.

*Parallel lines* have already been proved of higher antiquity than the time of Guido; but the regular *ſtaff* of four lines was not generally uſed in the church till the thirteenth century. The deſcription, however, which Guido has given of different coloured lines to aſcertain the ſounds of C and F has encouraged an opinion of his having firſt ſuggeſted the idea; but even that contrivance is not indiſputably his property: for in the Magliabecchi library at Florence I found a MS. miſſal, ſaid to be of the tenth century, in the old eccleſiaſtical notation, with *two lines*, the one red, and the other yellow. Sometimes indeed there was but one line, which was red. I made a fac-ſimile of two frag-

*(h)* The *Enchiridion* of Odo, Abbot of Cluni, written about the year 920, is ſtill extant in the king of France's library, in the Vatican, and in the library of Baliol Col. Oxon. It is a dialogue between a maſter and a ſcholar*, beginning, *Quid eſt muſica?* The Vatican copy however is ſaid to have been written by Guido; but it is a tract which Guido himſelf quotes, more than once. The title of this tract has been miſtaken by Sigebert, *De Script. Eccleſ.* cap. 109. for the name of the author, and as ſuch it is inſerted in Broſſard's Liſt of Writers on Muſic; but this is leſs ſurpriſing than that Muratori, tom. i. p. 496. ſhould ſo far deviate from diligence and accuracy as to copy ſuch a blunder.

*(i) Græca litera in graviori introductorii parte locatur, ad Græcorum reverentiam; à quibus muſica defluxit.* De Muſica ſeu de Tonis, *apud* Gerbert.

* *Incipit Explanatio Actis Muſicæ ſub Dialogo.*

ments,

ments, which I would have had engraved for this place, had not the ſubject of ancient notation been already illuſtrated with a ſufficient number of examples in the preceding chapter.

Kircher (*k*) ſpeaks of Guido uſing *five* lines and *five* ſpaces; but without authority. Indeed he ſeldom diſcovers the ſource of his information, and it would have been difficult to authenticate many of the wonderful things he relates from mere tradition and common report. But as he *gives* liberally to Guido, he is as little ſcrupulous in *taking away:* for he tells us that points were uſed long before the time of Guido, and inſtances a *moſt* ancient MS. in the monaſtery of Vallombroſa, where the melody to the famous hymn *Salve Regina* is written in points on and between two lines only. It is not certain that Guido invented points, but it is generally allowed that this hymn was written by Hermannus Contractus, who died in 1054: that is, thirty years after the Micrologus was finiſhed. He aſſerts likewiſe, with equal ill luck, that Guido claims the invention of the ſyllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, &c. in his letter to the Monk Michael, publiſhed by Baronius; in which letter, however, not the leaſt mention or alluſion to theſe ſyllables is diſcoverable. He aſſerts roundly too that he not only invented polyphonic muſic, or counterpoint, but the polyplectrum, or ſpinet, for which there is not the leaſt ſupport to be found in Guido's writings. Kircher's Muſurgia is a huge book, but a much larger might be compoſed in pointing out its errors and abſurdities.

But though lines without ſpaces, and ſpaces without lines had been uſed before the time of Guido, he ſeems to have firſt ſuggeſted the uſe of lines and ſpaces *together:* and thus the lines, which by ſome had been made as numerous as the notes, were reduced to four; a number which in miſſals and rituals of the Romiſh church has never ſince been exceeded. Indeed the uſe of a line for each note, in the manner exhibited page 38, may never have arrived at the knowledge of Guido, who ſpeaks the language

(*k*) *Muſurgia*, p. 114.

of

of an inventor, with reſpect to lines and ſpaces, more than on any other occaſion. For in the prologue to his Antiphonarium he ſays, " By *Divine aſſiſtance*, I have pointed out ſuch a me-" thod of notation, that by a little help from a maſter at firſt, " an intelligent and ſtudious perſon may eaſily acquire the reſt " by himſelf. And if any one ſhould ſuſpect my veracity in " this aſſertion, let him come to our convent, let him make " the experiment, let him examine the children under my " care, and he will find that though they are ſtill ſeverely " puniſhed for their ignorance of the pſalms, and blunders in " reading, they can now ſing correctly without a maſter the " chants to thoſe pſalms of which they can ſcarce pronounce " the words (*k*)." He then proceeds to explain the uſe of *lines* and *ſpaces*, and to inform his friend Michael the Monk, to whom he addreſſes his Antiphonarium, that " whatever notes " are placed on the ſame line, or in the ſame ſpace, muſt have " the ſame ſound (*l*)." " And that the name of the ſound is " determined either by the colour of the line, or by a letter of " the alphabet placed at the beginning of it :" a rule of ſuch conſequence, " that if a neuma or melody be written without " a letter or coloured line it will be like a well without a rope ; in " which though there be plenty of water, it will be of no uſe (*m*)."

Whoever examines the ancient eccleſiaſtical notes without lines, or letters, will perceive no exaggeration in what Guido ſays of his invention, or at leaſt improvement, of the old method of notation, by applying lines to the letters and characters which he found in uſe. And if he be allowed the invention of Lines

(*k*) *Taliter enim Deo auxiliante hoc Antiphonarium notare diſpoſui, ut poſt hac leviter aliquis inſtatus et ſtudioſus cantum diſcat: et poſtquam partem ejus per magiſtrum bene cognoverit reliqua per ſe ſine magiſtro indubitanter agneſcet. De quo ſi quis mentiri putat, veniat, experiatur, et videat, quod tale hoc apud nos pueruli faciunt, qui pro Pſalmorum et vulgarium literarum ignorantia ſæva adhuc ſuſcipiunt flagella, qui ſæpe et ipſius antiphonæ, quam per ſe ſine magiſtro recte poſſunt cantare verba et ſyllabas neſciunt pronunciare.*

(*l*) *Quanticumque ergo ſoni in una linea, vel in uno ſpacio ſunt, omnes ſimiliter ſonant.— Et in omni cantu quantæcunque lineæ vel ſpacia unam eandemque habeant literam vel eundem colorem, ita ut omnia ſimiliter ſonant, tanquam ſi omnes in una linea fuiſſent.*

(*m*) *Tale erit, quaſi funem dum non habet puteus,*
*Cujus aquæ, quamvis multæ, nil proſunt videntibus.*

and

and Spaces, *Clefs* will of courſe accompany them. For theſe were originally nothing more than the letters of the alphabet placed oppoſite to notes of the ſame name; and it was certainly about the time of Guido that the *claves ſignatæ*, as they were called, were reduced to two, F and C, at the diſtance of a fifth from each other; leaving, till more lines were preſſed into the ſervice, the reſt of the notes to be divined by their ſituation (*n*). This therefore is the myſtery of *unknown ſong*, of which Guido ſo frequently ſpeaks in his epiſtle to the Monk Michael: *Regulæ de ignoto cantu*;—*argumentum novi cantus inveniendi*; by which expreſſions he claims the merit of having firſt taught the method of diſcovering muſical intervals with certainty by the eye; and of ſinging melodies with which the ear had not been previouſly made acquainted.

No proof can be found in the writings of Guido that the *Harmonic Hand* was of his conſtruction; writers however mention it by the name of the Guidonian hand, ſoon after his time (*o*). And, when his ſyſtem was digeſted and the hexachords were arranged, to teach the names of the notes by the joints of the fingers of the left hand ſeems to have been a common expedient; in which, however, the ſyllabic names of the notes do not follow in an order ſufficiently regular or remarkable to be of much uſe in forming the hexachords, or diſcriminating the mutations. Such an expedient would have been more clear and uſeful in teaching the tetrachords, by appropriating a finger to each of the five, in the great ſyſtem, or diſdiapaſon of the Greeks. And by imagining the five fingers of each hand to repreſent the five lines and ſpaces of the baſe and treble clefs, children may likewiſe be taught to

(*n*) See the plate, p. 44. for the form of the ſeveral clefs uſed from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

(*o*) Sigebert, *In Chronico, ad ann.* 1028; and John Ægidius, a muſical writer of the thirteenth century, quoted by the Abbot of St. Blaſius, ſay that thoſe who are not poſſeſſed of a monochord, might ſupply the want of that inſtrument by the Hand, which may repreſent the ſcale and muſical intervals; and as there are various monochords, ſo the Hand is variouſly uſed. The harmonic hand is likewiſe recommended by John Cotton, cap. I. and by Franchinus, *Pract. Muſ.* lib. I. cap. i.

name.

name the notes in the ſcale much ſooner than ſolmiſation by the harmonic hand. Henry Faber (*p*) has arranged the notes in the harmonic, or Guidonian hand, in a better manner than any other author within my knowledge, by placing a clef at the top of the three middle fingers, as beacons or land-marks, and making each finger the repreſentative of a tetrachord (*q*). D'Avella (*r*) exhibits a great number of harmonic hands, in which the notes of the ſcale are differently diſpoſed; one of the hands, I know not why, he calls Boethian, another he gives to Plato, and a third to Ariſtotle!

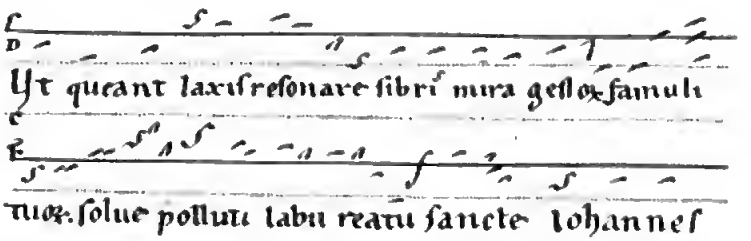
In all my enquiries after the writings of Guido in the ſeveral libraries of Europe, I have never been able to find, in the tracts attributed to him, any other repreſentation of the *Hexachords*, or *Solmiſation*, of which he is ſaid to be the author, than the following, which may be ſeen in the Muſeum MS. N° 3199, and which I find agrees exactly with the MS. whence the Abbot of San-Blaſius has given a fac-ſimile. It is in the Epiſtle *De Artificio Novi Cantus*, prefixed to his Antiphonarium, and addreſſed to the Monk Michael. This epiſtle was firſt publiſhed imperfectly, by Baronius; next, and more fully, by Mabillon, L.LV. *an.* 324; and laſtly, ſtill more correct, by Bernard Pez (*s*). In ſome MSS. this epiſtle is prefixed to the Micrologus, and by ſome writers quoted as a part of it; in others, however, only the two epiſtles dedicatory to Theobald, Abbot of Arezzo, are found; which are certainly all that originally belonged to that celebrated work. The following may be regarded as the germ, or firſt ſketch of ſolmiſation.

(*p*) *Ad Muſicam Practicam Introductio* Mulhuſ. 1571.

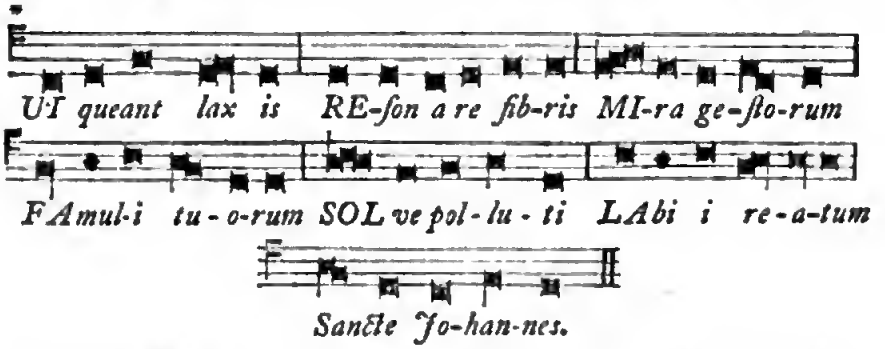
(*q*) See the plate, p. 95. N° I.

(*r*) *Regole di Muſica*, Roma, 1657, folio. A book full of prejudices in favour of old rules, and many peculiar to the author; which render what was before dark and difficult, ſtill more unintelligible. From his ignorance of hiſtory and the little that is known concerning the muſic of the ancients, he advances innumerable abſurdities; one of which is, that, "St. Gregory ordered "that no other Gammut ſhould be uſed in "the church, than that of Guido," who lived five hundred years after him.

(*s*) *Theſaurus Anecd. Noviſſ.* Tom. V.




Rouſſeau has given the ſame melody, in Gregorian notes, from an ancient MS. in the Chapter Library at Sens, as it was probably ſung in the time of Guido, and in which each of the ſix ſyllables is exactly applied to the correſpondent ſound of the gammut.

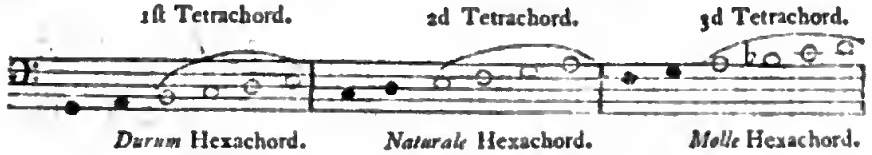



Innumerable are the repreſentations of this hymn by writers poſterior to the time of Guido, who have expreſſed the melody in letters, ſometimes with lines, and ſometimes without, as well as in Gregorian notes. They all tend to the ſame purpoſe of aſcertaining and articulating the ſounds of the ſix notes of the ſcale in the key of C; and if it be true, as with great probability has been ſuggeſted, that Guido did not pretend to invent a new ſcale, but to revive that which had been long uſed by the Greeks and Romans, it was very natural, after forming one tetrachord of the Greeks into a hexachord, for him to proceed in making the ſame addition to all the tetrachords in the great ſyſtem of the ancients. Theſe,

* This is the ancient form of the *Tenor* Clef, which is only a Gothic C.

as

as has been ſhewn in the firſt ſection of the Diſſert. vol. I. were of three kinds, and ſo are the hexachords.




and each of theſe being repeated an octave higher will extend the ſcale to dd, the laſt note in Guido's Diagram *(t)*.

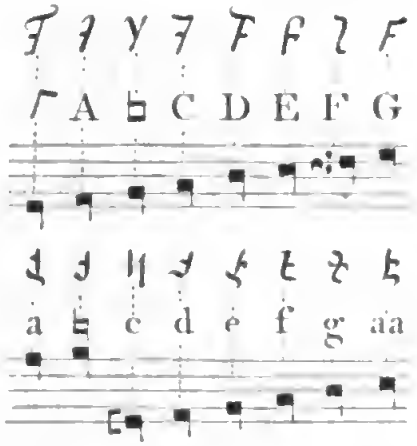
But it is only by a view of the whole Guidonian ſyſtem diſpoſed into hexachords, riſing one out of the other, that the uſe of ſeveral different ſyllables being given to a ſingle note can appear; and to thoſe who have never ſtudied the ſcale and hexachords in their ſeveral relations, the names of Gammut, *A re, B mi, C fa ut, D ſol re, E la mi, F fa ut, G ſol re ut*, &c. muſt ſeem mere gibberiſh. But their uſe is manifeſt in the Diagram on the next page, No. 2, which ſhews the contexture and relation of the keys; and that where more than one ſyllable is added to the literal name of a note, it is on account of its appertaining to more than one hexachord: as the ſound G *ſol, re, ut*, for inſtance, belongs to all the three original keys, or hexachords of C, F, and G. For it is *ſol*, as 5th of the key of C; *re*, as 2d of F, and *ut*, as the key note of G. Hence ariſe the *Mutations* or changes of names in ſolmiſation: as the ſound G, for example, while C is the key, is conſtantly called *ſol*; when F is the key it is called *re*, and when the modulation paſſes into the key or hexachord of G, it is called *ut*, or, according to the Italians, *do (u)*.

*(t)* In the *Canto Fermo*, or ancient chants of the Romiſh church, F was not allowed to be made ſharp in the key of G; which rendered B, as tritonus to F ♮, *harſh* and *difficult:* hence the hexachord of G was called *durum*; that of C, in which the B flat was unneceſſary, *naturale*; and that of F, in which the B flat was indiſpenſable, *molle*, ſoft; as it removed the harſhneſs which the *tritonus*, or ſhap 4th, conſiſting of *three whole tones* between F and B ♮, would have occaſioned. The durum hex. is ſometimes called by the Italians, the hex. of B *quadro*, and by the French B *quarre*, or B ♮.

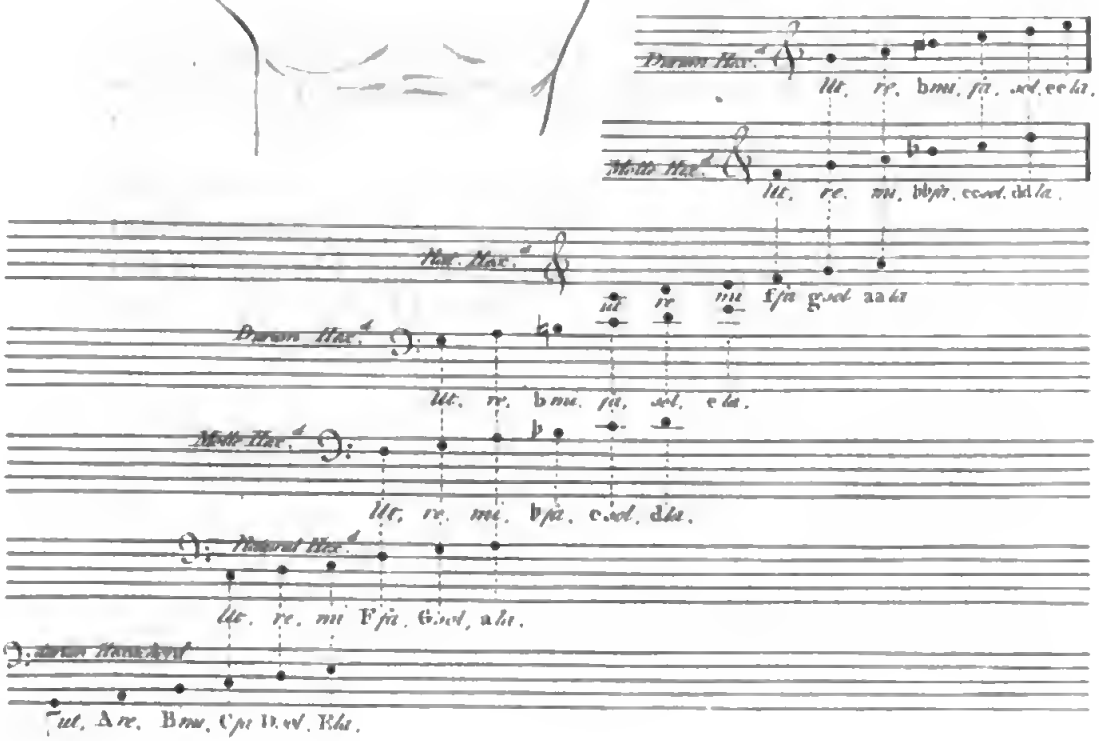
*(u)* The firſt mention I find of the ſyllable *do* being uſed inſtead of *ut* is by Gio. Maria Bononcini, father of the celebrated compoſer and rival of Handel, in his *Muſico Prattico*, publiſhed in 1673, p. 35.

*N°1. Guidonian Hand.*

*N°3. Notation of Hubald & Odo.*




*N°2. Diagram of the Hexachords.*



Though the ſyſtem of ſolmiſation does not appear to have been wholly developed in the writings of Guido, the invention is aſcribed to him by writers very near the period in which he lived: for Sigebert, a Monk of Gemblours, in the dioceſe of Namur, in Brabant, in his Chronicle under the year 1028, as well as in his account of eccleſiaſtical writers, ſays, that "he "had excelled all his predeceſſors; as by *his* method children "were taught to ſing new melodies, with more facility than "by the *voice* of a maſter, or the uſe of an inſtrument: for by "only affixing ſix letters or ſyllables to ſix ſounds, all that "muſic admits of, *regularly*, and diſtinguiſhing theſe ſounds "by the joints of the fingers of the left hand, their diſtances "aſcending and deſcending through the whole diapaſon, are "clearly preſented both to the eye and the ear (*x*)."

Now as Sigebert was nearly cotemporary with Guido, his teſtimony in favour of the diſcoveries attributed to him have more weight than any proofs that can be adduced from ſuch of his own writings as are generally known (*y*).

who ſays, "*S'avverta, che in vece della ſillaba ut i moderni ſi ſervano di* Do, *per eſſere più riſuonante.*

The Guidonian ſyllables were taught at full length to children in my own memory, without explaining their relations to different hexachords. About the year 1740, being at Cheſter grammar-ſchool, Mr. Baker, then organiſt of the cathedral in that city, who had ſtudied muſic under Dr. Blow, while he was confined to his houſe by a fit of the gout, undertook to enable me to become his aſſiſtant in the moſt ſummary way he thought poſſible, by ſetting me the *ſyllabic*, not literal, *gammut*. But though I learned in a few days to play two or three chants on the organ at the cathedral, it was many years before I regarded the words G *ſol re ut*, *a la mi re*, &c. but as mere jargon, or was able to aſſign to each ſyllable its place in the different hexachords.

*(x) In hoc prioribus præferendus, quod ignotos cantus etiam pueri et puellæ facilius diſcant vel doceantur per ejus regulam, quam per vocem magiſtri aut per uſum inſtrumenti, dummodo ſex literis, vel ſyllabis modulationi appoſitis ad ſex voces quas ſolas* regulariter *muſica recepit: biſque vocibus per flexuras digitorum lævæ manus diſtinctis, per integrum diapaſon ſe oculis et auribus ingerunt intentæ et remiſſæ elevationes vel depoſitiones earundem vocum.* In Chronico ad ann. 1028, et io Libro Deſcript. Eccleſ. cap. 144.

The word *regulariter* in this paſſage is worth remarking, as it accounts for the excluſion of *fi*, or the ſharp 7th of a key, for which there was no appellation provided. And it ſeems to have been regarded by Guido and his followers as an irregular and licentious note of taſte. Indeed the *tritonus* or ſharp 4th has been a rock of offence to Greeks, Chineſe, Scots, and ſavages; and is ſtill ſo to ruſtic ſingers, as all thoſe who have ears, in every country congregation throughout the kingdom, experience every Sunday.

(*y*) The Chronicle of Sigebert begins at 381, and is continued to 1112. He died the year after.

John

John Cotton, who lived about a century after Guido, in the firſt chapter of his MS. tract on Muſic, ſays, that ſolmiſation by the ſix ſyllables, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, &c. was practiſed by the Engliſh, French, and Germans; but adds that the Italians made uſe of other ſyllables (*x*): an aſſertion the more extraordinary, as Italy had given birth both to Guido and his invention.

Carpentier, in his Supplement to the Latin Gloſſary of Du Cange, art. *Gamma*, the *Muſical Diagram*, gives a paſſage from the Chronicle of Tours, under the year 1033 (*a*), which puts Guido in full poſſeſſion of the ſcale and ſolmiſation. "Guido "Aretine, a wonderful muſician, flouriſhed in Italy about this "time. He conſtructed the gammut and rules for ſinging, "by applying thoſe names to the ſix ſounds, which are now "univerſally uſed in muſic. For, before, practitioners had no "other guide than habit and the ear."

Henry Faber (*b*), a clear and inſtructive writer for the age in which he lived, quotes Guido fairly, and as if he had read him. And it is his opinion that he certainly applied the ſyllables *ut*, *re*, &c. to the ancient literal names of notes.

Dominico Pedro Cerone, in an elaborate work, written in the Spaniſh language, and publiſhed at Naples 1613, has taken great pains to throw a light upon this ſubject, which he ſays he found, by his own experience, extremely dark and difficult (*c*). He minutely goes through all the ſeven hexachords, ſhews their connexion with each other, and gives ſcales to manifeſt the mutations, which, in aſcending beyond a Hexachord are made by the ſyllable *re*, and, in deſcending, by *la* (*d*).

(*x*) *Itali autem alias habent.*

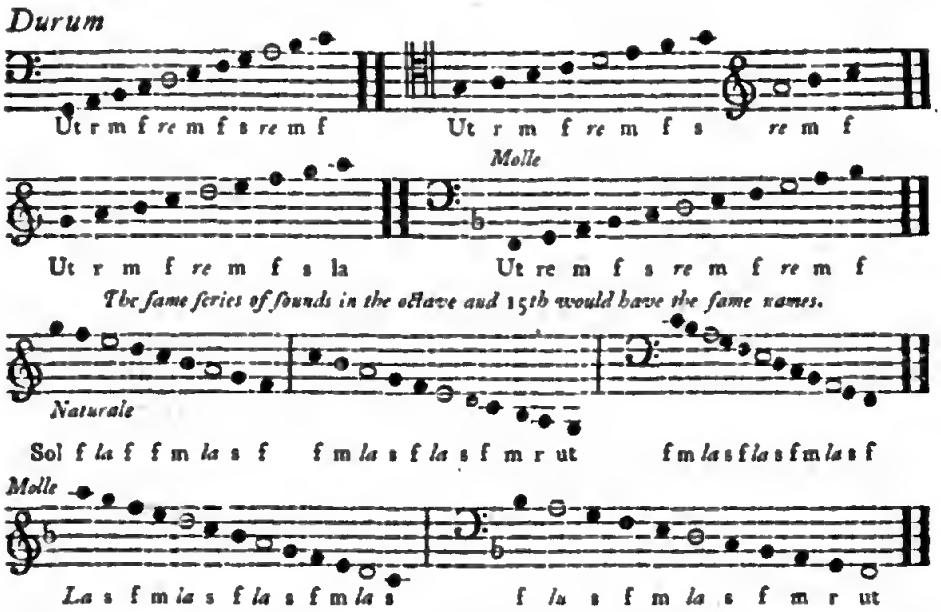
(*a*) Apud Marten. Tom. V. Collect. coll. 999.

(*b*) *Ad Muſicam Practicam Introductio.* Mulhuſii Duringorum, 1571.

(*c*) "Y es cierto, que una de las coſas "que haſta agora à muchos ha hecho de- "ficultad & impedimento para cantollano "y organo, ha ſido las mutanças, come "por eſperiencia vemos cada dia". Melopeo. lib. v. cap. 2. *De las mutanças*, p. 398.

(*d*) In modern language the whole myſtery of *mutations* might be reſolved into this ſhort rule: "That the beſt way of "modulating into the immediate note "above or below any key, is by the 5th; "that a tranſition, for inſtance, from G "to F, or F to G is forbidden, unleſs it "is through the key of C; but from C,

*Durum*




In juſtice to Guido it muſt be allowed, that his Hexachords provided for all circumſtances of ſolmiſation in the eccleſiaſtical modes, which were ſubject to no accidents of flats and ſharps, and in which no other ſounds or keys were uſed but thoſe which the different ſpecies of octave in C natural furniſh. Guido himſelf takes notice of this (*e*), and declares, that he writes merely for the church, where the pure Diatonic genus was firſt uſed. Tranſpoſed keys, however, from *c* natural major and *a* natural minor, which are only imagined to change their pitch, when repreſented by other ſounds in the ſame relation to the key-note, and all the accidents to which modern modulation is ſubject, ſhould be provided for. To do this in

" that it is warrantable to paſs either into " G or F, indifferently."

(*e*) *Sunt præterea et alia muſicorum genera aliis menſuris aptata*, (meaning the Chromatic and Enarmonic.) *Sed hoc genus muſicæ quod nos expoſuimus*, (which is the ſimple diatonic,) *peritiſſimorum muſicorum virorum ratione* (*f* ratione) *ſuavieri et veracieri et naturali modulacione conſtat perfectum*, Tract. Form. Tonor. ex Cod. Medeceo. Laurent. xlix. plutei 29.

a clear,

a clear, ſimple, and practicable manner, would require great meditation. It has frequently been attempted by men of ſcience, as well as by practical muſicians, who though they have obviated ſome former inconveniencies, and ſupplied a few of the defects which have been complained of, have generated others that have been found far more difficult to vanquiſh; ſo that the buſineſs ſtill remains to be done. And before I terminate this long article, to which very few readers will, perhaps, wiſh me to return, it ſeems neceſſary to mention the attempts that have been made at *multiplying* and *diminiſhing* the number of ſyllables uſed in Solmiſation according to the Hexachords.

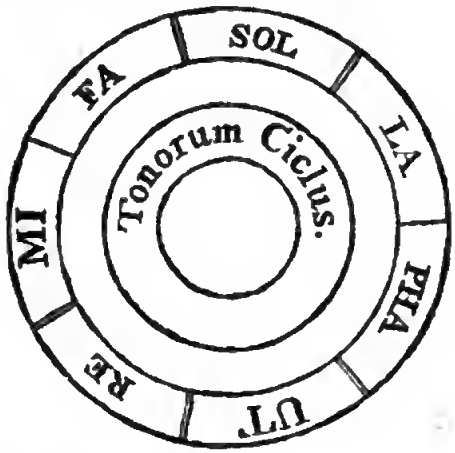
The authors of muſical tracts diſcover but little diſcontent on this ſubject till the latter end of the ſixteenth century, when the *pretended reformers* enliſted under two banners; the one erected in France, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Addition*, and the other, in England, maintained the ſide of *Subſtraction*. Of the former party a long account is given by Merſenne, in his *Harmonie Univerſelle* (*f*), and by Rouſſeau in his Dictionary. Theſe wiſhed to have diſtinct and invariable appellations for all the ſounds of the octave, of which Guido had only furniſhed ſix; and after various experiments, and propoſals to the public, the ſyllable *Si*, about the end of the laſt century, was univerſally received in France for the ſeventh of the key of C. This new ſyllable is generally aſcribed to Le Maire, a ſinging-maſter at Paris; but it was not received when Merſenne publiſhed his *Harm. Univ.* 1636: for he there ſays (*g*), "that to avoid "the mutations, Le Maire, who had publiſhed a muſical "tract, invented the ſyllable *za* after *la*, to complete the "octave." Indeed the defect had been pointed out, and methods ſuggeſted for ſupplying it, long before the time of

(*f*) *Des Genres*, lib. iii. p. 192. (*g*) Liv. vi. 342. *Art de bien chanter.*

Le

Le Maire (*h*). This method, however, provided for no tranſpoſitions, as *c*, whether natural, flat, or ſharp, is invariably called *ut*; *d*, flat, natural, and ſharp, *re*, &c. So that the muſical ſtudent receives no more aſſiſtance from it, with reſpect to the ſemitones in the other eleven keys, than from the literal appellations uſed by the Germans.

Mr. Charles Butler, in his *Principles of Muſick*, publiſhed 1636, is the earlieſt Engliſh writer that I have read who mentions the omiſſion of *ut* and *re* in ſolmiſation. "The perpetual




(*h*) Zacconi, *Pratica di Muſica*, tom. ii. lib. i. c. 10, ſays, that Anſelmo Fiamingo, muſician to the Duke of Bavaria, propoſed the completion of the octave, by adding the ſyllables *Si* and *Bo*. Zacconi's work was publiſhed in 1596, and Merſenne (*Quæſt. et Comment. in Geneſim*, p. 1623), tells us from Maillard, a French writer on muſic, that an anonymous author in Flanders, perhaps the ſame Anſelmo Fiamingo, propoſed the two additional ſyllables *Si* and *Bo*, for the completion of the octave, ſo early as 1547.

Guido, *Microl.* cap. 5, ſpeaking of there being only ſeven different notes, ſays, "On this account, according to *Boetius* "and ancient muſicians, we figure, or "expreſs, by ſeven letters all our ſounds." *Hac nos de cauſa omnes ſonos ſecundum Boetium et antiquos muſicos ſeptem literis figuramus.* "While ſome moderns leſs judici- "ouſly uſe only four characters, figuring "each fifth by the ſame *ſign*." Meaning, doubtleſs, what has been already ſaid in this chapter, that ſome muſicians uſed only four characters, in which caſe every fifth in the octave will have the *ſame* ſign:

" order of the notes in the Gammut," ſays he, p 12, as of the " moons in the year, is moſt fitly exemplified in that figure " which has no end."

" Theſe names," continues he, " though they are ſtill taught " in ſchools, according to the firſt inſtitution, among other " principles of the art; yet the modern vulgar practice com- " monly changes *ut* and *re* into *ſol* and *la*: ſo that for the " ſeven ſeveral notes they uſe but four ſyllables; which greatly " hinder learners, both in ſinging and ſetting. But let thoſe " who wiſh to retain this change, attend to the following " ſhort direction: after *mi*, ſing *fa*, *ſol*, *la*, twice upwards; " and *la*, *ſol*, *fa*, twice downwards, which will lead both " ways to *mi* in the ſame clef or key."

Bontempi recommends this kind of ſolmiſation by the tetrachords *mi*, *fa*, *ſol*, *la*, to his countrymen the Italians (*i*); by whom, however, it does not appear to have been adopted.

After the time of Butler, notwithſtanding the cenſure juſt quoted, which he ſupports by cogent reaſons, the *ut* and *re* were rejected by all the Engliſh ſinging-maſters. For though the hexachords had governed ſolmiſation in moſt parts of Europe, from the time of their firſt arrangement till the latter end of the laſt century, the Engliſh muſicians differing from all others, exploded the two firſt ſyllables *ut*, *re*, and only uſed in their ſolmiſation the remaining four, *mi*, *fa*, *ſol*, *la*; which was reducing the ſcale to *tetrachords*, like the ancient Greeks: for theſe moderns invented nothing new, and only recurred to the very practice that was in uſe during the time of Guido, which he condemned, and laboured to reform by his hexachords.

Morley, indeed, derives all his rules of ſolmiſation from the hexachords, and yet when he exceeds their limits he never uſes *ut* or *re* (*k*).

But Playford, about ſixty years after Morley's publication, ſays, that " though ſix names for the notes, in ſinging, were

(*i*) P. 124 of his *Storia della Muſica*, publiſhed in 1695.

(*k*) A plain and eaſie Introduction to Practical Muſicke, 159.

" uſed

" uſed during many ages, yet only four are now retained (*l*)." And Dr. Holder, Dr. Wallis, and every writer on the ſubject of muſic in this kingdom, were unanimous in excommunicating theſe two ſyllables, till the arrival of Dr. Pepuſch, who endeavoured, and not unſucceſsfully, to have them again received into the pale of the church (*m*).

The Neapolitans ſtill adhere to the hexachords and mutations, denominating every key-note with a major third DO, and with a minor third *re*; an accidental flat *fa*, and ſharp *mi*. Mr. Galliard, in his tranſlation of Toſi *on Florid Song* (*n*), gives the following ſhort and clear rule for finding the *mi* and *fa* in all keys: " Where flats and ſharps are marked at the clef, if " there be one flat, that is *fa*; if more flats, the laſt. If one " ſharp, that is *mi*; if more, the laſt."

Of the ſeveral attempts that have been made at augmenting the number of ſyllables in ſolmiſation, in order to furniſh a diſtinct name for every accidental flat and ſharp, none have, as yet, been generally received. The only addition to the ſix Guidonian ſyllables that has been adopted, and that chiefly in France, is the *Si* for the ſeventh of the key. But till every note in the ſyſtem has a fixed and certain appellation, no proviſion can be made for the accidents of flats, ſharps, and tranſpoſitions. However, the Italians, in general, more frequently teach ſinging by the *vowels* than *ſyllables*; which they call *vocalizzare* inſtead of *ſolfeggiare*; and the friends of this method ſay, that too frequent articulation in the firſt forming of the voice impedes its paſſage, occaſioning a want of ſteadineſs in the *portamento*, and a convulſive motion in the mouth, which can never after be corrected. Nice obſervers pretend to diſcover this imperfection in ſingers of the Neapolitan ſchool.

(*l*) Introduction to the Skill of Muſick, eleventh edit. 1687, p. 2. The firſt was printed in 1655.

(*m*) A Treatiſe on Harmony, 1731, ſecond edit.

(*n*) Page 18, in a note upon § 12.

In 1746 was publiſhed at Venice a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, "Reflexions upon the manner of learning to ſing, with a new "method of ſolmiſation by *twelve ſyllables*, providing for all "the keys, and the accidents to which they are ſubject (*o*)." For thoſe who wiſh to retain the ancient names of the notes, with the additional ſyllable *Si*, uſed by the French, this is an ingenious and uſeful little tract; as the author has ſo far reſpected what had been long received in practice, that he has changed nothing: and the additional ſyllables are only for ſuch ſounds as had before no appellations aſſigned to them but what belonged to other notes, which occaſioned confuſion, tautology, and difficulty.

The firſt ſix natural ſounds, from C to A, he calls, as uſual, *ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la*; and to the ſeventh of this key he applies the ſyllable *Si*: it is, therefore, only to the five ſhort keys of the harpſichord, which ſerve occaſionally both for flats and ſharps to the long keys, that he has furniſhed names. The ſounds in the natural ſcale of C, by this means, retain their ancient appellations, invariably, whether they are wanted for flats, ſharps, or naturals.

| C | *c♯db* | D | *d♯eb* | E | F | *f♯gb* | G | *g♯ab* | A | *a♯b* | B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ut* | *pa* | Re | *bo* | Mi | Fa | *tu* | Sol | *de* | La | *no* | *Si* |

The author, to aſſiſt the memory of the muſical ſtudent, has formed his twelve ſyllables into four ideal words: *Utparè, Bomiſà, Tuſoldè, Lanoſi*, which comprehend the whole ſcale of ſemitones from C to *c* excluſive. By this method the names of the ſounds upon a harpſichord, or other keyed inſtrument, are invariable; and the ſeveral combinations of the ſix ſyllables commonly uſed in ſolmiſation, which, being calculated, amounted

(*o*) *Riflessioni ſopra alla maggior facilità che trovaſi nell apprendere il canto con l'uſo di un ſolfeggio di* dodici monoſillabi, *atteſo il frequenti uſo degl'accidenti.* The author concealed himſelf under the ſeemingly affected name of *Euchero paſtore Arcade*, by which it was implied, that he was a member of the Academy of Arcadia at Rome.

in

in aſcending and deſcending to 137, are reduced to twelve immutable names.

This method is rendered reſpectable by the approbation of the celebrated compoſer Haſſe, and by that of Signor Giambatiſta Mancini, ſinging-maſter to the Imperial family at Vienna, who, in his admirable *Practical Thoughts and Reflections upon Florid Song* (*p*), recommends it in the following manner:

"Upon converſing with the famous Signor Haſſe, on the "ſubject of ſolmiſation, when he was called to Vienna, in "order to ſet the opera of *Alcide al Bivio*, in 1761, he recom-"mended a new method of naming the notes, which he had "ſeen uſed with great ſucceſs by the Canonico Doddi of Cor-"tona; and upon my expreſſing a deſire to acquire a full "knowledge of this method, he was ſo obliging as to write to "his friend at Cortona, who favoured me with a copy of it, "under the following title: *Practical Inſtructions for Solmiſa-"tion in all the Keys of Muſic, without Mutations.*" Signor Mancini then explains the method juſt deſcribed, without appearing to know that it had ever been printed; and concludes with acknowledging it to be eaſy and ingenious, and that he himſelf experienced its utility in practice.

Guido Aretinus has been miſtaken by Merſennus, Voſſius, and others, for Guitmond, monk of St. Lufrid, in the dioceſe of Evreux in Normandy, afterwards biſhop of Averſa, who wrote againſt the hereſies of Berenger; he has been confounded by ſome Italians, likewiſe, with Guitton d'Arezzo, the poet, and one of the founders of the Italian language, who flouriſhed about the time of Dante (*q*), by whom he is celebrated, as well

(*p*) *Penſieri e Riſleſſioni pratiche Sopra il canto figurato.* p. 56, El Seq. in Vienna, 1774.

(*q*) *Alcuni han confuſo* GUITTONE *con Guido Aretino Inventore delle ſei note muſicale, monaco, ed abate dell'Avellana—Egli è certo che Guido Monaco fiorì nel* 1030; *e particolarmente ſotto il governo di Tedaldo Veſcovo d'Arezzo, zio della gran Conteſſa Matilda, a cui dedicò l'opra ſua; non è però vero, ch'ei foſſe lo ſteſſo che il noſtro autore (Fra Guittone), il quale viveva, nel* 1293. Dedicat. alle Lettere di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, Roma 1745.

as by Petrarca, Redi, and almoſt all the poets of Italy (*r*). But Signor Serra (*s*) has thrown ſuch doubts upon Guido's having been the author of the Micrologus, as Signor Eximeno, author of a muſical treatiſe, which is written in a very maſterly ſtyle (*t*), allows to be of difficult ſolution (*u*). For Signor Serra having found in the Vatican Library, among the Queen of Sweden's MSS. a muſical treatiſe, entitled, *Tractatus Guidonis Augienſis*, which correſponds, in every particular, with the Micrologus; he imagines the author of that famous work to have been a native of *Auge* in Normandy, and not of Arezzo in Tuſcany, as has been ſuppoſed for ſo many centuries. But as no ſuch Guido appears in the annals of literature, either in biographical dictionaries, or other accounts of writers of the middle ages; and as the French have never yet laid claim to the Micrologus, or its author, it ſeems a frivolous reaſon for depriving Italy, and the Monk of Arezzo, of productions which they have ſo long poſſeſſed in quiet. But as many writings have been beſtowed on Guido to which he was *not* entitled, it is not extraordinary that he ſhould be robbed of one to which he has ſo juſt a claim. As no mention is made of the Solmiſation and Hexachords in the Micrologus, Signor Serra ſuppoſes them to have been the invention of ſome younger writer than Guido Aretinus, and ſays, that "neither Gafurio, nor any other author, who attributes the Hexachords to Guido, has ever cited a ſingle paſſage "from his writings to confirm his title to them".

It would, indeed, anſwer a purpoſe to Signor Serra that Solmiſation by the ſyllables *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, &c. ſhould not be

(*r*) According to Creſcembeni, he was inventor of the *Sonetto*; though it is the opinion of the critics, that the Sonnet was originally conſtructed by the Provençal poets. The notes to Fra Guittone's letters, and to Redi's *Bacco in Toſcano*, furniſh a conſiderable ſhare of uſeful knowledge concerning the ſtate of literature and the arts in Italy, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

(*s*) *Introduzzione Armonica* Sopra la nuova ſerie de' Suoni modulati oggidì. Roma 1768.

(*t*) See p. 21.

(*u*) "*Parlo di Guidone Aretino ſul comun ſuppoſto, eb'egli ſia l'autore delle opere, che gli vengono attribuite; laſciando nel lor vigore l'erudite prove, colle quale ha meſſo in dubbio quel ſuppoſto il Signor D. Paolo Serra, Cantore della Capella Pontificia nella ſua Introduzzione Armonica.*" Dubbio di D. Ant. Eximeno ſopra il *Saggio di contrapunto* del Padre Martini, p. 88. In Roma, 1775.

ſupported

ſupported by ſuch ancient and reſpectable authority as that of Guido, as he had a new method of his own to propoſe to public favour; which, with a few exceptions, was to name the notes in ſinging by the ſeven firſt letters of the alphabet, diſtinguiſhing the flat, natural, and ſharp notes, by the addition of the three firſt vowels to the ſeven letters, as *ca*, *c* flat, *ce*, *c* natural, and *ci* for *c* ſharp, by which means the ſtudent is diſembarraſſed from all the mutations, and every ſound in the ſcale has a ſpecific and invariable name appropriated to it.

This method had the approbation of ſeveral of the beſt maſters in Rome, who have ſigned a certificate of its effect upon the ſtudies of a young ſinger of the name of Benedetti, who was rendered capable by it, in leſs than a year, of ſinging at ſight any vocal muſic that was put before him, even without accompaniment. Benedetti has ſince ſung the firſt man's part in the operas of ſeveral of the principal cities of Italy; and perhaps, his genius may be ſuch, as would have enabled him to have done the ſame by any other method, with equal ſtudy and practice. Inſtrumental performers, at preſent, are not plagued with the ancient names of the notes and mutations, but learn them by the ſimple letters of the alphabet; and yet I have never heard of one that has been able to play at ſight in a year's time.

Upon the whole, the alphabetic names of the notes ſeem the moſt ſimple and uſeful for every purpoſe but that of exerciſing the voice, which is beſt done by the vowels; and it may be ſaid, that to *ſyllabize* in quick paſſages is little more than to ſpeak, but to *vocalize* is to ſing However, I was told by a ſcholar of the famous Durante, that while he was in the Conſervatorio of St. Onofrio, at Naples, when the boys uſed to be tormenting themſelves about the mutations, and the names of notes in tranſpoſed keys, with double flats and ſharps, Durante cried out, "*Queſte note intonatele, chiamatele poi anche diavole ſe*

"*va-*

" *volete, ma intonatele.*" Meaning, that if they did but hit the intervals right, and in tune, he did not care what they were called. And, perhaps, what Pope ſays of different forms of government, may be more juſtly applied to theſe ſeveral methods of ſinging :

" Whate'er is beſt adminiſter'd is beſt."

As in the uſe of any of them, whoever has the beſt maſter, and ſeconds his inſtructions with the greateſt degree of intelligence and induſtry, will be the moſt likely to ſucceed. And when we recollect the great abilities and enchanting powers of many ſingers of paſt times, who have been obliged to articulate every note of their *ſolfeggi* in the moſt rapid movements, we may apply to the new ſyſtems what Mr. Rouſſeau ſaid with reſpect to his own (*q*): " That the public has done very wiſely " to reject them, and to ſend their authors to the land of vain " ſpeculations." For innovators will always find, that a bad method, already known, will be preferred to a good method that is to learn.

After this minute, and, perhaps, too circumſtantial hiſtory of the *vocal alphabet*, or *ſolmiſation*, which was firſt ſuggeſted by Guido, it is time, when I have fairly ſummed up the account of debts due to him from poſterity, to proceed in my enquiries concerning the further progreſs that was made in the art of muſic by his ſucceſſors.

Though hiſtorical integrity has ſtripped Guido of ſome of the muſical diſcoveries that careleſs enquirers had beſtowed on him, and though his claims to others are rendered doubtful, yet his name ſhould ſtill remain reſpectable among muſicians for the ſervices he did their art, in the opinion of his cotemporaries, and others who have given teſtimonies of their approbation very ſoon after the period in which he lived. Theſe muſt be far better judges of his merit than we can be now, who no longer want his aſſiſtance, and are ſcarcely able to underſtand what he intended to teach. But an obſcure monk, whoſe merit

(*q*) Dict. Art. *Caractère de Muſique.*

could

could penetrate the ſovereign pontiff's palace, without cabal or intereſted protectors; whoſe writings in leſs than a century ſhould be quoted as authorities for muſical doctrines in parts of Europe very remote from the place of his reſidence; at a time too when the intercourſe between one nation and another was not facilitated by travelling, commerce, or the preſs, and during one of the darkeſt periods of the human mind, ſince it has been enlightened by religion and laws; ſuch a one muſt have conferred benefits on ſociety which cannot be eſteemed inconſiderable, ſince, in ſpite of all theſe diſadvantages, they could ſo ſuddenly extend their effects, and intereſt the moſt poliſhed and intelligent part of mankind.

It now remains, under the ſeveral denominations of *Diaphonia*, *Organum*, *Diſcant*, and *Counterpoint*, to trace the origin and progreſs of modern harmony, which has been ſo long ranked among the inventions of Guido. However, by the few ſpecimens of his compoſitions that have already been given from his Micrologus, it does not appear that practical harmony, ſuch as is now underſtood by muſic in different parts, had made any conſiderable advances towards perfection when that tract was written. And yet ſuch attempts at ſimultaneous harmony as he has exhibited, rude, feeble, and indigeſted as they appear, are to be found in treatiſes that have been preſerved of much earlier writers.

Many eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians tell us that the organ was firſt admitted into the church at Rome by Pope Vitalian, 666, the ſame pontiff who two years after ſent ſingers into Kent, to finiſh the work which Auſtin, the firſt Roman miſſionary, had begun. In 680, according to Bede, John, the præcentor of St. Peter's in Rome, was ſent over by Pope Agatho to inſtruct the monks of Weremouth in the manner of performing the ritual, who opened ſchools for teaching muſic in other places of the kingdom of Northumberland. This may reconcile to probability ſome part of the following account, which Giral-

dus Cambrenſis gives of the peculiar manner of ſinging that was practiſed by the Welch, and the inhabitants of the North of England, about the end of the twelfth century (*y*).

" The Britons," ſays he, " do not ſing in uniſon, like the " inhabitants of other countries; but in many different parts. " So that when a company of ſingers among the common peo- " ple meets to ſing, as is uſual in this country, as many dif- " ferent parts are heard as there are performers, who all at " length unite in conſonance, with organic ſweetneſs In the " northern parts of Great Britain, beyond the Humber, on " the borders of Yorkſhire, the inhabitants uſe the ſame kind " of ſymphonious harmony; except that they only ſing in " two parts, the one murmuring in the baſe, and the other " warbling in the acute or treble. Nor do theſe two nations " practice this kind of ſinging ſo much by art as habit, which " has rendered it ſo natural to them, that neither in Wales, " where they ſing in many parts, nor in the North of Eng- " land, where they ſing in two parts, is a ſimple melody " ever well ſung. And, what is ſtill more wonderful, their " children, as ſoon as they attempt uſing their voices, ſing in " the ſame manner. But as not *all* the Engliſh ſing in this " manner, but thoſe only of the North, I believe they had " this art at firſt, like their language, from the Danes and " Norwegians, who uſed frequently to invade and to occupy, " for a long time together, thoſe parts of the iſland (*z*)."

This

(*y*) Giraldus Cambrenſis, archdeacon, and afterwards biſhop of St. David's, was born about the middle of the 12th century, and died after the year 1220.

(*z*) *In muſico modulamine non uniformiter ut alibi, ſed multipliciter multiſque modis et modulis cantilenas emittant, adeò ut in turbâ canentium, ſicut huic genti mos eſt, quot videas capita, tot audias carmina diſcriminaque vocum varia, in unam denique ſub B mollis dulcedine blandâ conſonantiam et organicam convenientia melodiam. In Borealibus quoque majoris Britanniæ partibus trans Humbrum, Eboracique finibus Anglorum populi qui partes illas inhabitant ſimili canendo ſymphoniacâ utuntur harmoniâ: binis tamen ſolummodo tonorum differentiis et vocum modulando varietatibus, unâ inferius ſub murmurante, alterâ verò ſuperni demulcente pariter et delectante. Nec arte tantùm ſed uſu longævo et quaſi in naturam morâ diutinâ jam converſo, hæc vel illa ſibi gens hanc ſpecialitatem comparavit: Qui adeò apud utramque invaluit et altas jam radices*

This extraordinary paſſage requires a comment. And firſt, it may be neceſſary, before we reaſon upon the circumſtances it contains, to be certain of their authenticity. Giraldus Cambrenſis is indeed an author who has been often ſuppoſed inaccurate and fabulous (*a*); and the glaring improbabilities in the above account, with the manifeſt ignorance of the ſubject in queſtion, by no means contribute to augment his credibility. For whoever is acquainted with the laws of counterpoint, or with the firſt difficulties attending the practice of ſinging in parts, can have no exalted idea of the harmony of an untaught crowd, *turba canentium*, or ſuppoſe it to be much better than the diſſonant pæans of a good-humoured mob; in which the parts would be as various as the pitch of voices of which their chorus was compoſed. But how all theſe united at laſt in the conſonance of *organic melody*, and the ſoft ſweetneſs of *B mollis*, will long remain an impenetrable ſecret (*b*):

"As true no meaning puzzles more than wit."

With reſpect to what he aſſerts of the people in Northumberland ſinging in *two parts*, it is more reconcileable to probability, from the circumſtances juſt mentioned, of the cultivation of muſic in

*dices poſuit, ut nihil hic ſimpliciter, ubi multipliciter ut apud priores, vel ſaltem dupliciter ut apud ſequentes, melliùs præferri conſueverit. Pueris etiam (quòd magis admirandum) et ferè infantibus, (cum primum à fictibus in cantus erumpunt) eandem modulationem obſervantibus. Angli verò quoniam non generaliter omnes, ſed borealeſ ſolùm hujuſmodi vocum utuntur modulationibus, credo quòd a Dacis* (al. Danis) *et Norwagienſibus qui partes illas inſulæ frequentiùs occupare ac diutiùs obtinere ſolebant, ſicut loquendi affinitatem, ſic canendi proprietatem contraxerunt.*

Cambriæ Deſcriptio, cap. xiii.

(*a*) "Girald Cambrenſis deſerves no manner of regard or credit to be given him; and his Chronicle is the moſt partial repreſentation of the Iriſh hiſtory that ever was impoſed on any nation in the world. He has endeavoured to make the venerable antiquities of the iſland a mere fable; and given occaſion to the hiſtoriaos that came after him, to abuſe the world with the ſame fictitious relations."—*Keating*, part i. p. 13. *Dr. Nicholſon, Biſhop of Derry's, Iriſh Hiſtorical Library*, 1ſt edit. *Dubl.* 1724.

(*b*) If by *melodia organica* he meant *organized*, or *harmonized*, melody, we may ſuppoſe that the Cambro-Britons, in the time of Giraldus Cambrenſis, had acquired ſome knowledge in *diaphonics*, or *deſcant*; which, according to John of Saliſbury, an elder writer, was practiſed to great exceſs in the 12th century.

* The word *Danis* muſt certainly have been changed for *Dacis*, by ſome careleſs or ignorant tranſcriber; for though the *Danes* ſo often invaded England, who ever heard of the *Dacians* viſiting this country?

that part of the world under Roman maſters, who may probably have firſt brought over the art of *diſcant*, or *double ſinging*, which the newly invented organ had ſuggeſted, by the facility it afforded of ſounding two or more notes at a time; which art, when practiſed by voices, was thence called *organum*, *organizare*. But as to what Giraldus ſays of children naturally ſinging in this manner as ſoon as they were out of the cradle, the reader will afford it what degree of weight he pleaſes; for my own part, I muſt own that it is not yet admitted into my muſical creed.

If, however, incredulity could be vanquiſhed with reſpect to the account which Giraldus Cambrenſis gives of the ſtate of muſic in Wales during the twelfth century, it would be by a Welch MS. in the poſſeſſion of Richard Morris, Eſq. of the Tower, which contains pieces for the harp that are in full *harmony* or *counterpoint*: they are written in a peculiar notation, and ſuppoſed to be as old as the year 1100; at leaſt, ſuch is the known antiquity of many of the ſongs mentioned in the collection. But whether the tunes and their notation are coeval with the words, cannot eaſily be proved; nor is the counterpoint, though far from correct or elegant, of ſo rude a kind as to fortify ſuch an opinion.

Some part of "This MS." according to a memorandum which I found in it, "was tranſcribed in the time of Charles "the Firſt, by Robert ap Huw, of Bodwigen, in the iſle of "Angleſea, from William Penllyn's Book (*c*)." The title given to theſe pieces, is MUSICA *neu* BERORIAETH: and a note, in Engliſh, informs us, that the manuſcript contains "the muſic of the Britons, as ſettled by a congreſs, or meet-

(*c*) The name of William Penllyn is recorded among the ſucceſsful candidates on the harp, at the *Eiſteddfod*, or ſeſſion of the bards and minſtrels, appointed in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth, at Caerwys in North Wales, where he was elected one of the *Chief Bards and Teachers of Inſtrumental Song*. Pennant's Tour in North Wales, 1773, printed 1778.

"ing

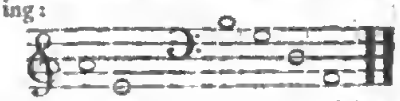
" ing of maſters of muſic, by order of Gryffydd ap Cynan, " prince of Wales, about the year 1100, with ſome of the moſt " ancient pieces of the Britons, ſuppoſed to have been handed " down to us from the Britiſh bards."

This muſic is written in a notation by letters of the alphabet, ſomewhat reſembling the tablature for the lute; but without lines, except a ſingle line to ſeparate the treble from the baſe (*d*).

In the notation, double *ff* ſeems the loweſt note; then the firſt ſeven letters of the alphabet are written thus, $g_1$, $a_1$, $b_1$, $c_1$, $d_1$, $e_1$, $f_1$; and the next ſeptenary thus, with a daſh over each letter, $\bar{f}$, $\bar{g}$, $\bar{a}$, $\bar{b}$, $\bar{c}$, $\bar{d}$, $\bar{e}$. If theſe letters repreſent the ſame ſounds as at preſent, we find ſome ſuch chords as are admitted in modern harmony; but others frequently occur that are mere jargon.

Many of the baſes, or accompaniments to the melodies begin with the chord of C inverted: $\frac{g_1}{c}$. Theſe chords and melodies are leſſons for young practitioners on the harp; and are ſaid to be the exerciſes and trial-pieces which were required to be performed by the candidates for muſical degrees, and for the ſilver harp. Among the firſt twenty-four leſſons of this kind, ſome few are eaſy to decypher, as No. XI. and XVII. which I ſhall give here as ſpecimens of this notation, explained in modern muſical characters.

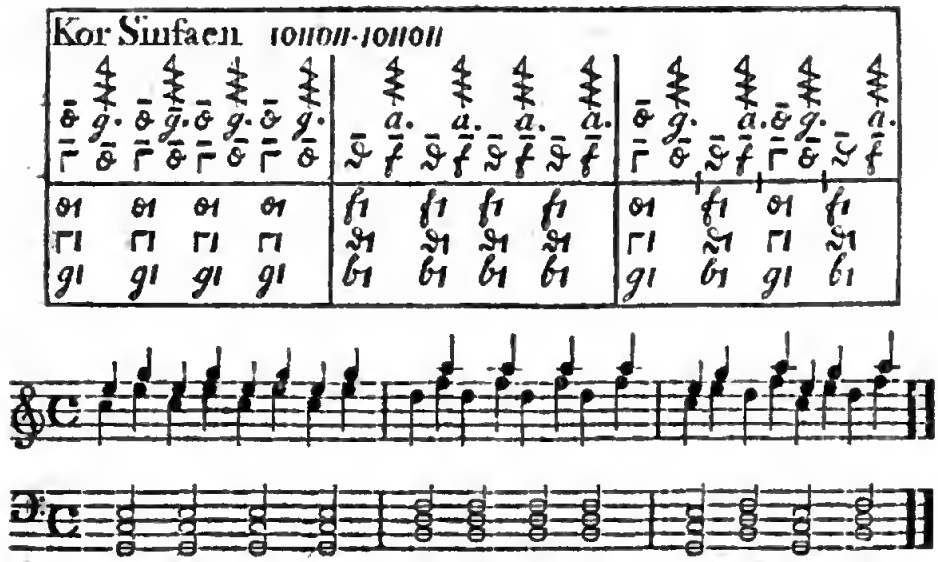
(*d*) The lines made uſe of in the tablature for the lute, and formerly for the guittar, the viol da braccia, and the viol da gamba, are repreſentations of the ſtrings of thoſe inſtruments; the letters imply the frets which divide the finger-board into ſemitones; and the notes over the lines point out the time of each ſound in the melody. The firſt, or higheſt ſtring, is ſometimes A, in uniſon with the ſecond ſtring of the violin, and ſometimes G below it. If A be the pitch, the following is the *accordatura*, or tuning:



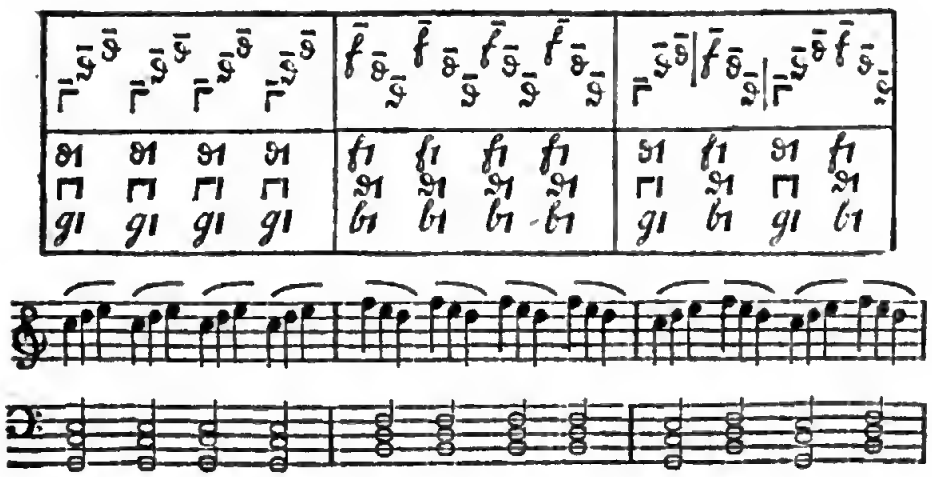
If G, the diſtance between the ſtrings is the ſame: that is, 4th, 4th, 3d, 4th, and 4th, as thus:

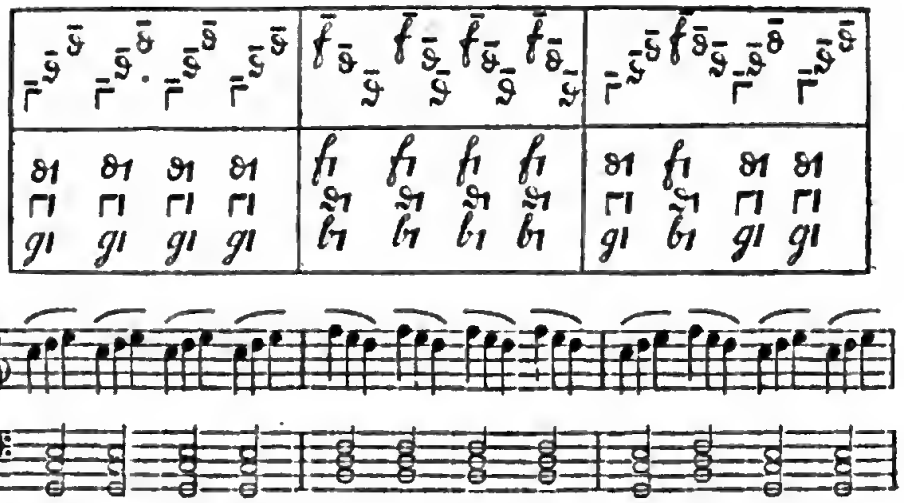
No.

No. XI.

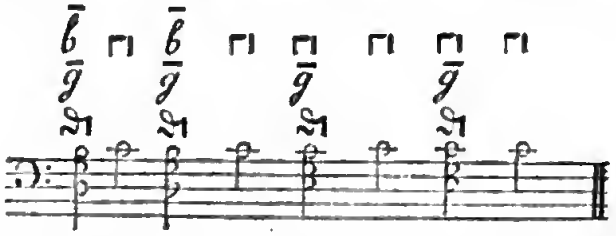



No. XVII.





After twenty-four leſſons, or meaſures, as they are called, of this kind, there follow twelve variations on a ground baſe.



This counterpoint, however artleſs it may ſeem, is too modern for ſuch remote antiquity as is given to it. The falſe 5th, from B to F, in the firſt example, has not been long allowed in harmony; and the unprepared 7th, from B to A, in the ſecond example, is a crudity that has been but very lately tolerated.

That the aneient inhabitants of Wales were great eneouragers of poetry and muſie, cannot be diſputed, as many ſpecimens of Cambro-Britiſh verſifieation of undoubted antiquity ſtill ſubſiſt; and that theſe poems, as well as thoſe of aneient Greece and Rome, were originally *ſung* and aeeompanied with inſtruments, is very natural and reaſonable to believe; but that a rude

rude and uncivilized people, driven into a mountainous and barren country, without commerce or communication with the reſt of Europe, ſhould *invent counterpoint*, and cultivate harmony, at a period when it was unknown to the moſt poliſhed and refined inhabitants of the earth, ſtill remains a problem of difficult ſolution.

I ſhall give a farther account of this curious MS. when I come to ſpeak of *national muſic*, and the eſtabliſhment of muſical games or conteſts in Wales, before any other muſic ſeems to have been much cultivated in the reſt of the iſland, except the Eccleſiaſtical or Gregorian chant, which the Britons, driven into the mountains of Wales by the Saxons, ſeem to have been very unwilling to receive from the Roman miſſionaries that were ſent over to convert their conquerors (*e*).

It will be much eaſier to trace the art of counterpoint in France, than in Italy or England, as the French have preſerved more monkiſh records than either of the other countries. For the Italians, who both ſpeak and write leſs than the French on common and familiar ſubjects, have beſides had their towns and monaſteries more frequently pillaged and deſtroyed by invaders. And in England, at the time of the reformation, and during our civil wars in the laſt century, every thing which had the moſt minute connexion with Popery was devoted to the flames.

The firſt organ we hear of in France was of Greek conſtruction, and ſent thither in 757, as a preſent to King Pepin, father of Charlemagne, by the Emperor Conſtantine VIth. (*f*).

(*e*) The Britiſh annals and ſongs aſcribe, with great reſentment, the ſlaughter of the monks at Bangor, by Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the inſtigation of Auſtin the monk, on account of their having refuſed to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of Pope Gregory, and the regulations he propoſed.

(*f*) See p. 66. This fact may perhaps be rendered more worthy of credence, by the aſſertion of Walter Odington, of Eveſham, a muſical writer of the 13th century, who, in his tract *De Speculatione Muſicæ*, ſays, that *Anno Domini* 757, *venit Organum primo in Franciam miſſum a potiſſimo Rege Græcorum Pipino imperatori*. Of this MS. which is in Bene't Coll. Camb. a more particular account will be given hereafter.

This

This inſtrument ſeems to have been regarded in France as a very extraordinary and enchanting piece of mechaniſm; for we are told by Notker, the monk of St. Gal, in Switzerland, a writer of the tenth century, that Charlemagne, in order to procure another, ſent ambaſſadors to the Emperor Michael, at Conſtantinople, purpoſely to ſolicit ſo precious a gift. And this organ, after its arrival, is deſcribed in ſuch a manner as not to be miſtaken. Indeed it ſeems to have had imitative powers equal to thoſe produced by different ſtops in modern organs (*g*).

It is the opinion of Mabillon (*h*), that "this inſtrument "contributed greatly to the perfecting the Gregorian chant in "France, as it is certain that the uſe of the organ paſſed from "the king's chapel, where that had been placed which came "from Conſtantinople, to different churches of the kingdom, "before it was common in Italy, England, or Germany." However, the reception of this kind of inſtrument into the church at Verona, during the ſame reign, is recorded in ſome charters mentioned by *Ughello* (*i*).

It may be ſuppoſed that this oriental organ was neither imitated in its conſtruction, nor uſed with any great ſkill, immediately after its arrival; ſo that its effects in ſuggeſting counterpoint could ſcarcely have appeared before the arrival of the muſicians ſent into France by Pope Adrian at the latter end of the eighth century. After which time, however, frequent attempts at a bagpipe-kind of harmony are preſerved in ancient miſſals and muſical tracts, of which I ſhall give ſome account.

The Abbé Le Beuf, who, in the year 1734, was appointed by the archbiſhop of Paris to correct and ſuperintend the

(*g*) *Adduxerunt etiam iidem miſſi omne genus* organorum, *ſed et variarum rerum ſecum*-----*et* præcipue illud muſicorum organum præſtantiſſimum, *quod doliis ex ære conflatis, follibuſque taurinis, per fiſtulas æreas mire perflantibus, rugitu quidem, tonitrui boatum, garrulitatem vero lyræ vel cymbali, dulcedine coæquabat.* (De Carolo Magno, cap. 10.)

(*h*) An. I. 23. n. 28, 29.

(*i*) Tom. v. p. 604. 610. *apud* Du Cangium, *Gloſſ. Lat.*

chants in the new edition of a breviary and miſſal for the uſe of his dioceſe, publiſhed, in the year 1741, an admirable *Hiſtorical Treatiſe on Eccleſiaſtical Chanting*, which he drew up while he was viſiting different parts of the kingdom, in order to collate MSS. and reſtore purity to the corrupted melodies of the church. This writer has neither evaded nor ſlightly diſcuſſed points of difficult ſolution, but, on the contrary, has ſedulouſly ſought, and, with no leſs ſagacity and learning than diligence, generally explained them to the ſatisfaction of his readers. Indeed, he is one of the few writers on the ſubject, whom I have examined, who has ſought information at the ſource, and not contented himſelf with the muddy ſtream of ſecond-hand ſcience.

With the aſſiſtance of this diligent and judicious writer, it is not difficult to form a kind of genealogical chain, or ſeries of eccleſiaſtical muſicians, from the time of Charlemagne, when the Roman chant was firſt eſtabliſhed in France, to that of Guido; that is, from the eighth to the eleventh century.

Remi of Auxerre, the moſt learned perſonage in the Latin church, at the end of the ninth century, has left behind him a Commentary on the Muſical Treatiſe of Martianus Capella, which is ſtill ſubſiſting among the MSS. in the king of France's library, No. 5304. He acquired his ſcience from Heric. Heric was the diſciple of Rabanus, and Hayman of Halberſtadt, who had converſed with the Roman ſingers ſent into France by Pope Adrian.

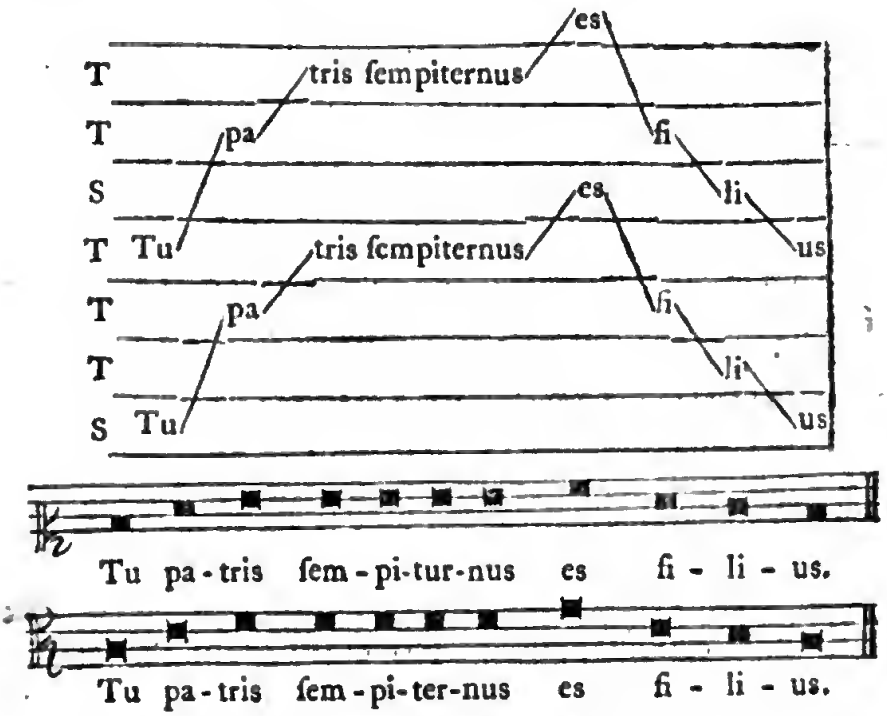
Hubald, Hucbald, or Hugbald, a monk of St. Amand, in Flanders, who preceded Guido more than one hundred years, was cotemporary with Remi, and author of a treatiſe on muſic, which is ſtill ſubſiſting in the king of France's library, under the title of *Enchiridion Muſicæ*, No. 7202, tranſcribed in the eleventh century. In this work there is a kind of gammut, or expedient for delineating the ſeveral ſounds of the ſcale, in a way wholly different from his predeceſſors (*k*); but the method

(*k*) *See* p. 36 of this vol.

of

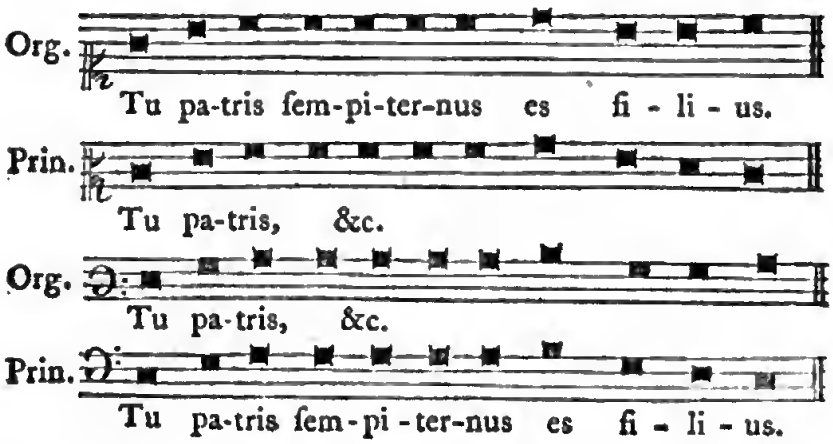
of Guido not only ſuperſeded this, but, by degrees, effaced the knowledge and remembrance of every other that had been adopted in the different countries and convents of Europe. However, the aukward attempts at ſinging in conſonance, which appear in this tract, are curious, and clearly prove that Guido neither invented, nor, rude as it was before his time, much contributed to the improvement of this art.

Hubald places the whole force of his *diaphonics*, or harmony, upon fourths and fifths. The following fragment of canto fermo has been already given, p. 35, as an example of *notation*, by Odo. I did not then ſuſpect that the ſyllables, placed over each other between the lines, were meant as counterpoint, till I ſaw them given as ſuch, and reduced to common notes by the prince abbot of St. Blaiſe (*l*), who truly obſerves, that it is ſuch harmony as will not only offend the ear, but ſet our teeth on edge.



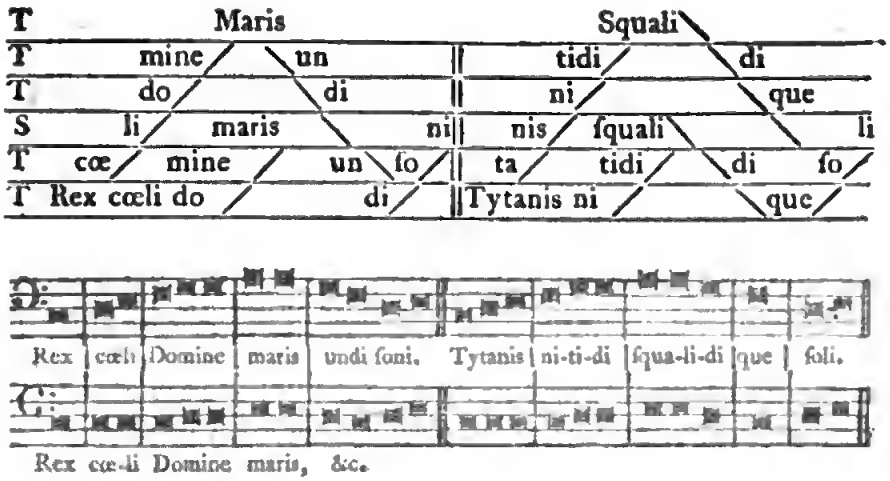

(*l*) *De Muſica* Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 112.

The good monk ſays, if to theſe two parts, two more are added in the octave, the harmony will be complete: and then writes, after his manner, the ſame fragment of melody over again, with a very ſmall change at the end in the accompaniment, which he calls *Organum*. Though it is eaſy for a profeſſed muſician to divine what a ſtrange effect ſuch a combination of ſounds would have, yet I ſhall preſent it in ſcore, for the ſatisfaction of others, who may have a greater reverence for antiquity.



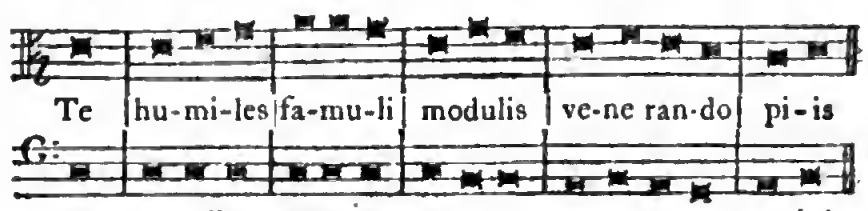

After giving this example, he grows bolder by degrees, and in chap. XV. ventures to make a tranſient uſe of a 2d and 3d; then, having feaſted his ears with a ſucceſſion of ſeven 4ths, he makes the principal voice part, and what he calls the *Organum*, end in uniſon, as thus:

Rex




Rex cœ-li Domine maris, &c.

At length, growing ſtill more daring, in the eighteenth chapter, the queſtion is, " How much higher the principal " melody may go than the *organum?*" And he determines the point, that while one voice remains in the ſame tone, the other may wander about at its pleaſure. The ſucceſſion of four thirds in the following example, renders it more like muſic of this world, in point of harmony, than any of the reſt; and, indeed, a very few alterations in the under part would make the whole fragment ſupportable to modern ears.




Te humiles, &c.

(m)

Theſe

(m) Hubald, the reſpectable author of theſe curious ſpecimens of crude harmony, was not only a muſician but a poet; and an idea may be formed of his patience and perſeverance, if not of his genius, from a circumſtance related by Sigebert, the author of his life, by which it appears that he vanquiſhed a much greater difficulty in poetry

Theſe examples will ſufficiently ſhew the infant ſtate of counterpoint, previous to the time of Guido, and enable the reader to judge whether it was much improved by his diſcoveries.

No writer of eminence, on the ſubject of muſic, of whoſe works we have any remains, appears between the time of Hubald and Guido, except Odo, the abbot of Cluni, in Burgundy, whom Mabillon (*n*) ranks at the head of literature and the polite arts at the beginning of the tenth century. He ſtudied under St. Remi, at Paris, and, among other ſciences, applied himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully to muſic, that he was afterwards regarded as the moſt learned muſician of his time. He made three ſeveral voyages to Rome, in 936, 938, and 942, where, it is natural to ſuppoſe, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Gregorian chant, and was initiated in all the refinements that were then practiſed in St. Peter's church and the pontifical chapel.

Some of his hymns, chants, and anthems, are ſtill preſerved in the Romiſh church (*o*); and there are two copies of a MS. tract upon muſic, of his writing, in the king of France's library at Paris (*p*). They are in ſeparate volumes, and both bound up with many other ancient muſical treatiſes. There is a tract of great antiquity in the library of Baliol college, Oxford, which, by the initial ſentence, *Quid eſt muſica?* I once imagined to have been written by Odo; but am now convinced that it is the work of Guido himſelf: for, upon carefully peruſing, and collating it with the extracts I had made from the *Enchiridion* of Odo, in the libraries of the king of France, and

poetry than the Lippogrammatiſts of antiquity ever attempted: for they only excommunicated a ſingle letter of the alphabet from a whole poem; but this determined monk compoſed three hundred verſes in praiſe of *Baldneſs*, which he addreſſed to the emperor Charles the Bald, and in which he obliged the letter C to take the lead in every word, as the initial of his patron's name and infirmity: Carolus Calvus, as thus:

*Carmina Clariſonæ Calvis Cantate Camœnæ.*

(*n*) *Acta Sanct. ord. S. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 126.

(*o*) *Hiſt. Litter. de France*, tom. vi. p. 235.

(*p*) *Dialogus de Muſica*, No. 7211, with this memorandum: *Codex membranaceus, olim Colbertinus, partim duodecimo, partim decimo tertio ſæculo, videtur exaratus.* And No. 7369, where it has another title: *Odonis Abbatis*, Enchiridion *de Muſica.*

elſewhere,

elſewhere, as well as with the quotations from it in the Muſical Hiſtories of Padre Martini and the Abbot Gerbert, I find it to be totally a different work, agreeing in nothing but the initial queſtion. It contains inſtructions for meaſuring muſical intervals by the *Monochord*, and a Formulary of the Eccleſiaſtical Tones. It is given to Guido in the Vatican library (*q*); and in the Saville ſtudy, at Oxford, there is a printed copy of part of it, under the ſame name (*r*).

But the moſt beautiful and perfect copy which I have ſeen, and which perhaps can now be found, of the ſcarce and curious tracts upon muſic, by the venerable monk Hubald, of St. Amand, and St. Odo, abbot of Cluni, ſubſiſts in the library of Bene't college, Cambridge, under a title which is not likely to diſcover the real author of theſe tracts, and to the knowlege of which nothing but the having ſeen them in other libraries on the continent could have led me. I had long ſince been told of a very ancient and valuable muſical MS. in this curious library, but was unable to examine it till very lately, which I did with great care and ſatisfaction, as it contains the two moſt ancient treatiſes on modern muſic, in which any mention is made of ſinging in parts.

The number of this MS. in the excellent catalogue lately publiſhed, is CCLX (*s*), where it is entitled *Muſica Hogeri, ſive Excerptiones Hogeri Abbatis ex Autoribus Muſicæ Artis*: "The "Muſic of Hogerus, or Extracts from Writers on the Art of "Muſic, by the Abbot Hogerus." Who this abbot was, or when he lived, will not now be eaſily diſcovered. His name has long puzzled the learned: and I find, among the letters

(*q*) No. 1196. Guidonis Aretini *de Muſica Dialogus. Quid eſt Muſica?*

(*r*) *Muſica ſive* Guidonis Aretini, *de Uſu et Conſtitutione Monochordi, Dialogus; jam denuo recognitus ab Andrea Reinhardo Nivemontano. Lipſiæ*, 1604. The tract, in Baliol college library, which is more than double the length of the printed copy, is tranſcribed in the ſame volume as the Micrologus of Guido: *Explicit Muſica Domni Guidonis. Incipit Explanatio Artis Muſicæ ſub Dialogo. D. Quid eſt Muſica? M. Veraciter canendi Scientia*, &c.

(*s*) *Codex Membranaceus in* 4to, *pervetuſtus, non geni.s abhinc annis exaratus.*

of

of Baptiſta Doni (*t*), that this MS. was the ſubject of a correſpondence between him and Dr. Thomas Rigel, of London, in the year 1639 (*u*). Doni, who had emiſſaries at this time all over Europe, in ſearch of muſical curioſities, upon hearing of this extraordinary MS. in his letter to Dr. Rigel concerning it, ſays, *De Hogerii abbatis excerptis (ſiquidem exſtarent) brevia quædam ſpecimina dumtaxat cuperem: quum enim autor ſit mihi plane ignotus, affirmare non auſim, an talia ſint ejus ſcripta, ut totus ſcribi mereatur.*—The Doctor, in his reply to Doni, the ſame year, tells him, that after making all poſſible enquiry in the library at *Cambridge—Nullum Hogerii ſcriptum in ea bibliotheca inveniri.*—Whether this was true, or only a ſhort way of getting rid of the trouble incident to ſuch enquiries, I know not; but I find the book entered in the catalogue that goes under the name of Dr. Gale (*x*), thus: *Excerptiones* Rogeri Baconi *ex auctoribus Muſicæ Artis.* It is poſſible that this book may have been tranſcribed by, or for, this wonderful man; and it is the more poſſible, as he admitted muſic among his ſtudies, and is ſaid, by his biographers, to have written *De valore Muſices*, pr. *Secundum Boetium et cæteros auctores.* However this may have been, the MS. which is beautifully written on vellum, and extremely well preſerved, contains more than it promiſes; for the two muſical treatiſes of Hubald and Odo, both written in the tenth century, are not given in fragments or abſtracts, but *entire*, and unmixed with the writings of any other authors.

And as they are ſcarce, and frequently confounded by thoſe who cite them, I ſhall be ſomewhat minute in deſcribing their contents. The Enchiridion of Hubald, or, as it is ſometimes called, his treatiſe *De Harmonica Inſtitutione*, appears firſt in the volume, and begins, *Archytas vero cuncta ratione conſtituens non modo ſenſum aurium imprimis conſonantiis obſervare neglexit.*

(*t*) For an account of this writer, ſee vol. i. p. 116.

(*u*) Jo. Bapt. Donii *Commercium Litterarium.* Florentiæ, 1754.

(*x*) *Catalogi Librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ.* 1697. Fol. No. 1466. 189.

*Verum*

*Verum et jam maxime intra Tetrachordorum diviſionem rationem ſecutus eſt.* All is *à la Grec* in this treatiſe, and reduced to the tetrachords, as the titles of ſome of the chapters will ſhew.

*De pthongorum figuris, et quare ſint octodecim.*
*Unde dicatur tetrachordum finalium et cæterorum.*
*Quare unum ſolum tetrachordum ſub finalibus et duo Supra.*
*Quod diſtet inter authentos et minores tonos.*

But the chief peculiarities of this manuſcript, are the ſpecimens of counterpoint, ſuch as have already been given under the title of *Diaphonics*, or *Organizing*; and the ſtrange notation, of which an example has been inſerted, p. 33, from Padre Martini, who had taken it from a MS. which was erroneouſly aſcribed to Odo.

It appears, upon a careful examination of this tract, that the uncommon characters uſed by Hubald, as ſigns of the eccleſiaſtical modes, are likewiſe the muſical notes with which he writes his chants: and of theſe he has fifteen to expreſs the double octave, all differing from each other by ſome ſlight peculiarity. See plate, p. 95, No. 3, where they are inſerted, on account of their ſingular forms, with the correſpondent literal notation in preſent uſe.

This notation, and the appellations given to the eccleſiaſtical modes, are ſo nearly what the modern Greeks ſtill uſe, that their origin ſeems clearly pointed out. In ſpeaking of the four authentic modes or tones, he ſays:

*Primus qui et graviſſimus Græce* Protos *dicitur vel* Archos.

*Secundus* Deuteros *tono diſtans a Protos.*

*Tertius* Tritos *ſemitono diſtans a Deutero.*

*Quartus* Tetardos *tono diſtans a Trito.*

Theſe characters, which are frequently uſed for plain-chant without lines, have generally one of the two letters, T, S, at the ſide of each, to indicate the *tones* and *ſemitones*.

He has a chapter *de Symphoniis*, which inculcates the ſame doctrine as Guido's chapter *De Diaphonia*. He ſays there are three kinds of ſymphony, in the 4th, 5th, and 8th; and that as the combination of ſome letters and ſyllables is more pleaſing to the ear than others, ſo it is with ſounds in muſic. All mixtures are not equally ſweet.

He then deſcribes *Diateſſaron Symphonia*, *Diapente Symphonia*, and *Diapaſon Symphonia* (*y*); and, after giving examples in his peculiar notation, of theſe three kinds of ſymphony, his next chapter has for title, *Quomodo ex Simplicibus Symphoniis aliæ Componuntur*.

This permiſſion only extends to the diapaſon and diateſſaron, diapaſon and diapente, diſdiapaſon, &c. or ſymphony in the 11th, 12th, and 15th.

Then a circular diagram is given of their relations. Hubald, however, ſays, that the moſt pleaſing of all ſymphonies is in the octave or diapaſon—*Maxima Symphonia Diapaſon dicitur, quod mea perfectior cæteris conſonantia fiat* (*z*).

There are many curious paſſages in this treatiſe; but as great uſe has been made of it already, in deſcribing attempts at counterpoint, previous to the time of Guido, I ſhall only mention ſuch circumſtances, and give the titles of ſuch chapters, as will beſt aſcertain its identity with that in the king of France's poſſeſſion, and eſtabliſh its exiſtence in one of our own libraries, where it may be conſulted by diligent and curious enquirers into the ſtate of the arts during this dark period.

In this work I found the ſame diagram, with the ſame lateral characters, as are already exhibited in this vol. p. 35. After which

(*y*) The ſinging in a ſucceſſion of 4ths and 5ths was afterwards called, in France, *Diateſſaronare* and *Quintoier*.

(*z*) Symphony in the octave is ſtill moſt pleaſing to uncultivated ears; but how any ears could ever be pleaſed with ſymphony in 4ths or 5ths, is now difficult to imagine.

we

we have a diagram of *tranſpoſition—Modum unumquemque in alium tranſmutare, ita*—exactly the ſame as that which is printed from P. Martini, at the bottom of the ſame page.

In his next chapter, the title of which is *De proprietate Symphoniarum*, Hubald ſpeaks of *diaphonia* and *organum*, as ſynonimous with *ſymphony*; and this is a full confirmation of what has been often advanced in the preſent chapter, "that "neither Guido, nor any muſical writers of the middle ages, "by the word *organum* ever meant the *inſtrument*, or a *part to* "*be played on the inſtrument*, which we now call an ORGAN (*a*)."

His next chapter is *De auctiore Diaphonia per Diateſſaron ejuſque deſcriptio*; to illuſtrate which *augmentation*, he doubles each part in the octave; that is, doubles the voice part and the organum (*b*).

Then follows a deſcription of double diaphonics in the 5th—*Diaphoniæ Auctioris per Diapente*; an example of which is given in four parts, to theſe words: *Sit gloria Domini in ſæcula lætabitur in operibus ſuis.*

The title of the next chapter excites curioſity: *Quod de his Ptholemæum ſenſiſſe Boetius narrat.*—But this is only the old diſpute, whether the 11th, or octave of the 4th, is a concord; and Hubald determines it againſt thoſe ancients who refuſed it a place among conſonant intervals, aſſerting, that by doubling the parts in the octave, a ſeries of elevenths has a very good effect.

It is in the next chapter that he hazards other intervals than 4ths, 5ths, or 8ths, and that he uſes a tranſient 2d, and 3d, both major and minor. The title of this chapter is, *Quo modo altiora, modo ſubmiſſiora loca Organum petat.* The example of what he imagined to be ſuch licentious counterpoint, has been already given, p. 119, to theſe words: *Te humiles*, &c.

(*a*) —*Nunc id quo propriæ ſymphoniæ dicuntur, et ſunt, id eſt, qualiter eædem voces ſeſe in unum canendo habeant, proſequamur. Hæc namque eſt, quam diaphoniam cantilenam, vel aſſuete* Organum *nuncupamus. Dicta autem Diaphonia, quod non uniformi canore conſtet, ſed concentu* concorditer diſſono; *quod licet omnium eſt ſymphoniarum commune, in Diateſſaron Organici meli ponatur exemplum. Utpote ſi ad ſubjunctam deſcriptionem duobus ſonis interpoſitas quarto loco in unum canendo vox voci reſpondeat.*

(*b*) See p. 118.

In his laſt chapter, which is an Eloge upon Muſic, he tells the ſtory of Orpheus's deſcent into hell to fetch his wife Eurydice; but ſays, that the moderns, confining their muſic to the praiſe of God, pretend to no ſuch powers. He therefore leaves to Boethius the relation of its marvellous effects in ancient times.

We come now to the celebrated *Enchiridion* of Odo, which is written in dialogue, and mentioned with reſpect, even by Guido himſelf. *Incipit Scholium Enchiridij de Arte Muſica.* The dialogue is between a maſter and his diſciple (*c*).

The diagrams and muſical examples are all given in the ſame characters as thoſe of Hubald: See plate p. 95. No. 3. His doctrine of the tones, or eccleſiaſtical modes, is illuſtrated by innumerable ſpecimens in this kind of notation.

In this treatiſe, the barbarous and unmeaning words, in Gothic letters, occur, which the Greek church uſed during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, to characterize the modes or tones: NONANOEANE, NOEANE, NOIOEANE, ANOAIS, &c. of which the abbreviations or ſigns are given on the left ſide of the ſpecimen of this ſpecies of notation, p. 35.

Terms like theſe are ſtill retained by the modern Greeks in their eccleſiaſtical muſic, as I find by Leo Allatius, and by the Abate Martini's papers; the intonations of the eight eccleſiaſtical modes, for inſtance, are ſung to the following words: ANANES, NEANES, NANA, AGIA; ANEANES, NEANES, AANES, NEAGIE: each beginning upon one of the following ſounds of our ſcale: A, B, C, D, E, F, G.

The entablature, or notation of Hubald and Odo, very much reſemble each other, as does their counterpoint; indeed theſe eccleſiaſtics were not only cotemporaries, and friends, but diſciples of Remi, monk of St. German d'Auxerre; and Odo, the youngeſt of the two, ſurvived Hubald but twelve years *.

(*c*) Pr. D. *Muſica quid eſt?* M. *Bene modulandi ſcientia.* D. *Bene modulari, quid eſt?* M. *Melos ſuavi ſono moderari.* —By the title of this tract, *Scholium Enchiridii*, as well as by the notation and counterpoint it contains, it ſeems as if it had been intended by Odo as a Commentary upon the *Enchiridion* of Hubald.

* Hubald died in 930, at near 90 years of age; and Odo in 942, aged 64.

The

The firſt part of this tract ends thus: *Præterea et grata Symphoniarum commixtio maximam ſuavitatem cantilenis adjicet.*

And in the ſecond part he proceeds to the explanation of this extraordinary ſymphonic ſweetneſs; which he tells his diſciple, conſiſts in the pleaſing mixture of certain ſounds, ſuch as the octave, 5th, 4th, &c. (*d*).

Then follow examples of *organizing* in all his ſix concords, which are only thoſe of the ancients, 4th, 5th, 8th, 11th, 12th, and 15th; and in giving an example in four parts, where he doubles the *organum* and *principal part* to theſe words, *Nos qui vivimus*, they move conſtantly in theſe intervals, uniſon, 4th, 8th, and 11th.

The author next proceeds to give the ratio of ſounds, and to ſhew the alliance between muſic and mathematics, calling arithmetic the mother of muſical tones (*e*).

He afterwards treats of the proportions of flutes or muſical pipes, to which he applies his harmonics.

The laſt chapter is a ſummary of the tones or modes of canto fermo (*f*); and here, as elſewhere, his examples are always in the ſame hieroglyphic notation: NO ſ A ſ NO ſſ E ſ A ſſ NE—&c.

This laſt chapter is not quite perfect; the tranſcriber having omitted ſome of the muſical examples and diagrams. Only ſix of the eight modes are finiſhed. The ſeventh, however, is begun, and not more than one, or two pages, at moſt, can be wanting to complete theſe two ſcarce and valuable relics of the firſt eſſays at modern harmony; which, however rude, uncouth, and barbarous, continued in the church, without offending Chriſtian ears, for more than three centuries: for the monk Engelbert, who, in the latter end of the thirteenth century, at the inſtigation of his friends (*g*), wrote a treatiſe on muſic, tells

(*d*) D. *Symphonia quæ eſt?* M. *Dulcis quarundam vocum commixtio, quarum tres ſunt ſimplices: Diapaſon, Diateſſaron, &c.*

(*e*) *—Ita pthongi in muſica cujus mater eſt arithmetica*— D. *Quæ ſunt matheſis diſciplinæ?* M. *Arithmetica, geometrica, muſica, aſtronomia.*

(*f*) *Incipit commemoratio brevis de tonis et de ſalmis modulandis.*

(*g*) According to Pez. tom. i. *Anecd.* the muſical tract of Engelbertus Abbas Admontenſis

tells us, that all regular diſcant conſiſts of the union of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths.

It has already been ſhewn that this kind of harmony, miſerable and nauſeous as it would be to our palates, did not offend Guido; on the contrary, he recommends the regular ſucceſſion of fourths above all other concords (*h*), to excite and expreſs pleaſure and jubilation. Nor do any advances or attempts at variety ſeem to have been made in counterpoint from the time of Hubald to that of Guido: a period of more than a hundred years.

Indeed it is hardly poſſible to examine the laſt ſpecimen of Hubald's counterpoint, without being aſtoniſhed that no advances had been made in the art for a whole century; for, with all its faults and crudities, it is at leaſt equal to the beſt combinations of Guido. But perhaps Hubald's inventions or improvements never eſcaped the confines of his convent, or, at moſt, were only publiſhed in his own dioceſe; and, like the propoſals of other ingenious men, whoſe views are extenſive, and who anticipate future diſcoveries, they were not adopted or reduced to practice in his life-time. His idea that one voice might wander at pleaſure through the ſcale, while the other remains fixed, ſhews him to have been a man of genius and enlarged views, who diſregarding rules, could penetrate beyond the miſerable practice of his time into our *Points d'orgue*, *Pedalè*, and multifarious harmony upon a holding note or ſingle baſe, and ſuggeſt the *principle*, at leaſt, of the boldeſt modern harmony. Odo is the only one of his cotemporaries, or ſucceſſors, whoſe writings have come to my knowlege, that has imitated his notation.

montenſis begins thus: *Propter amicorum inſtantiam.* The paſſage alluded to in this tract is given by the abbot of St. Blaiſe, in the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of Church Muſic, p. 117: "*Quoniam (inquit) omnes diſcantus bene ordinati taliter ſe habent, quod cantui directo reſpondent conſonando, vel in diapaſon, vel ad medium diapaſon, ſcilicet ubi diateſſaron et diapente conjunguntur in una voce.*"

(*b*) *Semitonium et diapente non admittimus*; tonum *vero et ditonum et ſemiditonum cum diateſſaron recipimus: ſed ſemiditonum in his infimatum*, diateſſaron *vero optinet* principatum. Microl. cap. xviii.

In

In the Rawlinſon collection of manuſcripts at Oxford, of which no catalogue has yet been publiſhed, there is a didactic poem, entitled *Ars Muſica*, which, though anonymous, contains internal evidence of having been written by Gerbert Scholaſticus, elected pope in the year 999, by the name of Sylveſter II. It is compoſed in Latin monkiſh rhyme, except where ſuch technical terms or rules occurred, as could not poſſibly be reduced to metre.

It begins:

*Ars eſt jam utiliſſima,*
*A philoſophis compoſita;*
*Ars eſt vocata muſica,*
*Cantûs totius domina;*
*Sine quâ nec differentia*
*Eſt vocum, vel concordia.*

At the diſtance of a page from this exordium, we have the following proof that Guido was not the firſt who characteriſed the loweſt ſound of the muſical ſcale by the Greek gamma, and that the author of this addition to the Roman literal notation was unknown, even in the tenth century.

*Gamma in primis poſita*
*Quibuſdam eſt incognita*
*Nam* Γ. *Græcum nomine*
*Non invenitur in* A. B. C.

The following are the titles of ſome of the chapters: *De Symphonia faciendâ*, *De Organis*, *De Tintinnabulis*, &c. The firſt of theſe chapters concerns *organizing*, or diaphonia; the ſecond *muſical inſtruments*; and the third relates to *bells*. One of the ſucceeding chapters has this title, which points out the author of the work: "*Conſtantino ſuo Gerbertus Scholaſticus.*" Now it

it appears, that before Gerbert's exaltation to the papal chair, or even to the ſee of Rheims, or Ravenna, of both which places he was ſucceſſively archbiſhop, he was in ſtrict friendſhip with Conſtantine, monk of Fleuri, afterwards abbot of Mici, to whom one of his letters is ſtill extant *.

What is placed as the laſt chapter of this little work is a ſeparate treatiſe, of a very few pages, under the title of *Rhythmomachia*, or the Battle of Numbers or Figures, which is wholly unconnected with muſic, but which is univerſally allowed to have been written by Gerbert. It was compoſed as a kind of Game, ſoon after the arrival of the Arabian figures or ciphers in Europe, for which the author gives rules reſembling thoſe for cheſs. It is mentioned by John of Saliſbury, in his letters †.

Gerbert, who cultivated muſic very aſſiduouſly, regarding it as the ſecond in rank among the liberal arts, muſt have acquired a conſiderable degree of reputation in it, as the authors of the twelfth century gave him the title of Gerbert the *Muſician* ‡. He is ſaid to have been as well ſkilled in the conſtruction of muſical inſtruments as the uſe of them, particularly the hydraulic Organ. William of Malmſbury ſpeaks with wonder of the perfection to which he had brought this inſtrument, by means of blowing it with *warm* water ||.

We ſhall now return to the ORGAN, with the improvements in which, Counterpoint, under the name of *Organizing*, ſeems to have kept pace.

* *Epiſtola ad Conſtantinum.* Fabric. Bibl. Med. et inf. Latinit. tom. iii. p. 128.

† Joh. Sariſb. *Epiſt.* Par. 1611. 4to. No. 135.

‡ Bern. Pez. *Anec. Theſ.* tom. i. par. 2. p. 330.

|| Malm. *de Reg. Ang.* l. ii. c. 10. p. 65. The application of *warm* water, for the purpoſe of furniſhing the inſtrument with wind, may have been the invention of Gerbert, though, in all probability, he had followed the principles of Vitruvius in conſtructing the inſtrument; and we may imagine that the invention of bellows ſoon took place of this contrivance; for we hear no more of hydraulic organs after this period, except the wretched contrivances ſo called in the grottos of Italy.

Pope Sylveſter II. whoſe life is written by the authors of *l'Hiſtoire Litteraire de France*, who celebrate his virtues, and abilities in almoſt every ſpecies of ſcience, died 1003, after filling the papal throne four years.

Mura-

Muratori (*i*) ſays, that the conſtruction of this inſtrument, in the Weſt, was wholly taken from the Greeks, who tried to keep it a ſecret; and, according to ſome French annaliſts, George, a Venetian prieſt, in 826, having ſtolen the model, carried it to the Emperor Lewis the Pious. But it has already been related, p. 66 and 114 of this volume, that the organ was firſt brought into France from Greece, in 757; and there ſeems to have been no neceſſity for ſtealing the model of an inſtrument for thoſe who were already in poſſeſſion of the inſtrument itſelf. The Romans probably had it from Greece much ſooner; for, during the long intercourſe between the Greeks and Romans, it is hardly credible but that they muſt have obtained from them the *pneumatic organ*, as they had the hydraulicon long before.

Cardinal Bona (*k*) ſays, that though organs were thought by ſome writers to have had admiſſion into the church in the fourth century, during the pontificate of Pope Damaſus, yet the more true and common opinion is, that this honour was firſt conferred on theſe noble inſtruments by Pope Vitalian, about the year 660. But this good cardinal, whoſe work is much celebrated and quoted by muſical writers, conſtantly diſappointed me whenever I had recourſe to him for information; he never mounts to the origin of any uſe that has been made of muſic in the church, or acquaints us in what it conſiſted. He takes his ſcanty information upon truſt from common authors, and ſeems to have compiled his book in an eaſy chair, with the true dignity of a cardinal. I know that he is much praiſed for the ſimplicity and ſanctity of his life and manners, in ſpite of the grandeur and luxury which ſurrounded him; but either his knowledge of ſacred antiquities muſt have been

(*i*) *Diſſert. ſopra le Antich. Ital.* Nap. 1752, tom. i. p. 277.

(*k*) *De divina Pſalmodia.* Romæ, 1653.

very ſuperficial, or his indolence unpardonable: for, in the midſt of eccleſiaſtical treaſures, and at the ſource of information, it was natural, from the title of his work, to expect that he would have had recourſe to inedited manuſcripts, or, at leaſt, oral tradition, in order to throw a little light upon thoſe dark corners of ſacred hiſtory which compriſe the eſtabliſhment of muſic in churches, and its progreſs in them ſince that time; upon the firſt uſe of organs and other inſtruments; the different *notation* of chants; extemporary diſcant, and written counterpoint; the ſtate of the Roman college, or ſchool of ſingers, at the time he wrote; the origin and progreſs of the ſacred drama or *oratorio* in muſic, and the permiſſion of the eunuchs to ſing in the pope's chapel, and the churches in general throughout Italy. But of all theſe particulars, intereſting to a muſical enquirer, the exiſtence is ſcarcely diſcoverable in a treatiſe, which he himſelf tells us, in the title, is *hiſtorical, ſymbolical*, and *learned*; new, curious, and full of erudition; and laſtly, dedicated to the Virgin Mary!

About the time that the organ was received in churches and convents, the Gregorian chant began to be *organized* by voices, in the manner which was afterwards called *Diſcant*; and the ſimultaneous correſpondence of that harmonical ſeries which conſtitutes *concert*, or muſic *in different parts*, has been variouſly expreſſed by writers on the ſubject, ſince it was firſt ſuggeſted. The moſt ancient names given to it by Hubald, Odo, and Guido, are *Diaphonia*, and *Organum*; and *Diſcantus*, *Triplum*, *Quadruplum*, *Diateſſaronare*, *Quintoier*, *Motetus*, *Medius*, and *Tenore*, are all words that preceded the term *Counterpoint*. As thoſe implied ſinging upon a plain-ſong, *extempore*; and *contrapunctum*, *written* harmony.

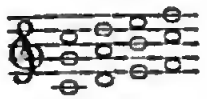
It is of ſuch importance to the hiſtory of an art, that the origin, etymology, and primitive acceptation of its terms ſhould be minutely traced, that I hope the curious reader will excuſe

excuſe me if I am ſomewhat prolix in my endeavours to execute this part of my work with clearneſs and accuracy.

The Greeks, ſo late as the time of Bryennius, the youngeſt of their muſical writers, who flouriſhed about the year 1320, made uſe of the word Διάφωνος, Διαφωνία, *Diſſonus*, *Diſcordia*, for diſſonance and diſagreement of ſound. The Latin writers upon muſic of the middle ages, however, ſuch as Hubald, Odo, and Guido, to whom perhaps the Greek language was but imperfectly known, applied the ſame term to a very different purpoſe; expreſſing by it nearly what the Greeks meant by Σύμφωνος, *Symphonia*, *conſonance*, *concord*, and *agreement of ſounds*. With theſe writers *Diaphonia* and *Organum* were ſynonimous. The uſe which the ancient Greeks made of the term Diaphonia, was to expreſs *two ſounds*, which, when heard together, were diſcordant and *diſagreeable* to the ear; and the Latin muſical writers applied the ſame term to *two concordant ſounds*, whoſe conſtant or frequent coincidence rendered them *pleaſing* to the ear. We muſt except St. Iſidore of Seville, who flouriſhed in the ſeventh century; for his definition agrees with that of the Greeks (*l*).

With reſpect to the term *Organum*, as uſed by muſical writers of the middle ages for a voice part, if we could imagine, when the firſt organs were erected in churches and convents, that each of them was furniſhed with ſuch a ſtop as is now called the

(*l*) Diaphonia, *id eſt, voces diſcrepantes, vel diſſonæ. Nam Diaphonia ſemper contraria eſt ſymphoniæ, cum Symphonia ſit conjunctio, et Diaphonia disjunctio.* Originum, ſive Etymologiarum. A paſſage from the Enchiridion of Hubald, cap. 13. *De proprietate Symphoniarum*, will, however, ſhew in what a different ſenſe he applied the word. *Nunc id*, ſays he, *quo propriæ Symphoniæ dicuntur, et ſunt, id eſt, qualiter eædem voces ſeſe in unum canendo habeant, proſequamur. Hæc namque eſt quam Diaphoniam cantilenam, vel aſſuete Organum nuncupamus. Dicta autem Diaphonia, quod non uniformi canore conſtet, ſed concentu concorditer diſſono: quod licet omnium Symphoniarum ſit commune, in diateſſaron tamen, ac diapente hic nomen obtinuet.* Odo and Guido uſe the ſame words: Diaphonia *vocum disjunctionem ſonat, quam nos* Organum *vocamus, cùm disjunctæ ab invicem voces concorditer diſſonant, et diſſonanter concordant.* "Diaphonia is the uniting different ſounds, which we call *Organum*, and which different ſounds, though they agree, are diſtinctly heard."

*Seſquialter*, or any other compound ſtop, conſiſting of 4ths, 5ths, and 8ths, thus:  &c. it might not only help to account for the introduction of ſuch ſtrange harmony into the church as that of Hubald, Odo, and Guido, but even give a probable reaſon for the name by which it was called: for, whether we ſuppoſe ſingers to have imitated ſuch ſounds as every *ſingle key* produced, or ſuch as were produced by the fingers from *different keys* of the organ, it was natural to call the part which was added to the plain-ſong, *Organum*, and the art of producing it, *Organizare* (*m*).

The moſt ancient authority which Du Cange gives for the uſe of the word *Diſcantus*, *Diſcantare*, is from Hugotio of Vercelli, biſhop of Ferrara, and the firſt definer of Decretals, who died 1212 (*n*). But a ſtill higher and better authority is that of Franco of Cologne, who, in a manuſcript tract, which I have now before me, and of which I ſhall give an account in the next chapter, defines and applies the word in ſuch a manner, as to leave no doubt of its having been in common uſe about the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, for ſinging extempore on a plain ſong. The ſubject of the fifth chapter of Franco's tract on muſic, which is preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, 842, f. 49, is *Diſcant*, and *the agreement of different voices*. Here he defines concords and diſcords, and gives examples in notes of the uſe of both in diſcant. I am not without my doubts concerning the antiquity of Franco's tract, but have an indiſputable proof that it was written before the year 1283, at which time his definition of

(*m*) *Organizare*, according to Du Cange, is *canere in modum organi*; and, among his authorities, he gives the following definition from the *Catholicon* or *Lexicon* of John de Janua, written in 1286: Organizare, *Organo cantare*; *Joer ou chanter en orgres*, *organiſer*; "to play or ſing *like* the organ."

(*n*) This author ſays, *Decantare eſt valde cantare*, *diſcantare et excantare*, *id eſt*, *diſcantare*. An ancient manuſcript Greek and Latin Gloſſary, in the king of France's library, defines it Τιφωνῶ, *biſcanto*, *facio tenorem*.

Diſcantus

Diſcantus was quoted by Marchetto da Padua, in a muſical treatiſe called *Pomerium in Arte Muſicæ Menſurata*; where the author ſays, *Diſcantus ſecundum magiſtrum Franconem eſt* diverſorum cantuum conſonantia—*the agreement of different melodies.*

"The Roman chanters," ſays the Abbé Lebeuf (*o*), "that "were ſent into France in the time of Charlemagne, had "taught the French this ſecret, who afterwards turned it to "account." The authors who had before treated the ſubject of plain-ſong the moſt judiciouſly, were Hubald and Odo, the diſciples of Remi; and theſe, as well as Guido, ſpeak frequently, in their treatiſes, of *organizing*. Hubald is very full on the ſubject in his Enchiridion; and, by the long deſcription he gives of it, there can be no doubt but that ſome inſtrument had been uſed in the ſinging ſchools to teach this *organization*; a name it muſt have acquired from the aſſiſtance the voice had received from the keys of ſome ſmall *organ*, which had been found more proper than any other inſtrument to keep voices ſteady in ſuſtaining two different ſounds. Hubald ſpeaks of many conſonances, and gives rules for their uſe; but it does not appear, from any thing he ſays, that theſe concords were as yet uſed in the performance of the church ſervice (*p*).

The moſt ancient proof which the Abbe Lebeuf could find of this *organization* having been admitted in the public ſervice of the ritual, is a decree of Eudal de Sully, biſhop of Paris, in the year 1198; which ordains the reſponſes of the firſt veſpers on the feaſt of Circumciſion, and the *Benedicamus*, to be ſung in *triplo*, vel *quadruplo*, vel *organo*; the third and ſixth reſponſes of the ſecond veſpers in *organo*, vel *in triplo* vel *qua-*

(*o*) *Traité Hiſtorique ſur le Chant. Eccleſ.* p. 73.

(*p*) Guy, a Ceſtercian abbot of the twelfth century, in explaining the rules of this kind of *organization*, ſays, *Si cantus aſcendit duas voces et organum incipit in duplici voce, deſcenderit tres voces et erit in quinta, vel deſcenderit ſe tem voces et erit cum cantu.* Theſe are plainly the concords of 5th and 8th.

*druplo*;

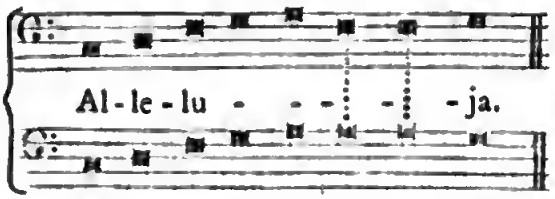
*druplo*; and the maſs, the reſponſes of the Gradual, and the Alleluja, to be ſung in *triplo*, vel *quadruplo* (*q*).

Nearly the ſame expreſſions are found in two places of the *Necrologium*, or burial regiſter of the church of Paris, quoted by Du Cange, in one of which an order appears for the clerks who ſhall ſing *Allelaja* in *organo*, *triplo*, or *quadruplo*, that is, in two, three, or four parts, to be rewarded with ſix pence: in the other it is ſaid, that whatever four clerks ſhall *organize* Alleluja, on the new feſtival of St. Thomas of Canterbury, ſhall receive ſix *deniers*. The word *Organum* has been ſuppoſed, by father Dubois, in his Hiſtory of the Church of Paris, to imply a part compoſed on purpoſe for the inſtrument called an Organ; but *Organum*, as has been ſufficiently proved, was a general term for a ſingle part, or ſecond voice, added to the melody of a chant, and ſynonimous with *duplo*; and ſuch is its import in the following paſſage from the ſame manuſcript *Necrologium*, written in the thirteenth century, which has been juſt quoted, where, ſpeaking of the eſtabliſhment of a new feſtival, it is ordained that the clerks or prieſts, who aſſiſt in the performance of the maſs, ſhall have two pence, and the four *Organiſts* of the Alleluja, if they *organize*, two pence each. The four ſingers of the Alleluja are called Organiſts of the Alleluja, becauſe they *organize* the melody of it.

Now, to enable the reader to judge of the difficulty of the taſk for which the ſingers were to be ſo magnificently paid, I ſhall inſert here two or three ſhort examples of ſimple organizing by two voices.

(*q*) The words *Diaphonia*, *Organum*, and *Diſcantus*, at firſt implied, ſtrictly, ſinging in two parts; *Organum triplum*, three; and *Organum quadruplum*, four parts. Theſe parts were afterwards denominated and diſpoſed in the following manner: If the plain ſong, or principal part, was ſung by boys, or women, it was always called *Cantus*; if by men, *Tenor*; if only one part was added to the plain-ſong, in *diſcant*, it was called *Organum*, during ſeveral centuries after the time of Guido: the third part was called *Triplum*, *Medius*, or *Motetus*; and the fourth part *Quadruplum*. In the ſixteenth century theſe were generally called *Cantus*, *Medius* or *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Baſſus*. If more parts were added to the harmony, they were denominated *Quintus* and *Sextus*.

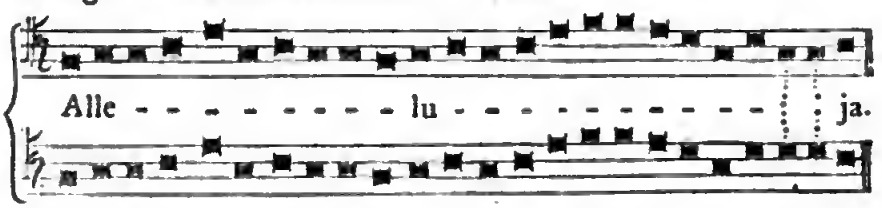
Alle-




In this example the firſt five notes are in uniſon, the next two in major 3ds, and the laſt note in uniſon.

Al-le-lu - - - - - ja.

The following is another Alleluja, from an ancient Gradual, in which only the two laſt notes before the final are organized in 3ds, which was all that the term *Organum* implied in France, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries:




If at that time a chant was to be in *triplo*, or *organo triplo*, a counter-tenor voice ſung an octave above the firſt tenor; and if in *quadruplo*, another counter-tenor ſung an octave above the ſecond tenor, in the manner already mentioned, p. 118, from Hubald; and this is what was meant by the *four Organiſts of the Alleluja*.

This manner of terminating certain chants ſtill continues, on feſtivals, in the provincial cathedrals of France; where, after ſinging the chief part of the melody in uniſon, the penultima, or laſt note but one, is ſuſtained much longer than the reſt in a third. I have frequently heard it myſelf in that kingdom, but imagined it to be done by way of flouriſh, or embelliſhment, by ſome of the prieſts, not then knowing it was a practice of ſuch high antiquity (*r*).

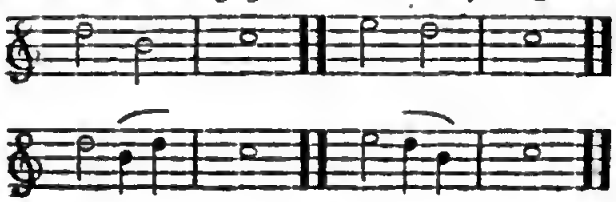
The fear of this being thought a frivolous enquiry by many of my readers, prevents my purſuing it more minutely; otherwiſe

(*r*) The vulgar faſhion, which has long prevailed in popular ſinging throughout Europe, of making a kind of flouriſh at a cloſe, even among ballad ſingers in our own

wiſe it would be eaſy to prove, with the aſſiſtance of the Abbé Lebeuf, that in ſome French churches, where the *organizing* the plain chant at a cloſe has ceaſed, the *organic*, or additional part, has frequently been retained in the melody inſtead of the original notes; and this accounts for ſeveral changes, and, as the enemies of innovation call them, corruptions, in the Gregorian chant. Others have been frequently made in later times by Contrapuntiſts, who, in adding harmony to the *Canto Fermo*, found the modulation either too difficult, or too uncouth for their purpoſe.

The *organizing* chants in this manner, continued long in France as a regale on feſtivals. Epiſcopal decrees for its uſe on ſuch occaſions, are found in the eccleſiaſtical archives till the middle of the thirteenth century, where, after the invention of a time-table, a better kind of counterpoint was introduced. But before this important period, it was diſcovered that the ſinging in thirds might be ſucceſsfully practiſed on other occaſions than as an embelliſhment at a cloſe; and that even a whole chant might be ſung in this manner by two voices. An inſtance of this was ſhewn to me at Sens, in a manuſcript of the thirteenth century. It is a *Credo* of the maſs, in which the loweſt part is the Gregorian chant, and the upper part in thirds, fifths, octaves or uniſons. At this time fourths ſeem to have been out of favour. No name is given to this ſpecies of harmony in the MS. but it is entirely of the ſame kind as that which, by Eudal de Sully, was ſaid to be *in organo*, and by others of the ſame period, *in duplo*.

own ſtreets, produces harmony without intention, or being heard by the performers; which is the caſe when two are ſinging together, and one holds on the real note, while the other gives us a touch of his taſte in the way of *riffioramenti*, as thus:



But,

But, in after-times, this embelliſhment, or method of harmonizing the plain-chant, was called *Diſcantus* in Latin, and *Dechant* in French, on account of its being for two voices, a *double chant*. The rules for it ſeem to have been ſettled in the thirteenth century: they begin thus, in a MS. of St. Victor, of Paris. "Whoever would underſtand *diſcant*, ſhould know "what it is to double (a melody) when it is in the 5th, and "when in the 8th; and ought to know what to do when the "chant riſes or falls. If it riſe, he ſhould give the uniſon, if "it fall, the 5th, &c. (*s*)" And this was the infancy of what has ſince been called *Counterpoint*, or, in old Engliſh, *Faburden*. If this ſpecies of harmony had its admirers, it had likewiſe its enemies, when it was introduced independent of the Gregorian chant, or when this chant was corrupted by it; and if many ſtatutes remain for celebrating feſtivals *cum cantu, et diſcantu, à haute voix, à chant et à dechant*, there are others to cenſure the art, and keep it within certain bounds. It was thought ſo licentious at the beginning of the fourteenth century, that the uſe of it was prohibited in the maſs by a bull of Pope John the XXIId. 1322. However, there is at the end of it this favourable clauſe: "It is not our intention wholly to "prevent the uſe of concords in the ſacred ſervice, particularly "on great feſtivals, provided the eccleſiaſtical chant or plain-"ſong be carefully preſerved." The Abbé Lebeuf obſerves, that thoſe who drew up this bull, which is inſerted in the body of canon laws, erroneouſly confined diſcant to fourths, fifths, and eighths, from the peruſal of ancient authors on the ſubject of muſic, particularly Caſſiodorus, where they had found the following definition: *Symphonia eſt temperamentum ſonitus gravis ad acutum, vel acuti ad gravem, modulamen efficiens, ſive in*

(*s*) "*Quiſquis veut déchanter, il doit premier ſçavoir qu'eſt quant eſt double, quant eſt la quinte note et double eſt la witiſme; et doit regarder ſe li chant monte ou avale. Se il monte, nous devons prendre le double note. Se il avale, nous devons prendre le quinte note,*" &c.

*voce, ſive in percuſſione, ſive in flatu. Symphoniæ ſunt ſex: prima, diateſſaron: ſecunda, diapente: tertia, diapaſon. Quarta, diapaſon et diateſſeron: quinta, diapaſon et diapente: ſexta, diapaſon et diapaſon.* "Symphony, or muſic in conſonance, is the "mixing grave ſounds with acute, or acute with grave, either "in ſinging or playing upon ſtringed or wind inſtruments. "Symphonic concords are ſix; the fourth, fifth, and eighth, "with their octaves (*t*)."

There are ſeveral curious particulars concerning *Diſcant* in the writings of the celebrated Gerſon, chancellor of the church and univerſity of Paris at the beginning of the fifteenth century. According to him, the ground-work of all *Diſcant* was the plain-chant; and, in his Treatiſe upon the Education of Children for the Choir of *Notre Dame*, he enjoins a particular attention to *chanting*, *counterpoint*, and *diſcant*, as the three moſt eſſential branches of their inſtruction and ſtudy (*u*). He likewiſe tells us, that in this cathedral, during his time, the choriſters were only allowed, *by the ſtatutes*, to practiſe diſcant till their voices broke (*x*). The indefatigable Abbé Lebeuf found, in the king of France's library, the ſtatutes here alluded to, which had been framed in the 13th century, and from which the chancellor had been ordered to make extracts in 1408. He concludes the fourth article of his tract, which relates to pſalmody, by informing us that no written diſcant was allowed

(*t*) It is hardly poſſible to read this paſſage, and not give up the conteſt concerning ancient counterpoint; or, at leaſt, reduce it to that meagre kind, of which an example has been given in the firſt volume, p. 145.

(*u*) *Magiſter cantûs ſtatutis horis doceat pueros planum cantum principaliter, et* contrapunctum, et aliquos diſcantus honeſtos —decent and ſober melodies.

(*x*) —*Nec faciat eos tantùm inſiſtere in talibus, quod perdant in grammatica profectum; attento maximè quod in eccleſia noſtra diſcantus non eſt in uſu, ſed per ſtatuta prohibitus, ſaltem quoad voces quæ mutatæ dicuntur.* The Abbé Lebeuf underſtands theſe laſt words as I have tranſlated them: *Le déchant n'étoit point en uſage dans l'Egliſe de Paris, et qu'au contraire il étoit défendu par les ſtatuts, au moins à l'égard des voix qui avoient paſſé le tems de la* mutation.

Traité Hiſt. ſur le Chant Eccleſ. p. 92.

in

in church miſſals or graduals, except for the exerciſe and improvement of the ſinging boys (*y*).

Denis, the Carthuſian, an old writer upon the duty of chanters or canons, calls diſcant *fraction de voix*; *frittering the voice*. This definition ſeems to have been tranſlated by the inhabitants of North Britain; for, in ſpeaking of the improvements made by a perſon who has learned to ſing, they would ſay that the voice was *finely broken*.

The ſame Denis, who was called the *Extatic Doctor*, gives a pleaſant idea of diſcant from an ancient life of St. Sebaſtian, in manuſcript, where it is compared to the curls, folds, and flounces in a female dreſs. It hides the meaning of the words, as falſe ornaments conceal the ſhape and natural beauty of a human figure. St. Antoninus, archbiſhop of Florence, in the fifteenth century, diſtinguiſhes this kind of ſinging entirely from the Ambroſian and Gregorian chant; and ſays that he was unable to diſcover how it gained admiſſion into divine ſervice, for which it was very unfit, as it rather ſerved to flatter the ear than cheriſh piety and devotion (*z*). But if breaking the notes of the plain-chant into melody in this manner with *one voice*, or in one part, while the reſt were ſinging the ſlow and ſimple notes of the original chant, was ſo offenſive to the enemies of novelty and innovation, how much more would they have been diſturbed in after-times, when Fugues, Inverſions, Points, Imitations, and Diviſions, were carried on by a great number of diſſimilar parts, all ſinging different words, from which no more ſenſe could be extracted than from a pack of hounds in full cry?

The definition of an art at one period of time does not prove what it was at another, of much more remote antiquity; nor can any idea of modern harmony be formed from what has

(*y*) —*Nec debet in cantu notulato regulariter immiſceri diſcantus, pueris exceptis propter exercitationem ſuam.* Gerſon, tom. iv. ultimæ edit. p. 717.

(*z*) *Summæ*, tom. iii. tit. 8. parte 12.

been ſaid by Greek and Roman writers upon that of the ancients, or even by what Guido, in his Micrologus, has ſaid or done concerning the counterpoint of the middle ages.

*Diſcant* by the Italians is called Contrappunto *alla mente*, or *all'improviſo*. Padre Martini (*a*) heard this kind of harmony *a quattro voci* produced in great perfection at the church of St. John Lateran in Rome, 1747. It is called by the French, *Chant ſur le livre*. "To compoſe a part upon ſeeing only the "chant upon which it is to be built is very difficult, and re- "quires, ſays Rouſſeau, great knowlege, habit, and quickneſs "of ear in thoſe who practiſe it; and the more ſo, as the key "is not always ſo eaſily found as in modern muſic. However, "there are muſicians in the church ſo well verſed in this kind "of ſinging, that they lead off, and even carry on, fugues "extempore, when the ſubject will allow it, without confound- "ing or encroaching upon the other parts, or committing a "ſingle fault in the harmony (*b*)."

An ancient manuſcript, written by John Cotton, has frequently been quoted in this volume: and as it is the moſt ample, and complete treatiſe, as well as one of the moſt ancient on the ſubject of muſic that has been preſerved between the time of Guido and Franchinus, it ſeems here intitled to particular notice.

Padre Martini, who ſuppoſed that there were only two copies of this manuſcript ſubſiſting when he wrote the firſt volume of his hiſtory, gives the following account of it (*c*): Two ancient manuſcripts of the ſame muſical treatiſe are found in the Pauline library at Leipſic (*d*), which, in the printed cata-

(*a*) *Saggio di Contrappunto*, p. 57, No. (1).

(*b*) After this kind of diſcant ceaſed to be practiſed in our church, it was common for muſical ſtudents to exerciſe themſelves in ſinging upon a plain-ſong; and to play upon a *ground* was frequently practiſed at the beginning of this century, which perhaps was not an unprofitable ſtudy for young muſicians, as it facilitated extempore playing. But then, as it allowed no time for ſelecting notes or correcting errors, it obliged the ſtudent to accommodate himſelf to imperfection of deſign and inaccuracy of execution.

(*c*) P. 183.

(*d*) *Repoſitor. Theolog.* I. Series 3. in fol. No. 10.

logue,

logue, is attributed to Pope John: *Joannis Papæ Muſica ad Fulgentium Antiſtitem*; and the other in the Jeſuits library at Antwerp, which, in the printed liſt of manuſcripts in that collection, is aſcribed, with, perhaps, more reaſon, to John Cotton: Joannis Cottonis *ad Fulgentium Epiſc. Anglorum de Muſica:* and this manuſcript having been collated with that at Leipſic, appears to be exactly the ſame treatiſe. Padre Martini quotes a long paſſage from the eleventh chapter (*e*), to prove that the predominant and characteriſtic note of a chant uſed to be called *Tenor*, from *teneo*, I hold, or dwell upon. Guido uſes the ſame term (*f*). In ſpeaking of the high antiquity of the Intonations of the Pſalms, which the good Padre Martini believes to have come down to the Romiſh church by tradition from King David, he ſays, "after all poſſible diligence, and the moſt minute enquiry, I have not been able to diſcover any author who "has given the intonations in notes anterior to John Cotton, "who, probably, flouriſhed in the twelfth century."

Another copy of this treatiſe has been lately found in the Vatican, No. 1196, amongſt the manuſcripts of the queen of Sweden—*Incipit Tractatus Joannis de Arte Muſica*—dedicated to the Engliſh prelate Fulgentius. Signor Serra (*g*), in ſpeaking of this manuſcript, ſuppoſes the author was of no very high rank, as he only gives himſelf the title of *Servus Servorum Dei*, and ſays, that "as not only the ſaints and martyrs Ignatius, "Ambroſe, and Gregory, have condeſcended to modulate the "chants of the holy church, but as others leſs ancient have been "compoſers of muſic, he ſaw no reaſon why he might not aſſume "that character (*h*)." Indeed, by the humble title which he gives himſelf of *Servant of the Servants of God*, I ſhould have ſuppoſed him to have been a Pope; for this is the title that all the

(*e*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 377.

(*f*) *Microl.* cap. 15. Butler, in ſpeaking of *tenor* being derived from *teneo*, adds, that it was ſo called after the invention of diſcant, "from the ditty or plain-ſong in motets and anthems being uſually given to that part." *Principles of Muſick*, p. 41.

(*g*) *Introduz.* p. 113. 116.

(*h*) Cap. 17. *Verum quia non ſolum præfati ſancti (Ignatius, Ambroſius, Gregorius,) cantus officiales in ſanctâ eccleſiâ modulati ſunt; ſicut et alii non longe ante noſtra tempora cantuum compoſitores extitere; quid nos quoque cantum vetet contenere non video.*

fove-

ſovereign pontiffs have affected ſince the time of the firſt Gregory; which has not eſcaped the ridicule of Swift in the Tale of a Tub. Indeed, Signor Serra's argument ſeems to invalidate his concluſion. As to an Engliſh biſhop of the name of his patron Fulgentius, no one is to be found among all the prelates of the ſeveral dioceſes of the kingdom. Perhaps he was one that had been irregularly elected during the contentions between the pope and the emperor, or the diſgrace of one of our kings. As it appears by Dr. Smith's Life of Sir Robert Cotton, collector of the manuſcripts which go under his name, that his family was diſtinguiſhed and reſpectable ſo early as the eleventh century, it has ſuggeſted an idea to Signor Serra, that it was our John Cotton of whom Pope Alexander III. ſpeaks in one of his letters (*i*), iſſuing a mandate to the canons of his convent, not to advance a certain perſon of the ſame name to the dignity of abbot, on account of his having once embraced and fomented the ſchiſm; "for though he was returned to "obedience and united to the church, yet if he were to re-"lapſe, as head of an order, he might have it in his power to "occaſion greater diſturbance." But however that may have been, it is certain that his manuſcript is of higher antiquity than the time of Pope John the XXIId. by whom it has been imagined to be written, by ſome who have quoted, and ſeen it quoted, as the production of John Pontifex; for the author makes uſe of no other muſical characters in his Diagram than thoſe that were uſed in the church ſoon after the time of Guido, with ſometimes a red, and ſometimes a yellow line; and with theſe eccleſiaſtical notes he writes the *Neumæ*, the invention of which he aſcribes, erroneouſly, to Guido (*k*).

(*i*) Martene, vol. ii. *Regiſtro Epiſt. Alexandri* III. No. 384. *Canonic. Remonſtrat.*

(*k*) *Neuma* is a diviſion or ſeries of many notes ſung without words at the end of an *Euouae*, i. e. *Sæculorum amen*, an anthem, or Alleluja, as a recapitulation of the whole melody. The word is frequently written *pneuma*, and is ſuppoſed of Greek origin, πνεῦμα, *flatus*. It is defined by Gaffurius, *Muſ. Pract.* lib. i. cap. 8.—*Vocum ſeu notularum unica reſpiratione congrue pronunciandarum aggregatio:* the aggregate of as many ſounds or notes as can conveniently be ſung in one breath. *Neumæ*, however, were not of Guido's invention, as both Hubald and Odo ſpeak of them long before his time.

His

His treatiſe conſiſts of twenty-ſeven chapters, of which I found the firſt twelve complete in a manuſcript at the Muſeum, among many other tracts, No. 1297. Veſpaſian A 2. In his fourth chapter, *Quot ſint Inſtrumenta Muſici Soni*, he ſeems to mention the harpſichord and organ: *In ſambuca, in fidibus, in cimbalis atque in organis*, &c. But though *cimbalo* or *cembalo* is Italian for a harpſichord, the author is here neither treating of that inſtrument, nor the *cymbalum* or cymbal, which has been deſcribed in the firſt volume, p. 519, among the inſtruments of the ancients, but of Bells. It ſeems, however, as if the firſt bells, which were metaline vaſes, had been named *cymbala*, from their reſemblance to the inſtrument of percuſſion, ſo called in high antiquity.

In chapter VIII. he explains a difficulty in Guido, not only by ſpecifying in a particular manner the intervals which were then allowed in melody, and the concords uſed in harmony; but aſcertaining both by the ſyllables taken from the hymn of Paul Diaconus, which are here applied to the firſt ſix notes of the ſcale, at a period much nearer the time of Guido, than in any other muſical treatiſe that has come to my hands. John ſays, that the means or materials for making melody are nine: The uniſon, ſemitone, tone, ſemiditone, ditone, diateſſaron, diapente, ſemitone with the diapente (or flat ſixth), and the tone and diapente (or major ſixth). Of theſe, ſix are called concords, and are often uſed together in ſinging. Then he gives examples of theſe intervals in ſolmization, as *Ut ut, unis. mi fa, fa mi: ut re, re ut: ut mi, mi ut:* &c. But his twenty-third chapter is of moſt importance to the preſent enquiries: its title is *De Diaphonia, id eſt Organo.* In this chapter the word *diſſonantia* literally means ſounding twice, or a double ſound, not *diſcord*, as at preſent—*Diaphonia, inquit, congrua vocum diſſonantia*—Diaphonia is the agreement of different ſounds. The whole is curious—After his definition is finiſhed he adds: *Qui canendi modus vulgabitur* (f. *vulgariter*) ORGANUM *dicitur, eo quod vox humana*

*humana aptè diſſonans ſimilitudinem exprimat inſtrumenti quod organum vocatur.* "This kind of ſinging is commonly termed "*Organum*, becauſe the human voice in *ſounding double* notes "reſembles the effect produced by the inſtrument which is "called an *Organ*." This is a very ancient definition of the word, and puts its meaning wholly out of diſpute; and yet, in the title to this chapter, as he makes *diaphonia* and *organum* ſynonymous terms, he muſt be allowed to ſpeak ſtill more deciſively further on, when he ſays, *Interpretatur autem diaphonia dualis vox ſive* DISSONANTIA—"Diaphonia may be defined a "*double voice*, or *ſounding twice*."

Several other ancient writers, and Franchinus among the reſt, agree to this definition (*l*).

When, and by whom the term *Counterpoint* was firſt uſed, it is not eaſy to diſcover. Ducange gives no more ancient authority for the uſe of the word *Contrapunctus*, than what he finds in the fourth vol. *Concil. Hiſp. An.* 1585. But Franchinus Gafurius, who wrote in Latin at leaſt a century before that period, would have furniſhed him not only with the word, but its uſe (*m*).

(*l*) The late Abbé Lebeuf, who was ſo profoundly ſkilled in eccleſiaſtical antiquities, but particularly ſuch as concerned ſacred muſic, quotes the following paſſage from the records of the convent of St. Martin de Tours of the year 1241: *Et debent* organizare *invitatorium*, *verſiculi reſponſorium & proſæ.* In the orders for celebrating a feſtival in the thirteenth century at Sens, he likewiſe found in the cathedral book theſe words, *Reſponſorium cum* Organo. "If books were not deciſive upon this queſtion, ſays he, it is certain that the reception of the organ in churches was not ſufficiently ancient for it to have been conſtantly uſed in the ſervice during the thirteenth century; and even ſince its general admiſſion, it has never been the cuſtom to play upon it in the reſponſes, the graduals, and Allelujahs, which are ſung without accompaniment by choirmen appointed expreſsly for that purpoſe."
*Traité Hiſt. ſur le Chant Eccléſ.* p. 82.

(*m*) It was a conſiderable diſappointment to me not to find the name of Gafurius, or Franchinus, for he is called by both theſe titles in muſical books, either in Ducange or Fabricius. An authority ſo good and ſo ancient of the uſe of muſical terms in the Latin language would have been more ſatisfactory to the readers of Ducange, than that of many obſcure monks which he is obliged to cite: and Fabricius, who ſo frequently ſpeaks of muſical tracts and of their authors, might have furniſhed his work and his readers with a uſeful and intereſting article, in giving an account of Gafurius and his writings, which, being chiefly compoſed in Latin, had a claim to his notice. I ſhall, however, try to ſupply this deficiency when I am arrived at the period in which he flouriſhed.

The

The term *Contrapunctum*, or deliberate and regular *written harmony*, has already been explained *, and we have juſt given an inſtance of its having been uſed by the Chancellor Gerſon, at leaſt a century before Franchinus.

Among the Vatican MSS. there is a treatiſe on Counterpoint, by Proſdocimus de Beldemandis, written in 1412, of which farther notice will be taken hereafter; and one attributed to John de Muris, on the ſame ſubject, much earlier, for he is allowed by Fabricius and others to have flouriſhed in 1330. This brings the term *Counterpoint* nearer the time of Guido than any other writer on the ſubject that I have been able to find.

It has been already obſerved, in the preceding chapter, that muſic in the half-barbarous ages was in ſuch great eſtimation, that whoever cultivated letters thought it likewiſe neceſſary to apply cloſely to muſic: and it ſeems to have been as diſgraceful then for learned men to be ignorant of it, as for perſons of birth and fortune now not to be able to write or read. We have already ſeen, p. 62, that Alfred thought it neceſſary to enjoin and encourage the ſtudy of muſic among liberal arts in his new univerſity, where it was ranked as the ſecond branch of mathematics. The monks and clergy in general cultivated it as neceſſary to their profeſſion; but it does not appear that either the practice or theory of the art was much advanced by all this ſtudy and application, at leaſt till after the *Time-table* was ſettled; for whatever trouble they gave themſelves in cultivating it, or whatever pleaſure the practice of it in their daily duty, as well as recreation, afforded them, it is certain that its progreſs was very inconſiderable; and however barbarous and wretched may have been the melody and harmony of ſecular ſongs of the ſame period, yet both ſeem always ſuperior to thoſe of the church (*n*). The abbot of St. Blaſius has given

* See p. 36, note (*e*).

(*n*) Muſic has, however, at all times made an important part of a prieſt's profeſſion in the church of Rome; and moſt of the treatiſes on the ſubject have been the productions of eccleſiaſtics. In our church, indeed,

given ſeveral ſpecimens of hymns in *Biſcantu* of the fourteenth century, which ſufficiently evince the truth of this aſſertion; for at this period the laws of counterpoint began to be ſettled, and thirds and ſixths to have admiſſion preferably to other concords in a regular ſeries; but in the examples of counterpoint which monaſteries and other religious houſes afford, we ſcarce meet with any harmony but that of fourths, fifths, uniſons, and eighths, uſed in that *regular ſucceſſion*, which has been ſince prohibited (*o*).

That *Melody* received no great improvement from the monks is not to be wondered at, as change and addition were alike forbidden in many of their houſes; but not to have improved *Harmony* more than they did for many centuries after its uſe was allowed, is a juſt matter of ſurprize, when it is recollected that there were ſeveral orders of friars whoſe vow and employment was *Laus perpetua*, "perennial praiſe, inceſſant ſong;" and that others, beſides the canonical hours of chanting in concert during the public celebration of their religious rites, were allowed to ſing in their cells (*p*): and yet to the preſent time, even in the churches and convents of Italy, whenever it is thought neceſſary to attract a ſecular crowd, by a *Gran Funzione*, recourſe is conſtantly had to the talents of the laity.

Indeed the firſt eſſays we meet with in Simultaneous Harmony in ancient miſſals and in the writings of Guido, are

indeed, its culture and encouragement have long been alike circumſcribed: for the choral part of the ſervice in many of our cathedrals being generally conſigned to laymen of no very high rank in the community, who from the ſcantineſs of their ſtipend are obliged to exerciſe other profeſſions, it has not only impeded their improvement, but thrown muſic itſelf into contempt and ignominy.

(*o*) See Gerb. vol. i. p. 456 *et alibi*.

(*p*) The eccleſiaſtics among our Saxon anceſtors, as Junius informs us *, had a particular ſong, pſalm, or hymn, for each of the canonical hours: as Uþſang, *Day-break Song*; Pſumſang, *Matins Song*; Unbeſſang, *third Song*, or Song for the third hour of the day; Middaýſang, *Mid-day Song*; Nonſang, *Song for the ninth hour*: Eſenſang, *Even Song*, or Veſpers; and Nightſang, or *Midnight Song* †.

* *Gloſſar. Goth.* Edit. Amſtel. p. 366. v. *Underminat*. † This is confirmed by Bede, lib. v. c. 2.

ſuch

ſuch as do but little honour to the inventor; for there is no melody ſo ſimple or uncouth that would not be more injured than embelliſhed by ſuch an accompaniment.

Much time was ſpent in the beginning of this work (*q*) to furniſh proofs of the ancients having been utterly ignorant of counterpoint; but none then occurred equally cogent with thoſe which the rude eſſays in that art by Guido, and ſucceeding muſicians of the middle ages have left us. In theſe we not only ſee uniſons, octaves, fourths, and fifths, in ſucceſſion, which were interdicted by ſubſequent harmonical laws, but the firſt introduction of thirds as concords. The learned Abbot Gerbert, who examined all the manuſcript miſſals, graduals, rituals, and liturgies of the principal libraries, monaſteries, and religious houſes of Europe, has been able to find in them no examples of more early or better eſſays of Simultaneous Harmony. Theſe were cenſured at firſt as innovations, and while the new art of Counterpoint was extending its limits and forming its code from new combinations of ſounds, great ſcandal was given to piety, ſimplicity, and ancient uſages: and complaints having been made to Pope John XXII. that "by the "abuſe of *Diſcant*, the principles of the Antiphonary and "Gradual were ſo much contemned as to render it impoſſible "for the ſingers to know upon what foundation their melodies "were conſtructed; and that they manifeſted ſuch ignorance "in the tones or modes of the church as to neglect all di-"ſtinction and exceed the bounds that had been preſcribed "to each;" a Bull was iſſued at Avignon by the advice of the Conclave, about the year 1322, to ſuppreſs theſe licences under very ſevere penalties (*r*). Indeed this irreverend kind

(*q*) See Diſſert. p. 112.

(*r*) The original is curious, as it furniſhes an example of the uſe of ſeveral muſical terms of the middle ages which are now difficult to comprehend. I ſhall therefore inſert the whole paſſage from the body of Canon Law. (*Decr. Sanctorum* Extravag. commun. lib. iii.) *Nonnulli novellæ ſobolis diſcipuli, dum temporibus menſurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere ſuas, quam antiquas cantare malunt, in ſemibreves et minimas eccleſiaſtica*

 *cantantur,*

kind of ſinging in the church had been ſeverely reprehended by John of Saliſbury more than 150 years before. "The rites "of religion," ſays he, "are now profaned by muſic: and it "ſeems as if no other uſe were made of it than to corrupt the "mind by wanton modulations, effeminate inflexions, and "frittered notes and periods, even in the *Penetralia*, or awful "ſanctuary itſelf. The ſtupid crowd, delighted with all theſe "vagaries, imagine they hear a concert of Sirens, in which "the performers ſtrive to imitate the notes of nightingales "and parrots, not thoſe of men; ſometimes deſcending to "the bottom of the ſcale, ſometimes mounting to the ſummit; "now ſoftening and now enforcing the tones, repeating paſ-"ſages, mixing in ſuch a manner the grave ſounds with the "more grave, and the acute with the moſt acute, that the aſto-"niſhed and bewildered ear is unable to diſtinguiſh one voice "from another (*s*)."

*cantantur, notulis percutiuntur; nam melodias hoquetis interſecant,* DISCANTIBUS *lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnunquam inculcant, adeò ut interdum Antiphonarii et Gradualis fundamenta deſpiciant, ignorent ſuper quo ædificant; tonos neſciant; quos unà diſcernunt, imò confundunt: cùm ex earum multitudine notarum, aſcenſiones pudicæ, deſcenſioneſque temperatæ plani-cantûs, quibus toni ipſi ſecernuntur, ad invicem obfuſcentur.*

In this paſſage, though Diſcanters are accuſed of uſing ſuch rapid notes as *ſemibreves* and *minims*, which are here called *new notes of their own invention*, yet it appears that they were in common uſe before 1333, when it was imagined by ſome writers that they had been invented by John de Muris. The term *Hoquetus, Hochetus, vel Hucetus*, uſed likewiſe in the tract falſely aſcribed to Bede, ſeems here to imply a fantaſtical diviſion, which by the ſudden leaps, and breaks, or diſcontinuity of voice, reſembled a *hiccup*, in French *hoquet*. "They interſect the melodies with *hoquets*, ſlide about in diſcant, and ſometimes even crowd and load the chants with vile third and fourth parts; *Triplis et motetis vulgaribus.*"

(*s*) *Muſica cultum religionis inceſſat, quod ante conſpectum Domini, in ipſis penetralibus ſanctuarii, laſcivientis vocis luxu, quadam oſtentatione ſui, muliebribus modis notularum articulorumque cæſuris, ſtupentes animulas emollire nituntur. Cum præcinentium, et ſuccinentium, canentium, et decinentium, intercinentium, et occinentium, præmolles modulationes audieris, Sirenarum cantus credas eſſe, non hominum, et de vocum facilitate miraberis, quibus philomelæ vel pſittacus, aut ſi quid ſonorius eſt, modos ſuos nequeunt coæquare. Ea ſiquidem eſt aſcendendi deſcendendique facilitas; ea ſoctio vel geminatio notularum, ea replicatio articulorum, ſingulorumque conſolidatio; ſic acuta vel acutiſſima, gravibus et ſubgravibus temperantur, ut auribus ſui indicii fere ſubtrahatur auctoritas.* Policraticus, ſive de Nugis Curialium, lib. i. c. 6.

It

It appears from theſe paſſages, that *Diſcant* was uſed at the time they were written, not only to imply *Harmony in duplo*, or ſinging in *two parts*, according to its ſtrict and original ſenſe, but for the *graces*, *broderies*, and flouriſhes of florid ſong. And after varying the plain-ſong a little, in order to produce a few different concords, the chanters, probably, proceeded to more licentious alterations; and it ſeems as if *Diſcant* at length ſuggeſted the idea of florid melody, yet ſuch as was at firſt thought conſiſtent with the ſolemnity and ſimplicity of church muſic.

But to what exceſs this afterwards grew appears by a ſmall book which I brought from Italy, that was publiſhed at Rome, 1615, by Fran. Severi Perugino, a ſinger in the Pope's chapel, and dedicated to Cardinal Borgheſe. It is very neatly engraved upon copper-plates, and contains ſuch faſhionable graces and embelliſhments for every kind of voice as were then allowed to be uſed even in the pontifical chapel, when the eccleſiaſtical tones were ſung in parts (*t*). This book contains paſſages in notes tied twice, and often three times, that would be too rapid and difficult for many opera ſingers now of the firſt abilities, and ſuch as muſical methodiſts, from their abſurdity and impropriety, would with good reaſon call *Lenocinia* of the church of Rome (*u*).

There is no ſenſe ſo liable to prejudice in favour of habitual feelings as the ear; and yet the favourite muſical phraſes of one age are deteſtable to another But it is only the refinements of cultivated muſic that are fluctuating and evaneſcent; for the people of every country are partial to their national muſic, be it ever ſo wild, uncouth, and barbarous: and it has never been found that Euro-

(*t*) *Salmi paſſeggiati per tutte le voci, nella maniera che ſi cantano in Roma ſopra i falſi bordoni di tutti i tuoni eccleſiaſtici; da cantarſi ne i veſpri della Domenica e delli giorni feſtivi di tutto l'anno, con alcuni verſi di miſerere ſopra il falſo bordone del Dentice. Compoſti da* Franceſco Severi Perugino *autore nella Cappella di* N. S. Papa Paolo V. In Roma, M.D.C.XV.

(*u*) Writing down graces is like recording the nonſenſe and impertinence of converſation, which, bad at firſt, is rendered more and more inſipid and abſurd as the times, manners, and occaſions which produced it, become more diſtant.

pean

pean refinements in melody, or learning in harmony. have, *at firſt*, pleaſed the inhabitants of other parts of the globe.

FRANCO of Cologn, ſo early as the eleventh century, according to the authors of *L'Hiſt. Litt. de la France* (*x*), made conſiderable advances in the art of *Diſcant*; and in a ſmall tract, written expreſsly on the ſubject (*y*), which is preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford (*z*), and of which I have now a tranſcript before me, enlarged its code by the introduction of new concords, and the addition of new precepts for their uſe. That the curious reader may be enabled to judge of the ſtate of harmony at this early period, ſo ſoon after the time of Guido, I ſhall give an abſtract of his rules.

Franco uſes the word *Organum* in the ſame ſenſe as Guido, though the term *Diaphonia* never occurs in his writings. Every theoriſt in theſe early periods of *Diſcant* ſeems to have had his peculiar prejudices for and againſt certain concords and diſcords which appear now to be very whimſical and capricious. Guido, for inſtance (*a*), forbids the uſe of the 5th in harmony equally with the ſemitone or flat 2d; but recommends the admiſſion of the major and minor 3ds, and frequently uſes the major 2d and the 4th. Franco, on the contrary, admits the 5th among the concords, but ranks the two 6ths, major and minor, among the diſcords. He divides concords into three claſſes; *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *mean*: of this laſt kind are the 4th and 5th, which, though leſs perfect than the uniſon and octave, are more pleaſing to the ear than the two 3ds, which he is the firſt author of my acquaintance who calls *imperfect*. He likewiſe divides diſcords into perfect and imperfect. Of the firſt claſs are the flat 2d, ſharp 4th, ſharp 5th, and ſharp 7th, which, ſays he, the ear is unable to tolerate. Of the ſecond claſs are the tone with the diapente, or major 6th, and the

(*x*) Tome viii. par. 1747.

(*y*) *Compendium de Diſcantu, tribus capitibus.* I have met with the term *Diſcantus* in no other author of equal antiquity with Franco.

(*z*) 2575. 60. 4.

(*a*) *Microl.* cap. xviii.

ſemi-

ſemitone with the diapente, or minor 6th: theſe, ſays he, though diſpleaſing to the ear, may be borne in diſcant.

His diviſion of concords into *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *middle*, is curious. But his *mediæ conſonantiæ* ſeem evidently the *paraphoni* of the Greek muſicians, which he might have found either in Boethius, whom he mentions *cap.* i, or other Latin compilers from the Greek theoriſts. Franco's definitions of concord and diſcord likewiſe favour of Greek origin (*b*). He recommends, however, the mixture of *imperfect* concords with the perfect (*c*), which was afterwards formed into an invariable rule againſt the ſucceſſion of *two 5ths* or *two 8ths* in a regular ſeries. He informs us which intervals are *diſcordant*, without giving examples of their uſe; and indeed the ſcience of plain and pure harmony was long known before rules were framed for the *Preparation* and *Reſolution* of *Diſcords*.

As Franco is the next Harmoniſt in point of time to Guido, we may regard his deviations from the Micrologus as diſcoveries. And beſides his improvements in counterpoint, the *notation* of his examples, had it not ſuffered ſo much by tranſcribers, would have aſtoniſhed us by its method and clearneſs; for no improvements ſeem to have been made in it for ſeveral centuries after.

When he writes in four parts he ſometimes allows a *ſtaff* of twenty lines for them; of which, under the fifth from the top is written the word *Quadruplum*; under the tenth *Triplum diſcantus*; and under the fifteenth *Medius*. So that the remaining five lines muſt have been for the *Tenor*, or plain-ſong. Each of theſe parts has a *clef* allotted to it; and this notation, by means of four or five lines and ſpaces for each part, was a great improvement of the Tablature of Guido, conſiſting only

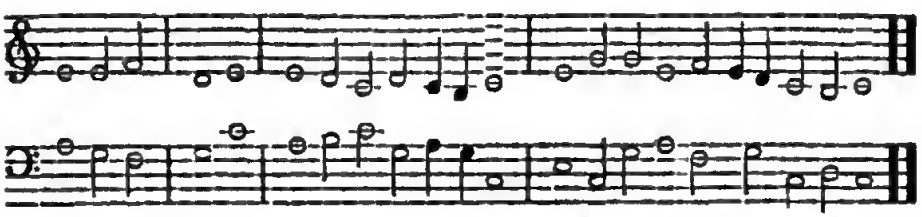
(*b*) Vide Gaudent. Acc. of συμφωνια, p. 11. Euclid's Defin. of Concord and Diſcord, &c. Zarlino, *Iſtit. Harm.* part iii. cap. 7. p. 189. talks of the 5th and 4th as being *Mezane* tra le conſonanze perfette et le imperfette, &c.

(*c*) — *Debet tamen ſemiditonum atque ditonum commiſcere quando unifonus vel diapente convenientiſſime poſſit ſubſequi.*

of

of *one red*, or *one yellow* line for the clefs of F or C, leaving the reſt of the notes to be divined by their ſtation above or below theſe *claves ſignatæ*. Whatever changes have been made in the form of muſical notes ſince the time of Franco, the lines and ſpaces uſed as their receptacles continue ſtill the ſame, without augmentation or diminution; four in the miſſals of the Romiſh church, and five for ſecular muſic.

Moſt of the examples, however, of written diſcant, in Franco's firſt tract, by which he intended to convey his meaning to muſical ſtudents, are ſo miſerably diſlocated and erroneous in the Oxford manuſcript, as to be utterly irrecoverable; and in the ſecond tract, though the lines have been prepared for the reception of examples to illuſtrate his *Nine Rules of Diſcant*, yet they have been all omitted by the tranſcriber. So that we have no other way of judging what progreſs he had made in practical harmony but by his precepts. I tried, with all the penetration and critical ſagacity I could muſter, to decipher one of his ſpecimens of counterpoint, in order to ſhew the muſical reader how ſuperior his manner of interweaving *imperfect* concords with the *perfect* was to that of his predeceſſors, and do firmly believe it to be nearly the following:




Though this fragment may neither pleaſe nor inſtruct the modern Contrapuntiſt, yet, whoever compares it with the compoſitions of Hubald, Odo, and Guido, muſt regard it with wonder.

Thus

Thus far Melody and Harmony, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, had been cultivated for the uſe of the church: for though Franco has left a treatiſe on *Meaſured Muſic*, and *Florid Counterpoint*, yet his examples of Diſcant are all in diatonic intervals; and the words which he has placed under his melodies are wholly fragments of Pſalms or eccleſiaſtical Hymns. Indeed, *cap.* 5, he juſt mentions, *Diſcantum in cantilenis Rondellis*, "Diſcant to airs called *Roundelays*," which continued long in favour, and gave birth to the preſent *Rondeaux* (*d*).

But concerning the obligations which muſic has had to Franco, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the next chapter, I ſhall take my leave of him for the preſent, and introduce to the acquaintance of my readers an Engliſhman, of whoſe writing a treatiſe is preſerved in the library of Benet college, Cambridge, that is ſo copious and complete, with reſpect to every part of muſic which was known when it was written, that if all other muſical tracts hitherto mentioned, from the time of Boethius to Franco and John Cotton, were loſt, our knowlege would not be much diminiſhed, provided this manuſcript were acceſſible.

WALTER ODINGTON, monk of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, the author of this work, was eminent in the early part of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Henry the Third, not only for his profound knowlege in muſic, but aſtronomy, and mathematics in general. The tranſlator and continuator of Dugdale's Monaſticon, ſpeaks of him among learned Engliſhmen of the order of St. Benedict in the following manner:

(*d*) The French poets call an orbicular rhythm in poetry a *Rondeau*, and the Spaniards confine the term *Rondelet* to a circular air or melody, of which the firſt ſtrain is repeated after the 2d and 3d; and indeed after every excurſion into new melodies and modulations.

" Walter, monk of Eveſham, a man of a facetious wit, " who applying himſelf to literature, leſt he ſhould ſink under " the labour of the day, the watching at night, and continual " obſervance of regular diſcipline, uſed at ſpare hours to di- " vert himſelf with the decent and commendable diverſion of " muſic, to render himſelf the more chearful for other duties." This apology, however, for the time he beſtowed on muſic, was needleſs; for it was, and is ſtill, ſo much the buſineſs of a Romiſh prieſt, that to be ignorant of it diſqualifies him for his profeſſion. And at all times, where an eccleſiaſtic thought it neceſſary to trace the whole circle of the ſciences, muſic having the ſecond or third rank, could not be neglected. But what this author adds farther concerning Odington is ſtill leſs defenſible: " Whether," ſays he, " this application to muſic " drew him off from other ſtudies I know not, but there ap- " pears no other work of his than a piece entitled Of the Spe- " culation of Muſick." Yet we are told by Pits, Bale, Tanner, Moreri, and all his biographers, that he wrote *De Motibus Planetarum, et de Mutatione Aëris*, as well as on other learned ſubjects.

As Walter of Eveſham lived at a period which furniſhes but few records concerning the ſtate of muſic in England, and as I am unacquainted with any other copy of his manuſcript than that which ſubſiſts at Cambridge, I ſhall be ſomewhat the more minute in deſcribing its contents, and pointing out its peculiarities (*e*).

The firſt page, only, has been injured by time, and ſome vacuities have been left by the ſcribe, which ſeem intended to have been filled up with red ink. The work is divided into ſix parts, or books.

(*e*) Its number and title in the folio printed catalogue of 1697 are: 1460. 183. *Walterus Monachus Eveſhamiæ de Speculatione Muſicæ*; and in the 4to catalogue of 1777—410. 25. N. *Codex membranaceus in 4to Seculo* XV. *Scriptus, in quo continetur* " *Summus fratris Walteri (Odingtoni) Monachi Eveſhamiæ Muſici Speculatione Muſicæ.*" Pr. *Plura quam digna de Muſicæ Speculatoribus perutilia—*

The

The firſt, *De Inequalitate Numerorum et eorum habitudine*, contains ten chapters, on the diviſion of the ſcale, and harmonical proportions.

The ſecond part conſiſts of eighteen chapters. In the introduction to this part he calls the concords *Symphonies* (*f*), which is frequently the language of Hubald, Odo, and Guido. The firſt chapter is a Eulogium upon Muſic, in which he enumerates the nine Muſes and their attributes; ſpeaks of David's power over the evil ſpirit of Saul, by means of his harp; quotes Clemens Alexandrinus, but not in Greek; and after giving the invention of inſtruments to Tubal, relates the manner in which Pythagoras diſcovered harmonical proportions by the weights of a blackſmith's hammers. Speaks of major and minor ſemitones, and of the *Comma*. He has a long chapter on the proportions of the major and minor thirds: here he takes occaſion to deſcribe the different kinds of human voices, from the ſhrill cries of the infant to the deep and dying groans of an old man; but mentions not thoſe of the *evirati*. Accounts for the thirds having been regarded as diſcords by the ancients who adhered to the proportions of Pythagoras; and ſays, that to pleaſe in harmony they muſt neceſſarily be altered, or, as it was afterwards called, *tempered*. In his ſeventeenth chapter he gives a liſt of Concordant *Diſcords*, *Concordes Diſcordiæ*, or the leſs perfect *double* ſounds; and theſe he ſays are ſix: the minor and major third; the *diapente cum tono*, or major ſixth; the two tenths, or octaves of the thirds; and the diapaſon and diateſſaron, or eleventh.

The third part is chiefly ſpeculative, and confined to harmonics: forming the ſcale, and dividing the monochord, by numbers, and giving rules for the proportions of organ pipes, and the caſting of bells. He ſpeaks of the three kinds of melody, *De tribus generibus Cantilenæ*; and after deſcribing the

(*f*) *In qua proportione ſint ditonus et ſemiditonus et an ſint Symphoniæ. An diapaſon cum diateſſaron ſit Symphonia. An diapente cum diapaſon ſit Symphonia, &c.*

Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enharmonic of the ancients, he ſupports his opinions by the authority of Nicomachus. Greek muſical authors, or at leaſt their doctrines and technical terms, ſeem familiar to Odington, who quoted the firſt book of Euclid at the beginning of his work, and in this third part he gives the characters and names of the notes in the Greek ſcale, and tranſlates them into the ſame language as Martianus Capella and Boethius (*g*). In his chapter *De Organis componendi*, he gives a diagram of numbers and intervals, in naming which by the letters of the alphabet he begins with the Greek Γ, and goes on from A to S. At the ſide of the diagram he mentions the Greek names of the ſeveral tetrachords and conſonances; with the numbers, tones, and ſemitones. All this is manifeſtly for the proportions of pipes in the *inſtrument* called an *Organ*, not the *Organum*, or ſecond voice part in diſcant, of which he treats in his laſt book, as will appear farther on. This, and his chapter *De Cymbalis faciendis*, or caſting of bells, are curious, and the firſt inſtructions of the kind that I had ever ſeen in the manuſcripts of the middle ages. The laſt chapter in this book is *De Tropis*, by which he means the eccleſiaſtical modes, which he gives with their Greek names of *Lydian*, *Dorian*, *Phrygian*, &c. and their *Formula*, in a literal notation.

The fourth part concerns poetical feet and rhythms more than muſic (*h*).

(*g*) It is ſubmitted to the learned, whether the Greek language and writers were not better known in England at this time (about 1230) than is generally imagined by thoſe who ſuppoſe that the Weſtern world was utterly ignorant of both till after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, 1453, when the fugitive Greeks, who were received by the Medici family at Florence, taught their language to the Italians, and diſſeminated their literature throughout Europe.

(*h*) Here the manuſcript is continued in a different and more difficult handwriting, in which the abbreviations are utterly unlike the former part, where the i was diſtinguiſhed by a fine oblique ſtroke over it, inſtead of the point, which only came into uſe with printing. But in this latter part of the tract no notice is taken of the i, except when it is doubled, as in the word *alii*; and it is obſervable that the firſt points that were uſed to the i, were to diſtinguiſh that letter when it was doubled, from the u and the n, which in old manuſcripts are exactly ſimilar.

Part

Part the fifth contains eighteen chapters, which are in general very curious and uncommon. In that which is entitled *De Signis Vocum*, he ſays that "in *our days* muſical tones are expreſſed by the firſt ſeven letters of the alphabet; great, ſmall, and double." Then, in ſpeaking of notes or characters, he ſays, "in the preceding part I have ſhewn the uſe of *Longs* and *Breves*, or two kinds of notes and ſyllables, I ſhall now proceed to give a table of their proportions and their figures." By this he does not mean the characters uſed in *figurative muſic*, or *Cantus Menſurabilis*, but ſuch as were uſed during his time in chanting, or plain-ſong, the names and figures of which, as but few of them occur in any other author, I ſhall inſert here for the ſatisfaction of the curious reader.

The names and figures of ſuch notes as were in uſe in the Weſtern church before the invention of *lines* have been given p. 44 and 45, and others uſed in the Greek church, p. 51; and as many of theſe were not merely characters to expreſs the elevation or depreſſion of ſingle ſounds, but entire intervals, and ſhort paſſages, ſo thoſe of Walter Odington deſcribe inflexions of the voice in almoſt every ſpecies of interval by a ſingle character, and groops of notes by a ſingle term of art.

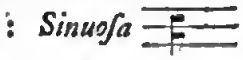
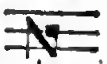
*Punctum* *Apoſtropha* *Virga*

*Biſpunctum* *Biſtropha* *Bivirgia*

*Tripunctum* *Triſtropha* *Trivergia*

*Virga Biconpunctis* *Virga Triconpunctis—condiateſſaries, condiapentis*—&c. &c. He gives examples of all theſe in ſimilar characters; that is, in breves with a long, as far as ſix notes, or a hexachord aſcending and deſcending, but without calling them by thoſe names.

The

The following are characters to expreſs wider intervals, and ſhort paſſages: *Sinuoſa*  *Flexa* *Reſupina*  *Pes* *Pes flexus* *Pes quaſſus* *Pes ſinuoſus* *Pes reſupinus* *Pes gutturalis* *Quiliſſimi* . He has many more, which ſeem never to have been adopted by ſucceeding writers.

After explaining theſe characters, he ſpeaks of the modern expedient of naming the ſounds from the ſyllables of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*, &c. but without mentioning Guido. Then gives the great ſyſtem or ſcale in ſeptenaries, after Guido's manner, in capital, ſmall, and double letters. Here he ſpeaks of *Voces Mobiles* in the ancient manner, and of F *quadrata*, as uſed in *Muſica falſa*, or tranſpoſitions, not, ſays he, *per diſſonem, ſed extranea et apud antiquos inuſitata*. Then he has a chapter *De Mutationibus*, in which he explains the change of names in Solmiſation in the ſame manner as was done by ſucceeding writers long after his time.

The reſt of this book is employed in deſcribing different kinds of eccleſiaſtical chants, and in giving rules for compoſing them. Then dividing the modes into authentic and plagal, he gives examples of canto fermo, which ſeem more florid than appear in miſſals of the ſame period. The two following intonations, which he gives upon five lines, will ſerve as ſpecimens:

(1)

(1) Here we have *Appoggiaturas*. It was perhaps during the uſe of all the preceding quirks and refinements in canto fermo, that ſuch offence was given to John of Saliſbury, Pope John the XXII. and other grave perſonages of thoſe times.

The

The EUOUAE, initials, and finals of all the modes are given in this kind of notation very amply, and always on five lines, and ſpaces. At the beginning of the laſt chapter of this book the words ANANES, NEANES, NANA, &c. uſed by Odo and the modern Greeks in their intonations, occur. This ſeems the moſt complete deſcription and notation of the eccleſiaſtical chant that I have found in any author of equal antiquity.

In the ſixth and laſt part, beſides the *Cantus Menſurabilis*, which will be explained in the next chapter, he treats *De Generibus Cantuum Organorum, et de Compoſitione Cantuum Organorum*, of organizing chants, or the compoſition of *organic* or ſecond parts to chants: and firſt, *De Organo Puro*. Here we meet with all the *Technica* of later times, as *Tenor*, *Motetus*, *Coloratus*, *Cantilena*, and *Rondellus*. The muſical examples, however, as uſual in old manuſcripts, are incorrect, and frequently inexplicable, owing to the ignorance of muſic in the tranſcribers; but if this tract were corrected, and ſuch of the examples as are recoverable, regulated and reſtored, it would be the moſt ample, ſatisfactory, and valuable, which the middle ages can boaſt. As the curious enquirer into the ſtate of muſic at this early period may diſcover in it not only what progreſs our countrymen had made in the art themſelves, but the chief part of what was then known elſewhere.

In the thirteenth century, *ſecular* muſic began to be cultivated in Italy, as appears by the writings of MARCHETTO da Padova, which are preſerved in the Vatican library at Rome. Of this author I found there two inedited manuſcripts, No. 5322. The firſt is intitled, *Lucidarium Artis Muſicæ planæ*, beginning, *Cum inquit*, &c. and the ſecond, *Pomerium Artis Muſicæ Menſurabilis: Quatuor ſunt Cauſæ*—&c. The Lucidarium is frequently mentioned by Franchinus, Pietro Aaron, and other old muſical writers of Italy (*k*). There is a copy of this laſt

(*k*) Of Franchinus a ſhort account has already been given, vol. i. p. 114. Pietro Aaron was a voluminous writer upon muſic in the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

laſt mentioned tract of Marchetto in the Ambroſian library at Milan, D. 5. in folio, where it is ſaid to have been begun at Ceſena, and finiſhed at Verona, 1274 (*l*). The copy of his works in the Vatican was dedicated to Charles king of Sicily, about the year 1283 (*m*). I had large extracts made from this manuſcript, as it contains the moſt ancient writings that I have been able to conſult, in which mention has been made of the *Dieſis*, or accidental *ſharp*; of *Chromatic Counterpoint*; *Diſcords*; and the proportions of ſuch Concords and Diſcords as are uſed in practical Harmony.

In this author there are many attempts at new combinations, ſome of which have been ſince received and ſome rejected. He has written upon Harmonics and Temperament, but his ideas concerning the Chromatic Semitone, and Enharmonic Dieſis, neither correſpond with thoſe of the ancients nor the moderns; and as none of his diviſions of the ſcale would be either intelligible to the reader, or practicable in *Harmony*, I ſhall not enter here upon the uſeleſs and diſagreeable ſubject of *Tone-ſplitting*, but confine my enquiries to the ſubject of Counterpoint, in which the experiments and *Tatonnemens* of Marchetto, compared with thoſe of his predeceſſors, have the appearance of great licentiouſneſs, though he endeavours to give them a ſcientific air by ſubtle diviſions and ſubdiviſions of the ſcale. His examples of Counterpoint in the manuſcript whence my extracts were made, like thoſe of Franco, are written upon only one ſtaff of four, five, ſix, or more lines, according to the diſtance of the intervals, with two clefs, one for the baſe, and one for the tenor or upper part, with this peculiarity of notation, that the notes of the upper part are written in *red* ink,

tury. He had been in the ſervice of Leo the Xth. and was one of the firſt writers on the ſubject of muſic in the *Italian language*, for which, and for not writing in Latin, like his predeceſſors, he makes frequent apologies. But of P. Aaron and Franchinus Gaforius a more ample account will be given hereafter.

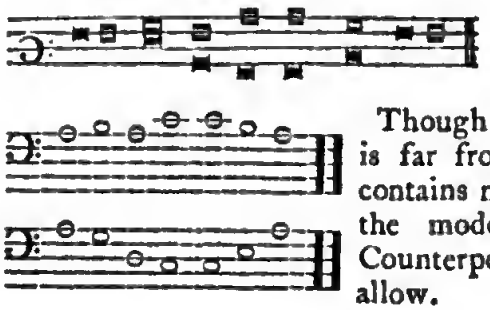
(*l*) *Lucidarium in Arte Muſicæ planæ, inchoatum Ceſene, perfectumque Verone.* 1274.

(*m*) Marchettus Paduanus, *qui ſuum opus Karolo Regi Siciliæ dicavit circa annum* 1283.

and

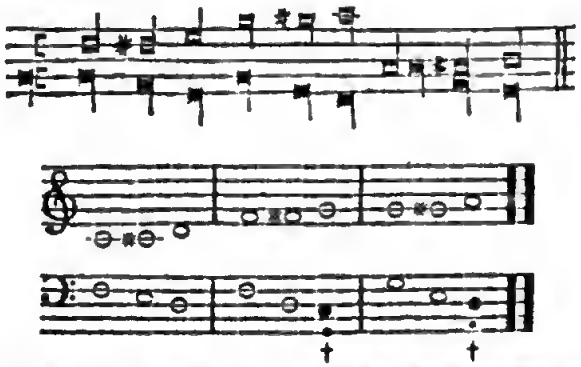
and the lower in *black*; which, to avoid the inconvenience of double printing, I ſhall inſert in black and white notes.

Diatonic *Counterpoint.*



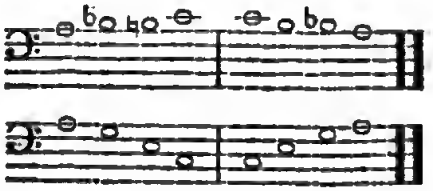
Though this ſpecimen is far from elegant, it contains nothing which the modern rules of Counterpoint would not allow.

In the next examples we have not only the moſt ancient uſe of the *Dieſis*, or *Sharp*, that I have been able to diſcover, but the earlieſt attempts, perhaps, that can be found of what the moderns call *Chromatic*, which, as ſomething curious, I ſhall preſent to the reader in Marchetto's notation upon five lines and in two different clefs, the tenor upon the fourth line, and the baſe upon the ſecond; and then, for the convenience of the *Dilettanti*, by whom tenor clefs are now but ſeldom wanted, I ſhall transfer theſe fragments of infant harmony into modern notes and common clefs.



† The modulation from D major to C is rarely found in modern muſic, though it frequently occurs in compoſitions of the fixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. However, from E with a ſharp third to D minor is not uncommon, at preſent.

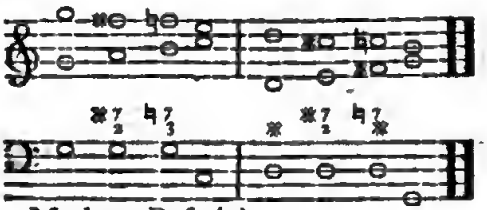
If the merit of an invention be its uſe, Marchetto deſerves the thanks of innumerable compoſers for this paſſage, as well as for the following ſpecimens of Chromatic Modulation, aſcending and deſcending, which are ſtill allowable in muſic of many parts.



He allows the major 6th aſcending into the 8th to be an imperfect *Concord*; but in deſcending calls it, like Franco, a *Diſcord*, reſolving it in the half note below, with a 5th for its baſe:

This paſſage, with a ſmall change in the accompaniment, in proceſs of time, was adopted by all the compoſers of Europe.

And lately to a *Pedale*, or Stationary Baſe, it has been in univerſal favour, under the denomination of the *Diminiſhed 7th*, *Settima Sminuita*.



Modern Baſe (*n*).

(*n*) It is a matter of mufical controverſy in Italy, whether the honour of having firſt dared to uſe the *Settima Diminuita*, or diminiſhed 7th, is due to Jomelli or Galluppi;

Marchetto is the firſt who ſpeaks of *Diſcords* and their reſolution; and lays it down as a rule, that no two ſevenths, or fourths, uſed as diſcords, ſhould ſucceed each other, and that after a diſcord, the part which has offended the ear ſhould make it amends by becoming a concord, while the other ſtands ſtill: indeed he never mentions the *Preparation* of Diſcords, but gives in black and red notes the following example of the unwarrantable ſucceſſion of them:

Padre Martini favoured me with a fragment of Counterpoint from a miſſal of the thirteenth century, written in the manner of that age with black and red notes, which he then imagined was the moſt ancient ſpecimen of Harmony that could be found. The old French writers expreſſed this kind of Diſcant by the term *Quintoier*. It chiefly conſiſts of fifths, and is of a leſs refined and artful texture than the *organizing* of Guido Aretinus, two hundred years before.

*Ex Cod. Sæc.* XIII.

Agnus De - i qui tol - lis peccata mundi miſerere no-bis.

So that it appears as if the laity, as uſual, had alone been guilty of the ſin of innovation; and had wickedly deviated

luppi; as both theſe eminent maſters hazarded this piquant paſſage ſo near the ſame time in different places, the one in a ſong compoſed at Venice, and the other in a ſong compoſed at Turin, that it is eaſier to imagine the invention due to both, than that either ſhould arrogate to himſelf the merit of another. Jomelli, however, firſt carried it into Germany, where the elder Stamita and the ſymphoniſts of the Manheim ſchool, and after them the contrapuntiſts of every other ſchool, introduced it in almoſt every movement, without always waiting for a favourable opportunity.

from the true and ſimple path of Diaphonics preſcribed by the venerable ſaints and fathers Hubald, Odo, and Guido, and amidſt contempt and perſecution had brought Harmony under regular laws, and united ſcience with the pleaſures of the ear (*o*).

I ſhall now cloſe this long chapter, being arrived at a period when the laws of Harmony ſeem to have been tolerably ſettled, as far as concerned *Simple Counterpoint*, or note againſt note; and to want only a Time-table to perfect written Diſcant, or *Muſica Menſurabilis*, which conſtituted Florid Counterpoint, and of which the origin and progreſs will be traced in the next chapter.

(*o*) It ſeems as if eccleſiaſtical muſic was always inferior to ſecular at any given period; and that the mutilated and imperfect ſcales of the eight modes in Canto Fermo had not only injured Melody, but that bad Harmony had continued in the church long after it ceaſed to be tolerated elſewhere.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the formation of the Time-table, and ſtate of Muſic from that diſcovery till about the middle of the fourteenth century.*

IN the wild attempts at extemporary Diſcant, though ſome pleaſing Harmonies had been found, yet but little uſe could be made of them, without a TIME-TABLE; and when theſe Harmonies were firſt written down, in *Counterpoint*, unleſs the *Organum*, or additional part, moved in notes of the ſame length as the plain-ſong, the compoſer had no means of expreſſing it, till a kind of Algebra, or Syſtem of Muſical Signs and Characters to imply different Portions of Time, was invented.

The ancients have left us no rules for Rhythm, Time, or Accent, in Muſic, but what concerned the words or verſes that were to be ſung; and we are not certain that in high antiquity they had any melody purely inſtrumental, which never had been ſet to words, or was not formed upon poetical feet and the metrical laws of verſification.

Before the invention therefore of characters for Time, written Muſic in parts muſt have conſiſted of *Simple Counterpoint*, ſuch as is ſtill practiſed in our parochial Pſalmody, conſiſting of note againſt note, or ſounds of equal length; which at firſt was the caſe even in extemporary diſcant, as the rules given for it by Hubald, Odo, and Guido, ſpeak of no other.

It has been already ſhewn in the Diſſertation prefixed to the firſt volume (*a*), that the ancients had no other reſources for Time and Movement in their muſic than what were derived from the different arrangements and combinations of two kinds of notes, - ∪, equivalent to a long and a ſhort ſyllable.

(*a*) Sect. *Rhythm.*

And

And before the uſe of lines there were no characters or ſigns for more than two kinds of notes in the church; nor, ſince eccleſiaſtical chants have been written upon four lines and four ſpaces, have any but the ſquare and lozenge characters, commonly called *Gregorian Notes*, been uſed in Canto Fermo.

There are ſome ſtories in muſical mythology, which make inſtrumental muſic of higher antiquity than vocal, ſuch is that of the contention between Marſyas and Apollo, and of Minerva throwing away her flute (*b*); but which ever had the primogeniture, as both were long regulated by ſyllables, there could have been no occaſion for a *Time-table*, as the ſtructure of the verſe determined the meaſure of the muſic, and the accents of ſpeech muſt have been thoſe of the melody to which it was ſung: ſo that a long ſyllable would of courſe require a long note, and a ſhort ſyllable a note of ſhort duration. *Proſody* therefore has been very juſtly defined, by Sig. Eximeno (*c*), the *Guide of Song*: and the origin of the word confirms his opinion, that *Proſody* among the ancients included the ſeeds of muſic.

However, when vocal and inſtrumental muſic were ſeparated, or rather, when inſtrumental, wholly emancipated from ſyllables, was invented, a guide and regulator of the duration of ſounds, even in ſimple Melody, became neceſſary; but in written Diſcant, and florid Counterpoint, indiſpenſable.

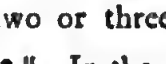
The moſt affecting Melody conſiſts in ſuch an arrangement and expreſſion of muſical tones as conſtitute the accents and language of paſſion. A ſingle ſound, unconnected, or a number of ſounds, of an indeterminate length, expreſs nothing; and almoſt all the meaning, beauty, and energy of a ſeries of ſounds depend on the manner in which they are meaſured and accented. If all notes were equal in length and unmarked by any ſuperior degree of force or ſpirit, they could have no other effect on the hearer than to excite drowſineſs. Innumerable paſſages,

(*b*) Vol. i. p. 265 and 274. (*c*) *Orig. della Muſica*, lib. ii. c. 4.

however,

however, of a different character and expreſſion might be produced by a ſmall number of notes; and by a ſeries of ſuch ſmall portions of melody as theſe, diverſified by *Meaſure* and *Motion*, an air, or compoſition might be produced, which in many particulars would reſemble a diſcourſe. Each paſſage, regarded as a phraſe, might at leaſt awaken in the hearer an idea of tranquillity or diſquietude, of vivacity or languor.

Indeed *Time* is of ſuch importance in Muſic, that it can give meaning and energy to the repetition of the ſame ſound; whereas, without it, a variety of tones, with reſpect to gravity and acuteneſs, has no effect. Upon this principle it is that a drum ſeems to expreſs different tunes, when it only changes the accents and meaſure of a ſingle ſound. And it is on this account that any inſtrument which marks the time with force and accuracy, is more uſeful in regulating the ſteps of a dance, or the march of an army, than one with ſweet and refined tones.

In repetitions of the ſame ſound, in notes of equal duration, Time is made ſenſible to the hearer by accents; without which he would have no means of diſcovering the different portions into which it is divided. If therefore we have a ſucceſſion of notes of equal length and intonation, the ear may be impreſſed with an idea of ſome certain rhythm or meaſure, by marking the firſt of every two or three notes thus:  ; or thus: . In the firſt example the accents being on the firſt and third ſounds, imply *Common Time* of four equal members or portions; and in the ſecond, the repetitions of the ſame ſound having an accent on the firſt of every *three ſounds*, an idea is impreſſed of *Triple Time*. By this means the mind is employed in a kind of perpetual calculation, and a uniformity of ſenſation is impreſſed on the ear.

Dr. Plott (*d*), giving an account of the Harmonics, or natural diviſion and vibration of ſtrings into aliquot parts, upon a

(*d*) Nat. Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, 1708, p. 293.

kindred

kindred ſound being produced near them, calls Muſic "an "*Arithmetic*, embelliſhed with ſounds." And Leibnitz applying the ſame idea to *Meaſure* as had been applied to Sympathetic Conſonance, ſays that Muſic is in many reſpects "an "*occult Arithmetic*, or calculation which the mind inſenſibly "makes (*e*)."

Muſic, before the invention of *Counterpoint*, conſiſted, as far as we are able to diſcover, in Canto Fermo, or melodies equally ſimple; on this inelegant and inſipid treble *Harmony* was grafted, and practiſed in the church, in the ſame manner as has been ſhewn in the preceding chapter; but the diſcovery which was afterwards made in the invention of characters for time, was much more important, as it conſtitutes the true Æra of Muſical Independence; for till then, if Melody ſubſiſted, it was entirely ſubſervient to ſyllabic laws.

Soon after this epoch Muſic became free and independent, perhaps to a licentious degree, with reſpect to *vocal muſic*; but inſtrumental *in parts*, and in *florid Counterpoint*, certainly could not ſubſiſt without a well-regulated meaſure, and a more minute and ſubtle diviſion of time than could be derived from that of long and ſhort ſyllables.

I know that many of the learned think the *Liberty* Muſic acquired at this memorable revolution has often been abuſed by her ſons, who are frequently *Enfans gatés*, riotous, capricious, ignorant, licentious, and enthuſiaſtic; and that whenever poetry is at their mercy they are more in want of inſtruction and reſtraint than the moſt wild and ignorant ſchool-boys: this perhaps is true, as far as concerns grave and ſublime poetry in the hands of injudicious compoſers; but that poetry, truly lyric, is *conſtantly* injured by melody, none, but thoſe who are both unable and unwilling to feel its effects, will aver. I could in-

(*e*) *Muſica eſt exercitium Arithmeticæ occultum neſcientis ſe numerare animi.* In Epiſt. 154. This ingenious thought is equally applicable to Harmony itſelf, as far as the *number* and *ratio* of vibrations are concerned in the pleaſure which the ear receives from Concords.

ſtance

ſtance innumerable ſcenes of the admirable Metaſtaſio, which, however beautiful in themſelves, have been rendered far more affecting and impaſſioned, both by the muſical compoſer and performer. To theſe I could add many Engliſh accompanied-recitatives, and airs, in Handel's Oratorios, where even proſe has received additional dignity and energy from lengthened tones: and none who ever heard the late Mrs. Cibber ſing "Return, O God of Hoſts," or "He was deſpiſed and rejected," whoſe ears could vibrate, or whoſe hearts could feel, would diſpute the point. And ſtill, to go a little farther back, I would reſt the deciſion upon the productions of a compoſer of our own country, in our own language, who ſeldom was ſo fortunate as to have words to ſet that were either elegant, ſublime, or truly lyric; I mean Henry Purcell, whoſe ſtyle is now unfaſhionable, and whoſe melodies are uncouth and ungraceful; yet few can hear his *Mad-Beſs* well ſung, without being infinitely more affected than by merely reading that melancholy monologue as a poem.

Indeed muſic, conſidered abſtractedly, without the aſſiſtance, or rather the ſhackles of ſpeech, and abandoned to its own powers, is now become a rich, expreſſive, and pictureſque language in itſelf; having its forms, proportions, contraſts, punctuations, members, phraſes, and periods.

Many writers on muſic, however, who have a veneration for the ancients, are of opinion that meaſure was not only more varied, but obſerved with more preciſion by the Greeks and Romans than the moderns. According to the late Rouſſeau, "it was after the victories obtained by the Barbarians, that "languages changed their character, and loſt their harmony. "Then Metre, which uſed to expreſs the *Meaſure* of poetry, "was neglected, and proſe was more frequently ſung than "verſe. Scarce any other amuſement was then known than "the ceremonies of the church, nor muſic than that in which

" its ſervice was performed; and as this muſic required not " the regularity of rhythm, it was at length wholly loſt (*f*)."

But as this muſic was not ſet to the jargon ſpoken by Barbarians, but to Latin words, in which Accent could not have been wholly diſuſed and unknown at the time of which Rouſſeau ſpeaks, and in which Quantity has never been loſt; and as the hymns of the church were written in ancient metres, it is not eaſy to fix the neglect and extirpation of meaſure upon the church, unleſs its relaxation be owing to the *Neuma*, or recapitulation of a chant at the end of an anthem, which ſeems to have been the origin of *Diviſions*, and in which it was firſt allowed to ſing as many notes to one ſyllable, and, often, to ſing without words, as many as could be executed during one reſpiration (*g*).

*Diviſions* were unknown to the ancients, who never allowed more than two notes to a ſyllable; but with them, as has already been obſerved, muſic was a ſlave to language, and at preſent it is become a free agent. When the words of an air are divided, repeated, and tranſpoſed at the pleaſure of the compoſer, though they ſtop the narration, they either paint an idea in different colours, or enforce a ſentiment upon which the mind wiſhes to linger. And the different phraſes of an air are only reiterated ſtrokes of paſſion; for it is by theſe repetitions and redoubled efforts that an expreſſion, which at firſt is heard with tranquility, diſturbs, agitates, and tranſports the

(*f*) Dict. de Muſ. Art. *Meſure*.

(*g*) See this vol. chap. ii. p. 43. In ſinging, many ſounds applied to one ſyllable conſtitute a *Diviſion*, *Volte*, *Roulade*, *Volata*, *Paſſaggio*; and in playing upon an inſtrument, a rapid ſucceſſion of ſounds without a reſt, or ſlow note, has generally the ſame appellation. Such as are chiefly pleaſed with grave and ſober muſic cenſure thoſe flights, as capricious, unmeaning, and trivial. Others are however captivated by them, when executed with preciſion, and regard them as proofs of the compoſer's invention, and the performer's abilities. And it is perhaps a popular prejudice to imagine that all ſuch inflexions are abſord, and ill placed, even in a ſlow and plaintive melody. On the contrary, when the heart is much moved and affected, the voice can more eaſily find ſounds to expreſs paſſion, than the mind can furniſh words; and hence came the uſe of interjections and exclamations in all languages. It is no leſs a prejudice to aſſert, that a Diviſion is *always* proper on a favourable word or ſyllable, without conſidering the ſituation of the finger, or the ſentiment he has to expreſs.

hearers.

hearers. But whether this reaſoning be allowed or no, Diviſions were certainly firſt practiſed in the church, even in Canto Fermo, where the *Perieleſis* and the *Neuma* have long been admitted, and where their uſe is ſtill allowed (*h*).

Roman Catholics authoriſe this cuſtom by a paſſage in St. Auguſtine, which ſays, that when we are unable to find words worthy of the Divinity, we do well to addreſs him with confuſed ſounds of joy and thankſgiving: "For to whom are ſuch "extatic ſounds due, unleſs to the Supreme Being? and "how can we celebrate his ineffable goodneſs, when we are "equally unable to adore him in ſilence, and to find any other "expreſſions for our tranſports than inarticulate ſounds (*i*)?"

This licence prevailed even in the time of Guido, to whom ſome attribute the invention of the *Neuma*, for which he gives rules in his Micrologus (*k*). But it ſeems as if the perfection of *figurative Counterpoint*, and the invention of Fugues, had utterly diverted the attention of the compoſer, performer, and public, from poetry, propriety, and ſyllabic laws; to this may be added the uſe of the Organ in accompanying the ſervice of the church, which, according to Dante, rendered the words that were ſung difficult to be underſtood (*l*). Indeed, when Harmony was firſt cultivated, and began to charm the ears of mankind, verſe was ſo rude in the new and unpoliſhed languages, that it wanted ſome ſuch ſauce as Harmony to make it palatable. And at the revival of letters, when poetry began again to flouriſh, Melody was ſo Gothic and devoid of grace, that good poets diſdained its company or aſſiſtance; and we find that the

(*h*) The *Perieleſis*, or circumvolution, is the interpoſition of one or many notes at the cloſe of a chant, to aſcertain its termination, and as a ſignal to the choir to purſue it. And the *Neuma* is a kind of ſhort recapitulation of the chant of a mode, conſiſting of a number of ſounds *without words*. *Lebeuf. Traité ſur le Chant Eccleſiaſtique*, p. 227 & 239.

(*i*) In the Melodies that are ſet to the Provençal ſongs, which are the moſt ancient ſecular *Airs* that are extant, never more than *two notes*, or three in the time of two, now called a *triplet*, are allowed to one ſyllable. (*k*) Cap. xvi.

(*l*) *Quando a Cantar con Organo ſi ſta*
*Ch'or ſi, or no, s'intendon le parole.*
Purg. Canto ix.

verſes of Dante, Arioſto, and Taſſo, ſupported themſelves without the aid of muſic, as muſical compoſitions in counterpoint ſeem to have done without poetry. It was the cultivation of the muſical drama that once more reconciled the two ſiſters; however, their leagues of friendſhip are but of ſhort duration, and like a froward couple whoſe diſpoſitions too rarely coincide, it is

" Sometimes my plague, ſometimes my darling,
" Kiſſing to-day, to-morrow ſnarling."

But as I ſhall hereafter have frequent occaſions to ſpeak of the abuſe of Harmony to the injury of Melody, and of both to the utter ruin of Lyric Poetry, I ſhall now proceed to trace the invention of muſical characters for Time.

The benefit conferred on muſic by the invention of a Time-table, which extended the limits of ingenuity and contrivance to the utmoſt verge of imagination, muſt long have remained unknown to the generality of muſicians and muſical writers, or more care would have been taken to record ſome few memorials concerning its author. But when the age and cotemporaries of a man of letters or ſcience are known, the curioſity of moſt readers is ſatisfied; for a life ſpent in the peruſal and compoſition of books, in quiet and obſcurity, furniſhes but few circumſtances that can intereſt the buſy part of mankind. The efforts of the mind in retirement, however great may be the objects with which it is occupied, admit of no deſcription; while an active life, oſtenſibly employed in the ſervice of a ſtate or any order of ſociety, ſupplies the biographer with materials of eaſy uſe, and, if well arranged, and interwoven, ſuch as are welcome to all readers.

We find that *Marchetto da Padua*, ſo early as the year 1283, in the Vatican manuſcript (*m*) already cited, ſpeaks of *Cantibus Menſuratis*. The invention of *characters for Time* has, how-

(*m*) No. 1146.

ever,

ever, been given by almoſt all the writers on muſic of the laſt and preſent century, to John de Muris, who flouriſhed about the year 1330, and whom many Engliſh writers ſeem ambitious of claiming as an Engliſhman; probably with the hopes of honouring this country with his invention of the Time-table; yet, however patriotic may be their deſign, I am in poſſeſſion of ſuch a ſtubborn proof of that diſcovery not being the property of John de Muris, as he would be unable to refute if he were himſelf to riſe from the tomb and claim it.

Among the manuſcripts which were bequeathed to the Vatican library by the queen of Sweden, there is a *Compendium of Practical Muſic*, by John de Muris, in which he treats of muſical characters for Time; but introduces the ſubject with a ſhort chronological liſt of anterior muſicians who had merited the title of *Inventors*: beginning, as uſual, with Tubal; and after naming Pythagoras, and Boethius, he proceeds to Guido the monk, "who conſtructed the gammut, or ſcale for the mono-"chord, and placed notes upon lines and ſpaces; after whom "came MAGISTER FRANCO, *who invented the figures*, or notes, "*of the Cantus Menſurabilis* (*n*)."

All farther enquiries concerning the right which John de Muris may have to this important invention ſeem uſeleſs, as it is ſo fully and clearly renounced in favour of another, by the only perſon who was thought to have a fair claim to it. I ſhall therefore quit John de Muris, for the preſent, in order to try whether his predeceſſor Franco's right to this invention be wholly indiſputable, notwithſtanding it has been ceded to him ſo formally.

The ſame fatality ſeema to attend the firſt founders of arts as of empires, whoſe hiſtory muſt ever be ſhort, unleſs conjecture and fable are called in to the aſſiſtance of the writer.

(*n*) —*Deinde Guido monachus qui compoſitor erat gammatis qui monochordum dicitur, voces* lineis, et ſpaciis *dividebat. Poſtbus* Magiſter Franco, qui invenit in Cantu Menſuram figurarum—MS. Reginæ Sveciæ in Vatic. No. 1146. *Compendium Joannis de Muribus.*

MA-

MAGISTER FRANCO is by ſome called a native, or at leaſt an inhabitant of Paris; by others a ſcholaſtic of Liege; but, if we may believe Franco himſelf, he was of Cologn: for, ſeeming to foreſee the diſputes which would ariſe concerning his locality, he begins his *Compendium de Diſcanto*, one of his muſical tracts which has been preſerved, in the following manner: *Ego Franco de Colonia*, &c. which if the authors of the *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France* had ſeen, they doubtleſs would not have fixed him at Liege, nor would thoſe who have implicitly followed them, have been led into this miſtake.

Sigebert (*o*) tells us that Franco ſupported the functions of his office of ſcholaſtic, or preceptor, by a great fund of religion and knowledge; and acquired as much celebrity by his virtue as ſcience: *Scientia literarum et morum probitate clarus.* He ventured, ſay the Benedictines (*p*), to ſtudy profane ſcience as well as eccleſiaſtic, and had the courage to attempt *ſquaring the circle.* Chriſtian philoſophers generally regard a man for loſt who addicts himſelf to ſuch purſuits as the *ſquaring the circle*, the *multiplication of the cube*, *perpetual motion*, the *philoſopher's ſtone*, *judicial aſtrology*, or *magic.* But Franco is ſaid to have exerciſed his faculties in theſe ſtudies with ſuch diſcretion, that he never neglected his more important concerns.

By the teſtimony of Sigebert, his cotemporary (*q*), he had acquired great reputation for his learning in 1047. At leaſt it is certain that he had written concerning the *ſquare of the circle* before the month of February 1055, at which time Heriman, archbiſhop of Cologn, to whom he dedicated his work, died (*r*).

Franco lived at leaſt till Auguſt 1083, for he at that time filled the charge of ſcholaſtic of the cathedral of Liege.

Among many works which Franco is ſaid to have produced upon religious and mathematical ſubjects, we are told by the

(*o*) *De Script. Eccleſ.* c. 164.

(*p*) *Hiſt. Litt. de la France*, tome viii. p. 122.

(*q*) *Chron. an.* 1047.

(*r*) His dedicating a book to this prelate ſeems a natural conſequence of his reſidence at Cologn.

authors

authors of the *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France*, that he wrote upon Muſic and Plain-chant; and that in the abbey of Lire in Normandy, there is a manuſcript in folio, which contains *Ars Magiſtri Franconis de Muſica Menſurabili*. Theſe writers add, that there can be no doubt of this Magiſter Franco being the ſame as the Scholaſtic of that name; or that another tract on Muſic, in ſix chapters, entitled *Magiſtri Franconis Muſica*, and preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, is by the ſame author, as well as the *Compendium de Diſcantu, tribus Capitibus*, in the ſame library.

Theſe authors, who indeed pretend not to have ſeen the muſical tracts of Franco, have imagined, contrary to their uſual accuracy, that the treatiſe *De Muſica Menſurabili*, in the library at Lire, and *Muſica* Magiſtri Franconis, in the Bodleian library, were different works, but there remains not the leaſt doubt of their being duplicates of the ſame tract, in every reſpect, but their titles.

Trithemius (*s*), who calls him Franco *Scholaſticus Leodienſis Eccleſiæ*, of the church of Liege, *natione Theutonicus*, and a German, tells us, that "he was very learned in the holy "ſcriptures; a great philoſopher, aſtronomer, arithmetician, "*(computiſta;)* and that he dedicated ſeveral of his works to "the archbiſhop of Cologn: ſuch as his tract *De Quadratura* "*Circuli*; *De Computo Eccleſiaſtico*; *et alia plura*;" but he ſpecifies none of the muſical writings of Franco, who, according to this biographer, flouriſhed under the emperor Henry III. 1060.

The firſt mention, however, which I can find of Franco as a writer on muſic, in any treatiſe on the ſubject, is by Marchetto da Padova, of whoſe manuſcript tracts an account has already been given (*t*). In his *Lucidarium in Arte Muſicæ Planæ*, written in the year 1274, he ſays, "that the agree-

(*s*) *De Script. Eccleſ.* Paris, 1512. (*t*) See p. 161 of this volume.

"ment

" ment of different melodies, *according to Magiſter Franco*, " conſtitutes diſcant (*u*)." He likewiſe cites him in his *Pomærium, de Muſica Menſurata*, as *Inventor* of the four firſt muſical characters (*x*); and this would have been ſufficiently early to ſtrip John de Muris of the honour of their invention, had he choſen to inveſt himſelf with it.

He is next, in point of time, mentioned by John de Muris himſelf, as is already related. And, in a manuſcript of the Bodleian library (*y*), aſcribed to Thomas, or John, of Teukeſbury, which, it is ſaid at the end, was finiſhed at the univerſity of Oxford 1351, there is a chapter expreſsly on the Muſical Characters for Time, invented by Franco: *De Figuris inventis a Francone.*

Franchinus Gaforius (*z*) quotes him twice as author of the Time-table; and aſcribes to him (*a*) the completion of Counterpoint, by his contrivance of moving in different melodies at the ſame time: meaning his invention of muſical characters for meaſure.

Our countryman Morley (*b*) ſays that " *Francho* was the " moſt ancient of all thoſe whoſe works on practical muſic had " come to his hands." But he ſeems only to have ſeen a Commentary on his Treatiſe by Robert de Handlo, and to know nothing of his age and country (*c*). And Ravenſcroft (*d*), who appears indeed to have been no better acquainted with the original than Morley, quoting him only through John Dunſtable, an Engliſhman (*e*), tells us boldly that he was the inventor of

(*u*) *Diſcantus, ſecundum* Magiſtrum Franconem, eſt diverſorum cantuum conſonantia. Ex Cod. Vatic. Num. 5322.

(*x*) Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi.* Diſſert. 24. tome ii. P. Martini, tome i. p. 189. Gerb. tome ii. p. 124.

(*y*) Digby, 90.

(*z*) *Pract. Muſicæ*, lib. ii. c. 5.

(*a*) Ib lib. iii. c. 1.

(*b*) Annotations to his Introduction, p. 7.

(*c*) Robert de Handlo wrote a Commentary on the *Muſica Menſurabilis* of Franco, 1326. See Tanner, p. 476. And this is even an earlier period than was aſſigned to the invention by thoſe who had given it to John de Muris.

(*d*) Briefe Diſcourſe of the true Uſe of Charactering the Degrees in *Meaſurable Muſicke*, 1614, p. 1.

(*e*) Id. p. 3.

the

the four firſt ſimple notes of *Menſurable Muſic*; but, unluckily, calls him *Franchinus de Coloniâ*, confounding him with Franchinus Gafurius.

Critical exactneſs, with reſpect to dates, names, or facts, was not yet much practiſed in writing upon the arts; and Morley, the beſt author who had written expreſsly on Muſic, in our language, ſince the invention of printing, took many things upon truſt; and though he gave a long liſt of practical muſicians, whoſe works he had conſulted, he never had ſeen the writings of Guido, nor does he quote a ſingle manuſcript treatiſe throughout his Introduction, which indeed is profeſſedly more didactic than hiſtorical.

Having collected the evidence of reſpectable and unſuſpected authors in favour of the muſical writings of Franco, it will be neceſſary to give the reader an account of the particular tract which chiefly concerns this chapter, entitled *Ars Cantus Menſurabilis*: and this I ſhall do from the work itſelf, of which I obtained a copy from the Bodleian library at Oxford (*f*).

This ſhort, but celebrated tract, contains ſix chapters:

1. Prologue, and Definitions of the Terms uſed in the Treatiſe.
2. Of the Figures, or Repreſentations of ſingle Sounds.
3. Of Ligatures, or compound Notes.
4. Of Reſts or Pauſes.
5. Of the different Concords uſed in Diſcant.
6. Of the Organum, and of other Combinations of Sounds (*g*).

In ſpeaking of former muſical writers, he ſays, that "both "the theory and practice of *Plain Muſic*, or *Chanting*, had

(*f*) 8vo. f. 49.

(*g*) *Incipit Muſica Magiſtri Franconis, continens* 6 *capitula.*

*Capitulum primum continet Prologum et Diffinitiones Terminorum ad iſtum Tractatum pertinentium.*

Cap. 2. *De Figuris Vocis ſimplicis, ſive de Notis non Ligatis.*

Cap. 3. *De Ligatis, ſive de Figuris compoſitis.*

Cap. 4. *Eſt de Pauſis, et earum diverſitate.*

Cap. 5. *Eſt de diverſarum Vocum debita Concordantia et Diſcantu.*

Cap. 6. *Diffinit Copulam et Organum, et eorum Species.*

" been ſufficiently explained by ſeveral philoſophers; particu-
" larly the theory by Boethius, and the practice by Guido," whom he exalts into a philoſopher. " The eccleſiaſtical tropes " or modes, he adds, had been ſettled by St. Gregory." Franco, therefore, only intends to treat of *Meaſured Muſic*, of which, he piouſly obſerves, plain-chant has the precedence, as the principal of the ſubaltern (*h*). " Nor let any one ſay, " continues he, that I have undertaken this work through ar-
" rogance, or for my own convenience, but merely for the " ſake of its evident truth, the eaſe with which it may be com-
" prehended by the ſtudent, and its containing the moſt perfect " method of teaching all the Modes of *Meaſured Muſic*, and their " *Notation*. For as there are ſeveral authors, as well modern " as ancient, who in their treatiſes give many good rules con-
" cerning *Meaſured Muſic*, and on the contrary are deficient and " erroneous in other particulars, eſpecially in the appendages " of the ſcience, we think their doctrines require ſome correc-
" tion and improvement, leſt the ſcience itſelf ſhould ſuffer " from their errors and defects. We therefore propoſe giving " a compendious explanation of *Meaſured Muſic*, *in which we* " *ſhall not ſcruple to inſert* WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID WELL " ON THE SUBJECT, to correct their errors, and to ſupport by " good reaſons WHATEVER WE OURSELVES MAY HAVE NEWLY " INVENTED (*i*)."

(*h*) —*De* MENSURABILI MUSICA, *quam ipſa* PLANA PRÆCEDIT *tanquam* principali ſubalternam.

(*i*) *Nec dicat aliquis nos hoc opus propter arrogantiam vel forte etiam propter propriam commoditatem incepiſſe, ſed vere propter evidentem veritatem et auditorum facillimam apprehenſionem, nec non et omnium* Modorum Notarum (of all the moods as expreſſed by characters or notes) *ipſius* Menſurabilis Muſicæ *perfectiſſimam inſtitutionem. Nam cum videmus* multos tam novos quam antiquos in artibus ſuis *de Menſurabili Muſicâ* (alluding perhaps to the uſual titles of muſical treatiſes: *Ars Muſices*; *Ars Menſurabilis Muſicæ*, &c.) *multa bona dicere, et e contrario in multis et maxime in accidentibus ipſius ſcientiæ deficere et errare, opinioni eorum fore exiſtimamus ſuccurrendum, ne forte propter defectum et errorem prædictorum dicta ſcientia detrimentum patiatur. Proponimus igitur ipſam Menſurabilem Muſicam ſub compendio declarare, benedictaque aliorum una recuſabimus interponere, errores quoque deſtruere et fugare, et* ſi quid novi a nobis inventum fuerit, bonis rationibus ſuſtinere et probare.

It

It ſeems evident from this paſſage, particularly thoſe parts of it which are printed in capitals, that the *invention* of *muſical notes for Time*, is more ancient than Franco, and that he had only the merit of *improvement*. It likewiſe informs us, that there were, in his time, treatiſes *de Menſurabili Muſicâ*, or, at leaſt, that doctrines had been propoſed and laid down concerning muſical notes, and the different duration of ſounds, by writers who were *antiqui*, with reſpect to him; and proves very ſtrongly that this manuſcript contains only a mixture of his own rules, with thoſe of his predeceſſors (*k*). And indeed, upon a careful analyſis of this whole tract, it does not appear that Franco was the INVENTOR of muſical notes, or characters for Time, though they have lately been given to him in ſuch very poſitive terms, by thoſe who, without ſeeing his manuſcript, have taken it for granted that it was wholly his property, becauſe no other writer of equal antiquity was found to have treated of *Cantus Menſurabilis*. Indeed, beſides the paſſages already cited, we find him ſpeaking of *former writers*, and *former opinions* concerning the *notes* and *modes*; particularly, chapter ſecond, the words *quemadmodum quidam poſuerunt*, acknowledge other writers upon the ſubject of Meaſured Muſic beſides himſelf; and, chapter the fourth, he ſpeaks of the great error which *ſome* have committed by tying together three *Longs* in Tenor parts; and of the ſtill greater blunder which *others* have made in tying a *Long* between two *Breves* (*l*). And the author of a Latin treatiſe, which was among the Cotton muſical manuſcripts, ſeems to determine with great preciſion the degree of merit that is due to Franco, with reſpect to the Time-table; for ſpeaking of the Canto Fermo of an earlier period, he ſays: "Though muſic was at that time not meaſured, it was approaching *towards* meaſure, when Franco appeared,

(*k*) *Si quid novi*—The expreſſion is ſtrong, and even when deduction is made for *modeſty*, implies, perhaps, that his *inventions* were but few and inconſiderable.

(*l*) —*Ex quo ſequitur quod vehementer errant* qui *tres Longas aliqua occaſione ut in Tenoribus ad invicem ligant; ſed adhuc plus* illi qui *inter duas breves longam ligant.*

" peared, who was *the firſt* APPROVED author, or writer, on " Meaſured Muſic (*m*)."

After this introduction definitions are given, in which I ſhall mention whatever ſeems ſingular or curious.

*Meaſured Muſic*, he ſays, is regulated by long and ſhort *Times*, or portions of Meaſure; and *Meaſure* he defines, the regulated motion of any ſeries of Sounds, whether quick or ſlow, different from plain-ſong, in which no ſuch regularity of movement is obſerved. A *Time* is the ſtated proportion of a lengthened tone, or of a *reſt* of equal duration. " I ſpeak " of a *Reſt*, ſays he, as meaſured by Time, becauſe otherwiſe " the performers of two different parts, one of which ſhould " have a *reſt*, and the other not, would be unable to proceed " together in exact time (*n*)."

This ſeems to be the purport of the original, which, however, I ſhall conſtantly throw into the notes for the conſideration of the curious and learned reader, who may, perhaps, diſcover meanings that have eſcaped my penetration. Indeed, this paſſage gives an idea of more than *Simple Counterpoint*, of note for note, and ſyllable for ſyllable, being practiſed in Franco's time, who is believed to have written his tract within fifty years of Guido.

" *Meaſured Muſic*, continues he, is of two kinds: wholly, " and partly meaſured. Muſic *wholly meaſured* is *diſcant*, " which is meaſured throughout; and that which is *partly* " *meaſured* is the ſimple chant or plain-ſong, which, though " meaſured by Time in ſome degree, is neither *Organum* nor " Diſcant, as it is commonly called by thoſe who ſing the Ec- " cleſiaſtical Chants (*o*)."

He

(*m*) —*Non enim erat muſica tunc menſurata, ſed paulatim creſcebat ad menſuram, uſque ad tempus Francouis, qui erat Muſicæ Menſurabilis* primus auctor APPROBATUS.

(*n*) *Dico autem* pauſam *tempore menſurari, quia aliter duo Cantus diverſi quorum (ſi) unus cum pauſâ et alius ſine ſumeretur, non poſſent proportionaliter adinvicem bene coæquari.*

(*o*) *Dividitur autem* Menſurabilis Muſica *in menſurabilem ſimpliciter et partim. Menſurabilis ſimpliciter eſt diſcantus, eo quod*

*in*

He next defines *Diſcant*; and as the reader may be curious to know the acceptation of this term, ſo near the time of its invention, I ſhall inſert the whole paſſage.

" *Diſcant* is the *conſonance* of *different melodies*, in which " thoſe different melodies move in ſounds of various lengths, " as *Longs*, *Breves*, and *Semibreves*, proportioned to each " other, and expreſſed in writing by adequate notes or cha- " racters (*p*)."

He then divides Diſcant into three kinds: " Notes of equal " length, Ligatures, or binding Notes, and Notes that are de- " ficient in Time (*q*)." Of theſe he propoſes to treat ſeparately; but as all Diſcant moves in ſome particular Meaſure, Mode, or *Mood*, he firſt defines a Mood, and its characters, or ſigns.

" A *Mood* is the repreſentation of the time of meaſured " ſounds, expreſſed by Longs or Breves, or long and ſhort " notes. As Modes are of different kinds, their number and " arrangement are made different by different muſicians. Some " multiply them to ſix, and ſome to ſeven; but *we*, ſays " Franco, allow only of five, becauſe to this number all others

*in omni parte ſua menſuratur. Menſurabilis partim eſt cantus ſimplex et tempore menſuratus, ſed Organum non eſt, neque Diſcantus,* (Organum) *communiter vero dicitur quibus Cantus Eccleſiaſticus* tempore menſuratur.

It ſeems, by this paſſage, as if organizing, or ſinging in harmony, had firſt brought the *plain-chant* to *ſtrict time*; and that, then, when only a *ſingle* part or melody was ſung *in time*, it was cuſtomary to call it *Organum*, becauſe *meaſured like* the *Organum*. And perhaps, in ſinging upon a plain-ſong, the principal melody, while it continued to be chanted nearly in the ſame manner as it uſed to be before parts were added to it, was ſaid to be *partly meaſured*; and the Organum or Diſcant, moving in proportionate notes of different lengths, was regarded as *wholly meaſured*. In our cathedrals, where the Pſalms are chanted in four parts, Time is neither abſolutely kept, nor wholly diſregarded: it is kept with reſpect to the harmony, as all the parts move together; yet the melody of each part being governed by the length of the verſes, cannot be ſaid to be regularly meaſured. In accompanied recitation the inſtruments move ſometimes *à tempo*, while the voice part ſeems *ad libitum*.

(*p*) *Diſcantus eſt aliquorum diverſorum cantuum conſonantia, in qua illi diverſi cantus per voces Longas et Breves et Semibreves proportionaliter adequantur, et in ſcripto per debitas figuras proportionati adinvicem deſignantur.*

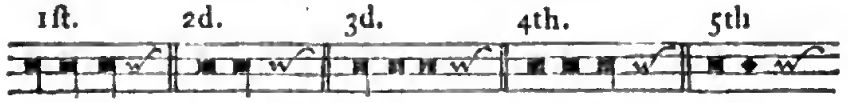
(*q*) —*Alius ſimpliciter prelatus, alius copulatus, alius truncatus.*

may

" may be referred. The firſt conſiſts wholly of *Longs*—The " ſecond of a *Breve*, a *Long*, &c. The third of a *Long* and " *two Breves*," &c.—(In Handlo's commentary on this paſſage it is obſerved, that in this mood, a pauſe equal to a long is placed after the ſecond long; which reduces it to what the moderns would call Common Time, and expreſs thus:

) " The fourth Mood conſiſts of *two* " *Breves* and a *Long*, &c. And the fifth is wholly compoſed " of *Breves* and *Semibreves* (*r*)."

If theſe five Modes of Franco were expreſſed in ancient notes they would have the following appearance:




Morley, in his Annotations, p. 8. ſeems to explain them in the ſame manner: " If a plaine ſong conſiſted al of Longes, " it was called the firſt Mood: if of a Long and a Briefe ſuc- " ceſſively, it was called the ſecond Mood," &c. For when Franco ſays that the ſecond Mood conſiſted of " a Breve and " Long and Breve," *et cætera* ſeems neceſſarily underſtood. And this conjecture is confirmed by the fragment of a very ancient manuſcript muſical treatiſe in the Britiſh Muſeum (*s*), where ſix Moods are deſcribed in the following manner: " The firſt con- " ſiſts of a ſucceſſion of Longs and Breves; the ſecond of " Breves and Longs; the third of a Breve and two Longs; " the fourth of two Longs and a Breve; the fifth of three

(*r*) *Modus eſt repreſentatio ſoni Longis Brevibuſque temporibus menſurati. Modi autem diverſis diverſimodè enumerantur et etiam ordinantur. Quidam verò ponunt 6, alii 7tem, nos autem quinque tantùm ponimus, quoniam ad hos quinque omnes alii reducuntur. Primus vero procedit ex omnibus Longis—Secundus procedit ex Brevi et Longa et Brevi. Tercius vero ex Longa et dualus Brevibus et Longa. Quartus eſt ex duabus Brevibus et Longa et duabus Brevibus. Quintus autem ex omnibus Brevibus et Semibrevibus.*

(*s*) Bib. Reg. 12. c. vi. 5. *Tractatus Muſici* 3.

" Longs;

" Longs; and the ſixth of three Breves (*t*)." Theſe are all reducible to the five Modes of Franco: for the fifth is the firſt Mood of Franco, and the ſixth, in reality, only the ſame meaſure of time, accelerated; as it is indifferent at preſent whether a Minuet be written in $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$. The ſecond, third, and fourth Moods in the anonymous tract are preciſely the ſame as thoſe of Franco, in longer ſpecimens; as the author ſays *Secundus conſtat Brevi Longa Brevi Longa Brevi Longa*, which is only thrice repeating the ſame meaſure. The fifth Mood of Franco correſponds with the firſt of this author; for a Long and a Breve, or a Breve and a Semibreve, differ no more in their effect on the ear, than a Minim and Crotchet, and Crotchet and Quaver, which equally repreſent Triple Time (*u*).

The five Modes, as Franco has deſcribed them, afford no great variety of meaſures. Indeed the ancients had been long in poſſeſſion of a far greater number of combinations in their poetical feet (*x*); to ſome one of which every Mood in Franco's liſt is reducible; as the firſt, conſiſting wholly of Longs, or ſlow notes, wants nothing either in Common or Triple Time, but what the *Spondee* or *Moloſſus* would ſupply. The ſecond, having a Breve followed by a Long, would be repreſented by the *Iambus*. The third, conſiſting of a Long and two Breves, by the *Dactyl*. The fourth of two Breves and a Long, by the *Anapæſt*. And the fifth, compoſed of Breves and Semibreves, by the *Trochaic* Foot. But it was not ſo much the buſineſs of Franco to invent new meaſures, as to unite the old.

(*t*) *Modus vel maneries vel temporis conſideratio eſt cognitio Longitudinis et Brevitatis vicli ſimique. Modi generales ſunt* VI. *Primus conſtat ex Longa Brevi, Longa Brevi, Longa Brevi. Et ſecundus conſtat Brevi Longa Brevi Longa Brevi Longa. Et tertius conſtat ex Longa et duabus Brevibus, Longa et duabus Brevibus. Quartus conſtat ex duabus Brevibus et Longa, &c.* This tract is the laſt of the three fragments that are bound up in the ſame volume, the initial ſentence of which is—*Cognita Modulacione melorum ſecundum viam octo Tonorum.*

(*u*) As the *Minim* is not mentioned in this tract, it muſt be more ancient than the time of its invention, about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

(*x*) See vol. i. p. 77.

In

In his ſecond chapter he treats of ſimple notes or characters, of which he enumerates only three kinds: the *Long*, the *Breve*, and *Semibreve*; making no mention of the *Large*, or of the *Minim*. Theſe he tells us are either perfect or imperfect. The perfect Long he calls the firſt and principal of all the notes, for in that all others are included. "The *perfect* note, he tells "us, is that which is *meaſured by three times*, or portions; the "*Ternary* diviſion being the moſt perfect of all, as it had its "name from the Holy Trinity, which is true and pure per-"fection (*y*)."

The *perfect Long* is repreſented by a ſquare note with a tail on the right hand, deſcending, as thus: . This is equal to *three Breves*. The *imperfect Long*, repreſented by the ſame figure, is equal only to *two*. It is imperfect for the reaſon already aſſigned, ſays Franco, and can only acquire its full length by the addition of a Breve before or after it. "Whence it follows, continues he, that thoſe err who call it "perfect; as that only is entire and complete which can ſtand "by itſelf (*z*)."

It ſeems by this paſſage as if there had been a controverſy even in Franco's time, about the greater degree of perfection of *Triple*, or *Common Time*; in after ages, however, the *Binary* number acquired the pre-eminence, and was called *perfect*, while the triple proportion was degraded into *imperfect*.

Though Franco mentions not the *Maxima* or *Large*, he tells us that the Double-long is made thus, and conſiſts of the union of two longs: to which it is

(*y*) *Perfecta autem dicitur eo quod tribus temporibus menſuratur. Et vero trinarius inter omnes numeros perfectiſſimus pro eo quia a ſumma Trinitate, quæ vera eſt et pura perfectio, nomen ſumpſit.*

(*z*) *Ex quo ſequitur quod illi peccant qui eam rectam appellant, cum illud quod eſt rectum poſſit per ſe ſtare.*

equal:

equal: "Nor, when uſed in the tenor parts of a plain-ſong, "can it be broken or divided (*a*)."

The Breve, which is a ſquare note without a tail, may, however, be divided, being either perfect or imperfect:
The Semibreve, which is either major or minor, is conſtantly written in the form of a lozenge, thus: .

The length of the notes, that is the perfection or imperfection, triple or double power, depended on their arrangement; and it ſeems as if when two or more notes of the ſame kind followed each other, they were always perfect, that is, equal to three notes of the next inferior degree. But when a ſhorter note either preceded or followed a longer, then the long note was *imperfect*, that is, equal only to the next two of a ſhorter kind; and the deficiency was made up by a preceding or ſucceeding ſhort note.

But all this perplexity was removed when the *Point* came into general uſe. Franco ſpeaks of the *Tractulus* as a *ſign of perfection*, in the ſame manner as we ſhould now ſpeak of the *Point*, which, indeed, he uſes in ſome of his examples, for the ſame purpoſe as it is uſed at preſent: for he tells us that it makes the Long *perfect*, or equal to three Times or Breves, which, without it, would have been *imperfect*, or equal only to two (*b*):

Ancient. Modern.

What he calls *Recta Brevis* is only equal to one Time, or fourth part of a Meaſure; ſo that whether it precede or follow a *perfect* Long, the *Times* of both amount to four:

Ancient. Modern.

(*a*) —*Ne ſeries plani cantus ſumpti in tenoribus diſrumpatur.* John de Muris, in his *Speculum Muſicæ*, quotes Ariſtotle to prove that this note cannot be admitted in *plain-ſong*.

(*b*) "A Long, ſays he, followed by a Breve, is rendered imperfect, *niſi inter illas duas*; ſc. *Longam et Brevem, ponatur* quidam Tractulus *qui* ſignum perfectionis *dicitur*, qui et alio nomine diviſio modi appellatur.

Theſe rules, however, are too numerous, complex, and uſeleſs, to merit the reader's attention, or an attempt at explaining them. Indeed, if they would help to decipher other muſic, compoſed after the time of Franco, the curious enquirer's trouble, and my own, might be repaid; but there was at firſt ſo much confuſion in the Moods, and ſo many and ſo dark were the exceptions to their rules, ſo numerous and jarring the opinions and deciſions concerning them, and ſo little agreed were muſicians about the different Prolations, *Points* of perfection and imperfection, of increaſe and diminution, diviſion and tranſlation, even in Morley's time, as gave occaſion to his ſaying, that " no two of them told the ſame tale."

Few of the muſical terms in the tract of Franco, are more difficult to comprehend or define than the word *Plica*, which he calls " a note of *diviſion* of the ſame ſound, aſcending or " deſcending (*c*)." It ſeems however to have been rather a note of *prolation* than diviſion, and, like the point, to have augmented the length of the ſound to which it was applied. All we can be ſure of now is its form, which by adding a ſtroke to a note, ſhorter than its uſual tail, gave it the appearance of a plait, wrinkle, or fold, as the Latin word *Plica* implies : .

Of theſe *Plicæ*, he tells us, ſome are added to Longs, and ſome to Breves; but ſeldom to Semibreves, unleſs in Ligatures (*d*). This little ſtroke, which ſeems to have been equivalent to a ſhort note, tied to a longer, was added to the Long on the left ſide, and to the Breve on the right, thus : .

(*c*) *Plica eſt nota diviſionis ejuſdem ſoni ia grave et acutum.*

(*d*) *Plicarum alia Longa, alia Brevis, alia Semibrevis: ſed de Semibrevibus nihil ad præſens intendimus, cum non in ſimplicibus figuris poſſit Plica Semibrevis inveniri. In Ligaturis tamen et ordinationibus Semibrevium Plica poſſibilis eſt accipi, ut poſtea apparebit. Item Plicarum alia aſcendens, alia deſcendens. Plica longa aſcendens habet duos tractus, quorum dexter longior eſt ſiniſtro. Plica longa vero deſcendens ſimiliter habet duos tractus ſed deſcendentes, dexterum ut prius longiorem ſiniſtro. Plica vero brevis aſcendens eſt, quia habet duos tractus aſcendentes, ſiniſtrum tamen longiorem dextero, &c.*

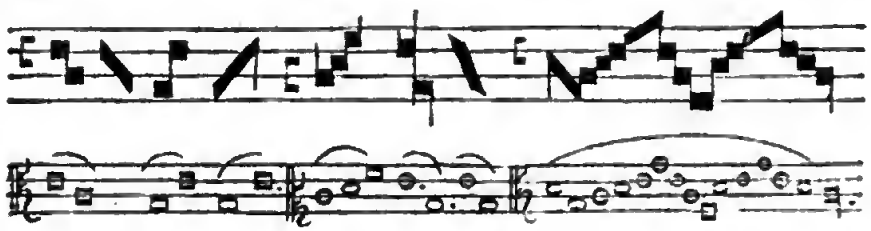
It

It is difficult to diſcover any other difference between the *Plica* and the *Point*, which he ſeems to deſcribe under the title of *Tractulus*, than that the Point was uſed to a *ſingle note*, and the Plica to one in a ligatured group.

Authors who have treated of the ancient Time-table and Cantus Menſurabilis, are very reſerved in ſpeaking of the *Plica*, and afford but ſcanty information concerning its properties. Some have defined it "the perpendicular ſtroke which is the "termination of ſuch characters as the Long." But according to the original import of the word, as there muſt be two ſtrokes or tails to form a *Plica* or plait, this explanation is equally falſe and devoid of meaning. The muſical uſe of this word is unnoticed by Ducange, nor does it once occur in Morley. It has had admiſſion into no muſical dictionary but that of Rouſſeau, who deſcribes, but does not define it. "The "*Plica*, ſays he, is a kind of ligature in our ancient muſic. "It was a ſign of augmentation or increaſe of a note's length, "*Signum Moroſitatis*, according to John de Muris. The *Plica*, "like the Ligature, was uſed in any group of notes from the "ſemi-tone to the 5th, aſcending or deſcending. There were "four kinds of *Plicæ*: 1. An additional ſmall ſtroke to a "Long on the left ſide, . 2. An additional ſtroke to the "ſame note inverted, . 3. A Breve with two ſtrokes or tails "added to the top of the note, of which that on the left hand "is the longeſt, . And 4. Two ſtrokes added to the ſame "kind of note deſcending ."

In chapter the third Franco treats of *Ligatures*, or compound notes. A Ligature, as the word implies, is a band or link by which ſimple notes are connected and tied together. Of theſe ſome are aſcending and ſome deſcending. At preſent we only tie the *tails* of quavers and notes of ſhorter duration; but the old maſters tied or linked together the *heads* of *ſquare notes*. The aſcending Ligature is when the end of the note, or, as Franco calls it, the ſecond point of it, is higher than the beginning or firſt part of the character.

In Canto Fermo, Ligatures are ſtill uſed in all the Roman miſſals and breviaries, to connect as many notes together as are to be ſung to one ſyllable, but without altering their lengths: *ſine proprietate*, as Franco ſays. Of theſe, inſtances may be ſeen in this volume *. In the ancient *Cantus Menſuratus*, however, the laws and *properties* of Ligatures were innumerable. Of theſe I ſhall give a few examples from Franco himſelf, as the moſt ancient that have been preſerved, if not the firſt in uſe.



" The value of notes in ligatures, ſays Rouſſeau, de-
" pended very much upon their aſcending and deſcending, upon
" the manner in which they were tied, upon their being with or
" without tails, and upon thoſe tails being placed on the left or
" right ſide of the notes; in ſhort, they were under the regu-
" lation of ſo many laws, which are wholly obſolete at preſent,
" that perhaps there is not one muſician in Europe able to de-
" cipher muſic of any conſiderable antiquity (*e*)."

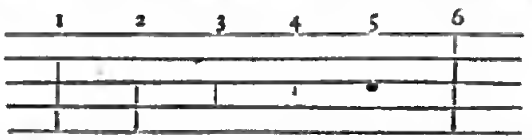
However, when we are arrived at compoſitions *worth* deciphering, ſuch of the primitive characters as occur in them ſhall be explained.

Franco's fourth chapter concerns *Reſts* and *Pauſes*, or diſcontinuity of ſound. " As the ſounds in each Mood are ex-
" preſſed by different notes or figures, and as Diſcant itſelf is
" as much regulated by *ſilence* as by ſound, it will be neceſſary,
" ſays Franco, to treat not only of the ſigns or repreſentatives
" of ſounds, but of their equivalent reſts, or pauſes (*f*)." Of theſe

* P. 33, 37, and 92.
(*e*) Dict. Art. *Ligature.*
(*f*) *Cum autem iſtorum Modorum voces ſint cauſa et principium et earum vocum ſint notæ*

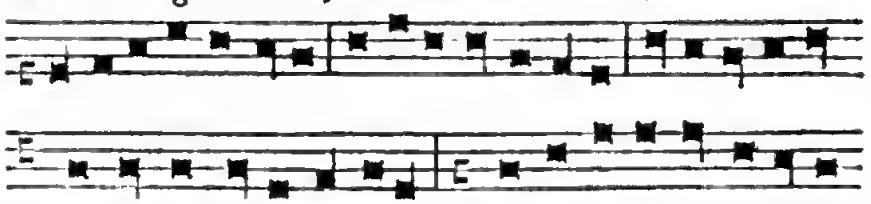
theſe characters for meaſuring ſilence, which, he ſays, are ſubject to the ſame laws of perfection and imperfection as their equivalent notes, he gives the following example, in which the Semibreves or Ciphers ſeem only placed as double Bars, to ſeparate the different ſpecies of Reſts:

There appears but little order or deſign in this arrangement of the Reſts, which are ſaid in the text to be of ſix kinds: 1. that of the *perfect Long*, equal to three Breves; 2. the *imperfect Long*, equal to two Breves; 3. the *Breve*; 4. the *Major Semibreve*; 5. the *Minor Semibreve*; 6. the *Final Pauſe*, or, as he calls it, *Finis Punctorum*; all which he characteriſes in the following manner:




But the moſt curious part of this chapter is that which ſeems to point out the origin of *Bars*, which are placed, in the muſical examples, as pauſes for the fingers to take breath at the end of a ſentence, verſe, or melody (*g*). And this is the only uſe that is made of Bars, at preſent, in Canto Fermo.

The following fragments I ſhall give as ſpecimens of Franco's melody, and his method of dividing it into phraſes, by lines drawn through the ſtaff, in the manner of Bars.



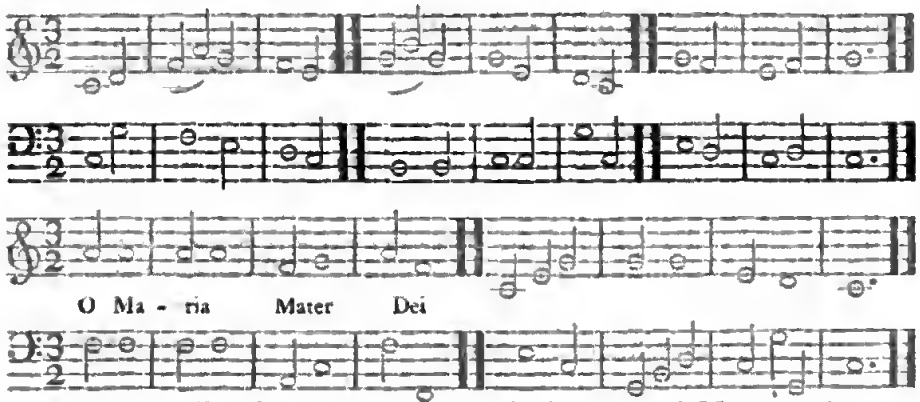
*notæ manifeſtum eſt, id circo de notis vel figuris, quod idem eſt, eſt tractandum. Sed cum ipſe Diſcantus tam voce recta quam ejus contrario, hoc eſt voce obmiſſa, regulatur, et iſta ſint diverſa, horum erunt diverſa ſigna, quia diverſorum ſigna ſunt diverſa.*

(*g*) *Finis* Punctorum *omnes lineas attingens quatuor ſpacia comprehendit.* It appears from this paſſage, that notes, after they ceaſed to be round, continued to be called *Points*, an appellation which gave birth to the term *Contrapunctum*, at a time when notes had aſſumed a ſquare and lozenge form.

The earlieſt uſe I have been able to find of the word *Contrapunctum*, is in a manuſcript tract on that ſubject, by John de Muris, ſee p. 147.

The

The firſt of theſe fragments conſiſts chiefly of *Trochees*, and the ſecond of *Iambics*. They are both regularly phraſed, and, when expreſſed by modern characters, have not a very barbarous appearance.




Theſe melodies ſeem to belong to his ſecond and fifth moods.

Whoever compares the notation of Franco with that of Guido, or any writer of the eleventh or twelfth conturies, muſt be greatly aſtoniſhed at its method, ſimplicity, and clearneſs. For though he uſes but three characters, or diſtinct forms of notes, yet thoſe, with their ſeveral properties of prolation and diminution, furniſhed a great variety of meaſures and proportions. And if, with improvements in notation and harmony, he be allowed to have ſuggeſted the *Bar*, and the *Point* of augmentation, the benefits he has conferred upon practical muſic will entitle him to a very conſpicuous and honourable place among the founders and legiſlators of the art. Indeed, I have been able to find no conſiderable improvements in the Time-table between the eleventh and the fourteenth century; when the chief merit of ſeveral authors in the Cantus Menſurabilis, whoſe names and writings are come down to us, was to dilute the diſcoveries of Franco, and pour water on his leaves.

The next author on the *Cantus Menſurabilis*, or Meaſured-Song, whoſe writings have been preſerved, is our countryman Walter Odington, monk of Eveſham, of whoſe valuable treatiſe, in Benet college, Cambridge, an ample account has been already given

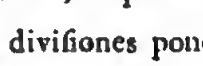
given in the preceding chapter, as far as it concerned plain-ſong, and organizing, or ſimple harmony; but an account of his rules for *meaſure*, which are contained in the ſixth and laſt part of his work, *De Speculatione Muſicæ*, was reſerved for this place, where it will fill up a chaſm in the hiſtory of that important part of muſic, which has been left void by all other treatiſes that I have been able to conſult.

It has been haſtily determined by ſome who have ſeen no part of this work but the mere titles of the books it contains, in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, that not one of them profeſſes to treat of the Cantus Menſurabilis; yet, on the contrary, in the ſixth part, where he not only gives rules for organizing, or muſic in parts, but for the compoſition of *figurative* muſic, *De Compoſitione et Figuratione*, we have chapters on the following ſubjects: *De Longis, Brevibus, et Semibrevibus*; *De Plicis*; *Quot Modis Longa perfecta et imperfecta dicitur*; *De Pauſis*; *De Ligaturis*, &c. The fourth book, *De Inequalitate Temporum in Pedibus, quibus Metra et Rhythmi decurrunt*, contains indeed terms that ceaſed to be made uſe of after the invention of the Cantus Menſurabilis. However, theſe terms have not yet ceaſed to be applied to poetical numbers, concerning which this book of Odington only treats.

In the former part of his work the author, treating chiefly of *Canto Plano*, or eccleſiaſtical chanting, in a way ſomewhat different from his predeceſſors, particularly in his *Notation*, never mentions *Organizing*, or *Meaſured Muſic*; but in this laſt part, he treats of both in a very ample manner, and ſo much in the order and terms of Franco, as would have been impoſſible, had he not ſeen his tract, or, at leaſt, his doctrines, in ſome other writer.

In one of the chapters of this laſt part, which treats of the perfect and imperfect Moods, and their Mutations, he compares muſical *Times* to poetical Feet, in a more full, clear, and ingenious manner than has been done ſince by any other writer.

The

The author declares in his laſt chapter, that he has nothing to fear from the ſeverity of faſtidious critics; as his intention was not ſo much to invent rules of his own, as to collect the precepts and opinions of his predeceſſors. However, he ſeems to have been the firſt that ſuggeſted a ſhorter note than the Semibreve, though he did not give it a form: for, cap. i. part vi. we have the following paſſage:—*Ita Semibrevem* primò *divido in tres partes quas* Minimas *voco, Figuras retinens Semibrevis*, ne ab aliis Muſicis videar diſcedere; verum cum Brevis, diviſa in duas Semibreves, ſequitur diviſam in tres partes, ut in tres partes et duas diviſiones pono—ſic  —*quæ* MINIMÆ *ſeu velociſſimæ, et ſic de aliis.* Where he ſeems to ſay, "I divide the Semibreve into three parts—ſtill retaining the "figure of the ſemibreve—leſt I ſhould ſeem to depart from "the doctrine of others."—The text is much abbreviated here, and very difficult to decipher; however, he certainly ſpeaks of ſmaller portions of time than the Semibreve, and calls theſe portions *Minimæ Partes*; which ſeems to entitle him to the invention of the *name* of *Minim*, though not of the note by which it is characteriſed; at leaſt, this is the firſt time that I have met with the mention of a quicker note than the Semibreve.

A Commentary upon Franco's tract, *De Muſica Menſurabili*, written by Robert de Handlo near a hundred years after the treatiſe by Odington, affords no new information or precepts different from his original; nor could it ever have been rendered valuable but by its ſcarcity, or rather by the difficulty of meeting with the writings of Franco.

The ancient copy of Handlo's tract, dated 1326, was deſtroyed by the fire which happened at Aſhburnham Houſe, Weſtminſter, while it was the repoſitory of the Cotton manuſcripts. However, as the modern tranſcript, which was made for the late Dr. Pepuſch, is lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum, and acceſſible,

ſible, there ſeems no neceſſity for giving a particular account of it. I ſhall only obſerve, that what he ſays of Ligatures and their ſeveral properties is literally copied from Franco. The Plica is much better defined and explained in the original text than in Handlo's annotations, in which, though the title promiſes *additional* diſcoveries of other muſicians, *Regulæ cum maximis Magiſtri Franconis, cum additionibus aliorum Muſicorum*, we find no new modes or notes except a ſtrange kind of Long, divided into quadrangles to augment its length, which has never been uſed in any muſic that I have ſeen; and the thirteen *Rubrics* into which this tract is divided, concern nothing but Time, or muſical Meaſures, and are only a commentary upon the four firſt chapters of Franco's tract; the two laſt, which treat of Diſcant, being never mentioned.

Many whimſical and fantaſtical forms of notes were propoſed by different muſical writers between the time of Franco and the invention of printing; but none were received into general uſe except thoſe already mentioned, if the addition of the Minim and Crotchet be excepted, of which notice will be given hereafter. Muſical characters remained *full*, or black, for ſeveral centuries after this invention; nor do I find any white, or open notes, in old manuſcripts, before the fifteenth century. Thoſe of Guillaume Machault, a French muſician, who lived about 1350, and whoſe compoſitions are preſerved, have no open notes (*h*).

It is the opinion of P. Martini (*i*), and the prince abbot of St. Blaiſe (*k*), two diligent enquirers, who ſeldom build conjectures upon a weak foundation, that *Accents* and *Points*, enlarged, diſfigured, and lengthened, became muſical characters

(*h*) *Notice Sommaire de deux Volumes de Poeſies Françoiſes et Latines, conſervées dans la Bibl. des Carmes-déchaux de Paris; avec une Indication du genre de Muſique qui s'y trouve. Par l'Abbé Lebeuf.* Mem. de Litt. tom. xxxiv. 8vo. p. 120. An account of theſe manuſcripts will be given hereafter.

(*i*) *Storia della Muſ* tom. i. p. 185.

(*k*) *De Cantu et Muſ. Sacra*, tomus ii. p. 63.

for Time as well as Tune. At firſt, when lines and ſpaces were uſed, from their being chiefly employed in a ſquare form for writing the chants eſtabliſhed by St. Gregory, they acquired the name of *Gregorian Notes*, *Quadrata*, and in barbarous Latin, *Quadriquarta*. As the church is ſlow in receiving new doctrines, and generally a century later in admitting thoſe improvements or corruptions in muſic (the reader may call them which he pleaſes) that are adopted by the laity as the fortunate efforts of cultivated genius, the *notation* of chants was at firſt cenſured and prohibited by ſeveral councils (*l*); and it has already been ſhewn, that *figurative Harmony* being regarded as a *crying ſin* by Pope John XXII, was formally excommunicated by a Bull from the Conclave, 1322 (*m*).

With reſpect to the various forms of the firſt notes that were uſed for Time, it is not difficult to deduce them wholly from the black ſquare note, called a *Breve*, the firſt and almoſt only note uſed in Canto Fermo; which, with a foot or tail to it, is a *Long*, and if doubled in breadth, a *Large*. The ſquare note alſo placed on one of its angles, differs very little from the Rhombus or Lozenge, and with a tail placed at its loweſt angle, when *open*, becomes a *Minim*, and, when *full*, a *Crotchet*.

Vicentino (*n*), and Kircher (*o*), with more ingenuity than truth, imagined all the notes to have been derived from the *Natural* and *Flat* ♮ b, or ſquare and round B, as they appear in Gothic manuſcripts; becauſe, ſay they, the ſquare ♮, which is itſelf a *Long*, if the tail be taken away, becomes a *Breve*, and the round b, which repreſents a *Minim*, by removing the tail is made a *Semibreve*, as, when filled up with ink, it is a *Crotchet*. But theſe authors, of whoſe writings we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, forgot, or were wholly ignorant, that the Long and Breve were entirely black for ſeveral

(*l*) *De Cantu et Muſ. Sacra*, tomus ii. p. 61, *et ſeq.*
(*m*) See p. 149.
(*n*) *L'Antica Muſica Ridotta alla Moderna Prattica.* Roma, 1555.
(*o*) *Murſurg.* p. 556.

ages

ages after their invention; and that the open Semibreve and Minim were unknown till the fourteenth century.

Neither Franco, nor his Commentator, formed the ſeveral notes which they deſcribed into a *Table*, in the manner which it was the cuſtom to do immediately after the time of Handlo; though an elaborate and complicated diagram, in appearance, might have been conſtructed out of the ſeeming ſcant materials of three notes, if their perfect, and imperfect, or triple and double powers, had been taken into the account. Nor do theſe ſigns of prolation and the relative value of notes, O ⊙ C ☾ ¢, which were afterwards prefixed to every melody, occur in the writings of Franco; but it will be time enough to ſupply theſe omiſſions, when the metrical part of muſic ſhall be furniſhed with more characters.

More pains have been taken to point out and explain the muſical doctrines of Guido and Franco than of any other theoriſts of the middle ages; their tracts having been regarded as original inſtitutes, which ſucceeding writers have done little more than copy or comment. John Cotton is the commentator of Guido, as Robert de Handlo is of Franco; and John de Muris, in his *Speculum Muſicæ*, is little more. However, in the ſucceeding century, Proſdocimus de Beldemandis wrote an expoſition of the doctrines contained in the *Practica Menſurabilis Cantus* of John de Muris: and thus we go on from age to age, reviving old opinions, and adding little to the common and limited ſtock of human knowledge! It is humiliating to reflect, that the diſcoveries of one age barely ſerve to repair the loſſes of another; and that while we imagine ourſelves advancing towards perfection, we ſeem, like muffled horſes in a mill, but purſuing the ſame circle!

John de Muris is by ſome ſtiled a doctor and canon of the Sorbonne (*p*), by ſome a mathematician and philoſopher (*q*),

(*p*) Rouſſeau, Dict. de Muſ. *Docteur et Chanoine de Paris.*

(*q*) Walther, Muſicaliſches Lexicon. Fabricius, *Bib. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat.*

and by others a chanter of the church of Notre-Dame at Paris (*r*). His country is likewiſe diſputed: for though the general opinion be that he was born at Meurs in Normandy, whence he had his name, yet, by a typographical error, he is called *Parmigiano* in Bontempi, inſtead of *Parigino*, which makes him a native of Parma inſtead of Paris (*s*). But though he has no title to the firſt invention of the Time-table, he muſt certainly have been a great benefactor to practical muſic by his numerous writings on the ſubject, which doubtleſs threw new lights upon the art, as may be better imagined now from the gratitude of his ſucceſſors, by whom he is ſo frequently quoted and commended, than from the writings themſelves, which *Time*, to whom he was ſuppoſed to have been ſo great a friend, has rendered totally uſeleſs, and almoſt unintelligible.

But though he is intitled to an honourable place among muſical worthies; yet, as both his country and profeſſion have been diſputed, all that can be done to gratify the reader's curioſity concerning him, is to give a complete liſt of his works that are ſtill preſerved in the ſeveral libraries of Europe; and from their titles and contents to deduce at leaſt a probable opinion of other circumſtances concerning him.

Beſides the tract in the Vatican library, which has been already ſpecified p. 11, I found there three others by de Muris, on the ſubject of muſic: of the two firſt, which are in the ſame volume *, one is "a Treatiſe on Time, or Meaſured "Muſic:" Joannis de Muris *Practica Cantus Menſurabilis*, pr. *Quilibet in Arte* (*t*); and the other "a Compendium "of Counterpoint:" Joannis de Muris *Ars Summaria Contrapuncti*,—pr. *Volentibus introduci*. The third, which is

(*r*) Merſenne, *Harm. Univ. Liv. des Conſonances*, p. 84.

(*s*) I call it a *typographical* error, in order to acquit Bontempi of making J. de Muris an Italian, either from ignorance or want of integrity; as I am in poſſeſſion of a proof-copy of his *Storia della Muſica*, in which, among other corrections made in his own hand, the word *Parmigiano* is changed to *Parigino*.

* No. 5321.

(*t*) This tract is likewiſe in Benet college, Cambridge, No. 410, in the ſame vol. as Walter Odington's treatiſe, though the author has been hitherto unknown.

among

among the queen of Sweden's manuſcripts *, conſiſts of " Mu-
" ſical Theorems explained in Verſe :" Joan. de Muris *Theo-remata Muſica Verſibus explicata.*

In the king of France's library at Paris, there are two copies of his *Speculum Muſicæ*, or *Mirror of Muſic*, in ſeven books (*u*), which is the principal and moſt ample of all his muſical writings. This is the work mentioned by Merſennus, Du Cange, and Rouſſeau, and in which they all tried in vain, as well as myſelf, to find proofs of his having been the inventor of the Time-table.

Rouſſeau has given two conſiderable quotations from this work in his Muſical Dictionary, article *Diſcant*, which de Muris defines " The ſinging extempore with one or more perſons in
" different Concords, in ſuch a manner as to produce *One*
" *Harmony* (*x*)." After which he explains what he means by *Concords*, and the choice that ſhould be made of them upon theſe occaſions. He then ſeverely cenſures the ſingers of his time for their ignorance and indiſcriminate uſe of them. " If
" our rules are good, with what front, ſays he, do thoſe dare
" to *diſcant* or *compoſe*, who are ſo ignorant of Concords as
" not to know which are more or leſs pleaſing, which ought
" to be avoided, or moſt frequently uſed ; where to introduce
" them, or any thing that concerns the true practice of the art ?
" If they accord it is by mere chance ; their voices wander
" about the tenor or plain ſong without rule, truſting wholly to
" Providence for their coincidence. They throw ſounds about
" at random, as awkward people throw ſtones at a mark, with-
" out hitting it once in a hundred times."

The good maſter Muris then proceeds to flagellate with great fury theſe corruptors of the pure and ſimple harmony of his time : *Heu ! proh dolor ! His temporibus aliqui ſuum defectum in-*

* No. 1728.

(*u*) No. 7207, 7208.

(*x*) *Diſcantat qui ſimul cum uno vel pluribus dulciter cantat, ut ex diſtinctis ſonis ſonus unus fiat, non unitate ſui lenitatis, ſed dulcis concordi que mixtionis unione.*

*epto.*

*epto proverbio colorare moliuntur. Iſte eſt, inquiunt, novus diſcantandi modus, novis ſcilicet uti conſonantiis; offendunt ii intellectum eorum, qui tales defectus agnoſcunt, offendunt ſenſum: nam inducere cùm deberent delectationem, adducunt triſtitiam. O incongruum proverbium! O mala coloratio, irrationabilis excuſatio! O magnus abuſus, magna ruditas, magna beſtialitas, ut aſinus ſumatur pro homine, capra pro leone, ovis pro piſce, ſerpens pro ſalmone! Sic enim concordiæ confunduntur cum diſcordiis, ut nullatenùs una diſtinguatur ab aliâ. O! ſi antiqui periti Muſicæ Doctores tales audiſſent diſcantatores, quid dixiſſent? Quid feciſſent? Sic diſcantantem increparent, et dicerent: non hunc diſcantum, quo uteris, de me ſumis. Non tuum cantum unum et concordantem cum me facis. De quo te intromittis? Mihi non congruis, mihi adverſarius, ſcandalum tu mihi es; O utinam taceres! non concordas, ſed deliras et diſcordas* (y).

As

(y) The Latin of this paſſage is ſo obſolete and monkiſh, that it ſeems as if it would fall more naturally into Engliſh of the ſixteenth century, than into that of the preſent times. "But, alas! in theſe our "dayes, ſome do ſtryve to gloſſe over "theyr lacke of ſkyll with ſilly ſayenges. "This, cry they, is the *newe* method of "diſcantynge, theſe be the newe concordes. "—Howbeit they grievouſly offend there"by both the hearing, and the under"ſtanding of ſuche as be ſkylled to judge "of theyr defects; for where we look for "delight, they do ioduce ſadneſſe. O in"congruous ſayenge! O wretched gloſſe! "irrational excuſe! O monſtrous abuſe! "moſt rude and beſtial ignorannce! to take "an aſſe for a man, a goat for a lyon, a "ſheepe for a ſithe, a ſnake for a ſalmone! "For in ſuche ſorte do they confound con"cordes with diſcordes, as ye ſhall in no "wiſe diſcerne the one from the other. "O! if the good old mayſters of former "tyme did hear ſuche *diſcanters*, what "wolde they ſay or do? Out of doubte "they wolde thus chyde them and ſay, "This diſcant, whereof ye now make uſe, "ye do not take it from *me*; ye do in no "wyſe frame your ſonge to be concord"aunt with me; wherefore do ye thruſt "yourſelves in? ye do not agree with "me; ye are an adverſary, and a ſcandal "unto me. O that ye wolde be dumb! "This is not *concordynge*, but moſt doat"ynge and delyrious *diſcordynge*."

Concerning the writings upon various ſubjects by John de Muris that are ſtill preſerved among the manuſcripts of the Bodleian and Muſeum libraries, I ſhall tranſcribe the account given in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, p. 537, which is ſo ample as to need little addition.

"John de Muris or Murus, an "Engliſhman, and an eminent philo"ſopher, mathematician, and muſician, "wrote *Ex Stellarum poſitionibus prophe"tiam*. Lib. i. 'Infra Annum certe "Mundi.' *Arithmeticam Speculativam*. "Lib. i. MS. Oxon. in Bibl. publ. Im"preſſ. Mogunt ----*Tractatum Muſicum*. "Lib. i. 'Quoniam Muſica eſt de Sono "relato ad Numeros.' MS. Bodl. NE. "F. 10. 11. *Artem componendi* (metiendi) "*fiſtulas Organorum* Secundum Guido"nem. Lib. i. '*Cognita conſonantia in* "*Chordis*.' Ibid. *Sufficientiam Muſicæ*

Or-

As all the tracts in the liſt of his writings which concern muſic have been carefully examined, I ſhall endeavour to convey to the reader an idea of their contents.

The tract which begins *Quoniam Muſica eſt de Sono relato ad Numeros*, is now marked Bodl. 300. It is a treatiſe of Harmonics, in which the circular and conical diagrams and diviſions of the ſcale are innumerable. The author is as fond of the circle in this work as Tartini was four hundred years after. The tranſcriber has however omitted many of theſe illuſtrations of his doctrines, by which perhaps the injury to muſical ſtudents of the preſent age is not very conſiderable.—*Explicit Muſica Magiſtri Johannis de Muris.*

What follows in the manuſcript is manifeſtly a continuation of the ſubject, and a ſecond part of the preceding tract. It begins thus: *Princeps Philoſophorum Ariſtoteles ait in Principio Mathematicæ ſuæ omnino Scientis Signum eſt poſſe docere.* We find after the introduction a repetition of the initial ſentence of the firſt part: *Quoniam Muſica eſt de Sono relato ad Numeros.* This part, however, relates more to the practice of muſic than the other.

" *Organicæ editam* (ita habet MS.) *a Mag.* " *Joanne de Muris, Muſico Sapientiſſimo,* " *et totius orbis Subtiliſſimo experto.* Pr. ' Princeps Philoſophorum Ariſtoteles,' Ib. " *Compoſitorum Conſonantiarum in Symbolis Secundum Boëtium.* Pr. ' Omne Inſtrumentum Muſicæ.' Ib. *Canones ſuper Tabulas Alphonſinas.* Pr. ' Quia ſecundum Philoſophum 4to. Phyſicorum.' MS. Bodl. Digby 168. f. 132. " *Collectionem Prophetiarum de Rebus Anglicis*, per Joh. de Muris. MS. Cotton. Veſpaſ. E VII. 8. In MS. Bodl. Digby 190. fol. 72. extat *Prologus in opus, cui Titulus:* Tractatus Canonum minutiarum Philoſophicarum et Vulgarium, quem compoſuit Mag. Johannes de Muris, *Normannus* A. MCCCXXI. a quo eodem anno (verba ſunt autoris) *Notitia Artis Muſicæ* proferendæ et figurandæ tam menſurabilis quam planæ, quantum ad omnem modum poſſibilem diſcantandi, non ſolum per integra, ſed uſque ad minutiſſimas fractiones: *Cognitioque circuli quadraturæ* perfectiſſime demonſtratæ: *expoſitioque tabularum Alphonſi* regis Caſtelliæ: et *Genealogiæ Aſtronomiæ* nobis claruit,' &c. *Canones de Eclipſibus.* Pr. ' In oppoſitione habenda aliud.' MS Bodl. Digby 97. ubi habetur hæc nota: ' Hos Canones diſpoſuit Johannes de Muris *Pariſiis* in A. MCCCXXXIX. in Domo Scolarium de Sorbona.' *De Coniunctione Saturni et Jovis*, A. MCCCXLV. Pr. ' Tres Principes ex Militia.' MS. Bodl. Digby 176. Bal. XI. 74. Pits. *app.* p. 87. ſeq."

In

In his chapter *De Tempore perfecto et imperfecto*, he ſeems to call Common Time *perfect*, and Triple Time *imperfect*: for he ſays, *quod Longa poſſit* IMPERFICI *per Brevem. Brevis per Semibrevem. Semibrevis per Minimam. Quod Minima non poſſit imperfici.* However, by theſe words he perhaps only means to ſay that a Long, which by itſelf is *perfect*, or equal to three Breves, by poſition may be rendered *imperfect*, that is, equal to two Breves only, by a Breve, the next ſhorteſt note being placed after it; and ſo a Breve, which alone, or with other Breves, is triple, becomes double by a Semibreve following it. What he means by ſaying that a Minim cannot be imperfected in the ſame manner, is that there was no ſhorter note, the Crotchet not being then invented, to perform the operation In his Diagrams of Muſical Proportions or Time-tables he gives but four kinds of notes; that is, in four columns; for in theſe are manifeſtly five diſtinct forms of characters: as

The Scale of Guido, in a perpendicular diagram; and the Hexachords, which are well arranged under their ſeveral denominations of *Durum*, *Naturale*, and *Molle*, are exhibited in this tract

In the tract by John de Muris, beginning *Quilibet in Arte*, which I unexpectedly found in Benet college, Cambridge, in the ſame volume as Odington's treatiſe, the notes are divided into five claſſes: *Quinque ſunt Partes Prolationis, videlicet Maxima, Longa, Brevis, Sembrevis et Minima*, ut hic—giving the ſame characters as in the tract juſt mentioned: and here likewiſe his doctrine agrees with that in his other treatiſe, where he ſeems to call the triple proportions *imperfect*, and the dual *perfect*.

This is the moſt ancient manuſcript in which I have found the ſigns of the modes, ☾ ☽ ○ ⊙, and the *Punctum Perfectionis*. Here it plainly appears that the *Punctum*, or point, in John de Muris operates in the ſame manner as that already deſcribed

ſcribed in Franco, p. 187, where it makes the note to which it is prefixed *perfect*, that is, of three times; and the calling it *Punctum Perfectionis*, or Point of Perfection, proves its power of making a double quantity triple, as at preſent. At the bottom of fol. 6, is written, *Explicit Tractatus Joannis de Muris*; however, it goes on for fifteen pages more. Here I firſt ſaw an open or white Minim 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥, and a half lozenge note ◮. The ink is pale, and the writing very bad, and difficult to decipher; but the manuſcript, which is written on paper of a coarſe texture, ſeems entire, and correſponds in every particular with that in the Vatican library, No. 5321, which has been already mentioned, p. 35. It was this treatiſe which Proſdocimo de Beldemandis of Padua, a voluminous writer on muſic in the beginning of the fifteenth century, thought of ſufficient importance to merit a Commentary, which is now in the poſſeſſion of Padre Martini of Bologna (z).

The tract by J. de Muris, in the Bodleian library, upon the meaſures, and proportions of organ pipes according to Guido, beginning *Omne Inſtrumentum Muſice*, is very ſhort, and contains nothing very important to muſic at preſent. It is not known that Guido ever wrote on the ſame ſubject, and de Muris only means by *ſecundum Guidonem*, to ſay that he has followed the ſame proportions which Guido eſtabliſhed in his diviſion of the monochord.

In another ſhort tract of the ſame volume he follows Boethius. And in his *Tractatus Canonum minutiarum Philoſophicarum et vulgarium*, where he tells us that he had compoſed at the ſame time "a Treatiſe on the Art of Muſic, teaching and deſcribing "in Figures or Notes both Meaſured and Plain-ſong, with "every poſſible Kind of Diſcant, not only by Integers or long

(z) *Practica Menſurabilis Cantus*, Mag. Joan. de Muris, de Normandia, alias Pariſienſis, cum expoſit. Poſdocimi de Beldemandis Patav. MS. an. 1404.

" Notes, but by the ſhorteſt and moſt minute Fractions (*a*)," he probably alludes to his *Speculum Muſicæ*, in ſeven books, which ſeems the moſt voluminous of all his writings. See p. 35, 46.

With reſpect to the diſpute concerning the place of his nativity, though Tanner, copying Pits and Bale, calls him an *Engliſhman*, yet we find that in the title of one of the manuſcripts of the Bodleian library, in Tanner's liſt, he is called a *Norman*, and in another a *Pariſian*. Padre Martini (*b*) likewiſe quotes a manuſcript of the year 1404, in which he is called the Great John de Muris, *de Normandia*, alias *Pariſienſis*.

Having taken ſome pains to trace the opinion of his being an Engliſhman to its ſource, I have been able to find no ſuch title given to him in any of his numerous writings that have been preſerved in manuſcript throughout Europe. The aſſertion reſts entirely on Robert Record, a phyſician at Cambridge, and one of the firſt writers upon ſcience in the Engliſh language. His works were very voluminous, of which, however, little more remain than the titles preſerved in Pits' account of him, which ſays that he was living in 1552 (*c*); at leaſt I have never been able to procure any of his writings, except his *Arithmetic*, printed in black letter 1543. And as John de Muris had written on the ſame ſubject (*d*), I had hopes of meeting in this tract with the place where Record calls him an Engliſhman; but no ſuch could be found.

Pits (*e*) calls him an Engliſh mathematician, and ſays " he " was a man of ſome genius, but poſſeſſed of too daring a cu- " rioſity; for while he was ſtudying philoſophy, he addicted " himſelf to mathematics, and to that more ſublime part of " aſtronomy which contemplates the heavens: and in the ex- " erciſe of his genius for calculation he had the inſolence to " predict future events; thus perſuading the ignorant and vul-

(*a*) See the liſt of his works from Tanner.
(*b*) *Storia della Muſica*, p. 461. tom. i.
(*c*) *Append. Illuſt. Ang. Script.* tom. i. p. 872.
(*d*) *Arithmeticam Speculativam*, lib. duos.
(*e*) *Loc. Cit.*

" gar-

" gar, that by the aſpect of the ſtars he could penetrate the " decrees of Providence. He dared to publiſh celeſtial ſecrets " under the title of *Prophetiarum*, prophecies (*f*)."

Theſe particulars and many more, he ſays, were collected from *Robert Record*. But neither from him nor any one elſe was he able to diſcover at what time he lived. Bale, who calls him a *mathematician* and a *conjurer* (*g*), gives the ſame authority for his being an Engliſhman.

This *bare aſſertion*, made at a time when it was not ſo cuſtomary to give or expect proofs and critical exactneſs in ſupport of facts as at preſent, has not only been copied without farther enquiry by Pits, Bale, and Tanner, at home, but by Fabricius and other reſpectable writers on the continent. A Latin diſtich, by an anonymous writer (*h*), which has been quoted in favour of this opinion, can add but little to its weight, when it is known to come from the moſt ignorant and monkiſh of writers, the author of a treatiſe *De Origine et Effectu Muſice*, written 1451; who tells us that " Cyrus lived ſoon after the deluge; " that one king *Enchiridias* was a writer on muſic," miſtaking, I ſuppoſe, ſome *Enchiridion* which he had ſeen, for the name of a royal author. And that " Thubal kept a blackſmith's " ſhop, at which Pythagoras adjuſted the conſonances by the " ſound of his hammers."

But if, inſtead of a diſtich, we take the four laſt lines of theſe barbarous verſes, with their true punctuation, thus:

(*f*) Judicial aſtrology was then the reigning folly of philoſophers and learned men. Robert the Good, king of Sicily, ſo renowned for wiſdom and ſcience, that Boccaccio called him the wiſeſt prince who had reigned ſince king Solomon, ſent his *predictions* to his couſin king Philip de Valois, then at war with our Edward the third. Indeed moſt of the muſical writers of thoſe times ſtudied the ſtars, perhaps for the ſake of *Spherical Muſic*; and as the tonſor and ſurgeon were long united in this country, ſo we find muſic and aſtrology conſtant companions. Walter Odington, of Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, is ſaid to have been " an able aſtrologer and muſician." The ſame is ſaid of Simon Tunſted, and Theinred, of Dover.

(*g*) *Mathematicus et Vates.*

(*h*) Ihon de Muris, *variis floruitque figuris,*
*Anglia cantorum omen gignit plurimorum.*

Pauſas, juncturas, facturas, atque *figuras*
*Menſuratarum formavit* Franco *notarum*;
*Et* Ihon De Muris, *variis floruitque figuris.*
*Anglia cantorum omen* [f. *nomen*] *gignit plurimorum* (*i*).

they will be found no more to prove John de Muris an Engliſhman, than Franco, as both contributed to the progreſs of muſic in this kingdom; and it may as well be *inſiſted* upon, that, becauſe Metaſtaſio has enriched this country with many beautiful ſongs, he muſt conſequently be a native of England. Indeed, it is difficult to aſſign any meaning to the laſt verſe; or even to divine what it is "to beget an omen."

That monks and perſons of learning, for many centuries before the Reformation, were more frequently diſtinguiſhed by the name of the place which gave them birth joined to their baptiſmal appellation, than by their family name, is moſt certain: as Guido Aretinus, Geoffry of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmſbury, John of Saliſbury, Mathew of Weſtminſter, &c. who have been always ſuppoſed natives, or, at leaſt, inhabitants, of the ſeveral places by which they were called. Now, though no town in Normandy of the name of *Meurs* can be found, either in maps or geographical books, yet, as there are ſeveral places ſo called in France, particularly one in Touraine, and another in Anjou, near Angers (*k*), which by giving birth to our John, ſerved to diſtinguiſh him from his innumerable nameſakes of other kingdoms, cities, and profeſſions; and as no ſatisfactory or probable reaſon has been aſſigned for ſuppoſing him an Engliſhman, nor can any one be

(*i*) Extracted from the manuſcript of Waltham Holy Croſs: once the property of the late Mr Weſt, preſident of the Royal Society, but now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Shelburne.

(*k*) MEUR, *en Touraine, dioceſe de Tours, parlement de* Paris.

MEURS, *Bourg, en Anjou, dioceſe et election de* Laon. *parlement de* Paris, *intendance de* Tours, *ce Bourg eſt ſitué près de la rive gauche de la Loire.* Dict. Geographique, Hiſt. et Polit. des Gaules et de France, par l'Abbé Expilly. Tom. iv. Amſt. 1766.

In the *Dict. Univerſelle de la France*, the ſame ſituation is given to this village, except its being in the election of *Angers*.

now

now ſuggeſted except a patriotic deſire of appropriating to our own country a man whoſe learning and talents have been long celebrated, it is but juſt to reſtore him to that country which ſeems to have the faireſt claim to him.

John de Muris, though not the inventor of the *Cantus Menſurabilis*, ſeems by his numerous writings greatly to have improved it. Indeed, every ſpecies of note to be found in his tracts, except the Minim, is deſcribed in Franco, as well as uſed in compoſitions anterior to his time, and mentioned by authors who wrote upon muſic before him. Nor is it poſſible to imagine that this art was invented and received by all Europe at once: like others it had its beginning, improvements, and perfection, in different periods of time. His *Art of Counterpoint* (*l*), of which I procured a copy at Rome, though compriſed in a few pages, is, however, the moſt clear and uſeful tract on the ſubject, which thoſe times could boaſt.

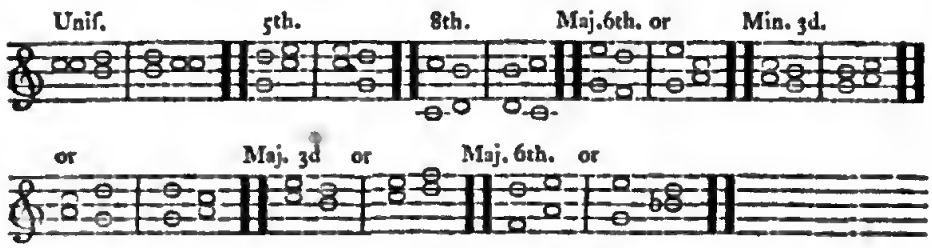
He begins by informing his reader, that beyond the Octave all is repetition. That "within the Octave there are ſix ſpecies "of Concord, three perfect, and three imperfect: of the firſt "kind are the Uniſon, 8th, and 5th; and of the ſecond, the "two 3ds, and Major 6th. The firſt of the perfect kind, he "ſays, is the *Uniſon*, which, though by ſome not allowed to "be a Concord, yet, according to Boethius, is the ſource and "origin of all conſonance. The Uniſon naturally requires "after it a Minor 3d; which, on the contrary, for variety, is "beſt ſucceeded by a perfect Concord. The 5th being of the "perfect kind, is well followed by a Major 3d, and *è contra*. "The Octave, another perfect Concord, may be ſucceeded by "the Major 6th; after which either a perfect or imperfect "Concord may be taken. It is the ſame with the Minor 3d, "which being of the imperfect kind, may be ſucceeded either

(*l*) *Ars Contrapuncti*, Jo. de Muris. *Ex* MS. *Vat.* 5321.

"by

" by a perfect or imperfect Concord. The Major 3d, though " beſt followed by a 5th, yet may be ſucceeded by another 3d, " but then it muſt be Minor. The Major 6th too, though " beſt followed by an 8th, may yet be ſucceeded either by a " perfect or imperfect Concord of another ſpecies, for the ſake " of variety; it can be followed by a 5th only when the " under part riſes a Major or Minor 3d; but by 3ds and 6ths " at pleaſure. Every compoſition ſhould begin and end in a " perfect Concord; and it muſt be remembered that no two " parts ſhould aſcend or deſcend in *perfect Concords*, though " imperfect may be uſed without limitation: and laſtly, care " muſt be taken, that when the under part aſcends, the upper " ſhould deſcend, and the contrary."

Moſt of theſe rules were given by Franco, but with leſs clearneſs and preciſion; and as they will not only ſhew that Harmony had made ſome progreſs in the fourteenth century, but are ſuch as would not ſhock modern ears, I ſhall preſent them to the muſical reader, in notes.




The Minor 6th, I know not why, is called a *Diſcord* by Franco, and has no admiſſion among Concords, by John de Muris; though it is only an inverſion of the Major 3d, which both allow to be a Concord.

John de Muris makes no mention of the 4th in this tract, though, in his *Speculum Muſicæ*, he gives rules for diſcanting in a *ſucceſſion of Fourths*, under the barbarous term *Diateſſaroſyare*.

Pro-

Proſdocimus de Beldemandis * is the firſt who allows the Minor 6th a place in the catalogue of Concords, and is explicit in ſpeaking of the 4th as a *Diſcord*. However, he ſays it is leſs a Diſcord than the 2d or 7th, and may be placed in a middle claſs, *between* Concords and Diſcords.

But earlier writers than Proſdocimo muſt here have a place after John de Muris, and among theſe PHILIPPUS DE VITRIACO deſerves notice, not only as one of the moſt ancient writers on Counterpoint, whoſe tract is preſerved in the Vatican library †, from which I procured a copy; but as the reputed inventor of the *Minim*, and a compoſer of *Motets*, which have been very much celebrated by old muſical writers.

The name of Philip de Vitriaco very frequently occurs in ancient authors, particularly in England, where he has been commended both in verſe and proſe. William Corniſh, chapelman to the moſt famoſe and noble kynge Henry VII. in a parable between Trouth and Informacion, publiſhed in Skelton's works, 12mo. 1736, names him among the greateſt muſicians upon record.

And the firſt prpncipal, whoſe name was Tuballe,
Guido, Boice, John de Muris, Vitrpaco, and them al.

An anonymous Latin writer in the Cotton muſical manuſcript, which will be deſcribed hereafter, ſays he invented the Minim, and was a muſician univerſally approved and celebrated in his time. The author of the manuſcript in the Bodleian library, attributed to Thomas of Tewkeſbury, ſays the ſame (*m*). Morley (*n*), Ravenſcroft (*o*), and Butler (*p*), are of

* In a tract upon Counterpoint among the Vatican MSS. No. 5321, written 1412.

† *Ars Contrapuncti, ſecundum* Philippum de Vitriaco. Ex MS. Vat. 5321.

(*m*) His ſeventh chapter has for title, *De Figuris inventis a* Francone, *et de Inventione Minimæ*, which laſt, he ſays, was added by Philip de Vitriaco of Auvergne, the flower of muſicians in the whole world.

(*n*) Annotations to the firſt part of his *Introduction*.

(*o*) P. 3.

(*p*) P. 27.

this

this opinion; and Morley tells us that he uſed red notes in his Motets to imply a change of mode, time, and prolation. Vitriaco, however, makes no mention of ſuch in his tract on Counterpoint, and his Motets, if they could now be found, ſuch is the tranſient ſtate of muſic, would be utterly unintelligible; though Morley tells us, that "they were for ſome time of all others beſt eſteemed and moſt uſed in the church (*q*).

There are Motets, *Muteti*, in two parts, four hundred years old, inſerted in the ſecond volume of Gerbert's Hiſtory of Church Muſic; but of ſo coarſe a texture, that if a ſpecimen were given here it would be of no other uſe than to raiſe the reader's wonder how ſuch muſic could ever be compoſed or performed, and ſtill more, how it ſhould ever have been liſtened to with pleaſure.

Franco ſpeaks of Motets in three parts, *Motetti—qui habent triplum, &c.*—The Pſeudo-Bede, *De Muſica Menſurata*, uſes the word *Motellus* in the ſame ſenſe; and in defining the Grave, Mean, and Acute parts of Muſic, ſays, *ex his componuntur* Motelli, *ſeu* Conducti, *vel* Organa.

*Rondelli*, *Motelli*, and *Conducti* (*r*), were ſecular melodies, diſtinct from eccleſiaſtical chants. Franco, in the fifth chapter of his tract on Meaſured Muſic, after giving inſtructions for putting parts to a plain ſong, ſays, *in* conductis *aliter eſt operandum, quia qui vult facere* conductum, *primum cantum invenire debet pulchriorem quam poteſt, deinde uti debet illo, ut de*

(*q*) *Motet* is derived from the French word *Mot*, and the Italian *Motto*; whence *Bon-mot*, a joke, and *Motto*, a ſhort inſcription, have been naturalized in our tongue.

(*r*) The word *Conductus* is frequently found as a muſical term in writers of the thirteenth century. Odo, archbiſhop of Rheims, about 1250, in his charge to the nuns of the monaſtery of Villars, calls both the *Conducti* and *Motuli*, Motets, "Jocoſe and ſcurrilous ſongs." *In feſto S. Joannis et Innocentium nimia jocoſitate et ſcurrilibus Cantibus utebantur utpote farſi*, Conductis, Motulis, *præcepimus, quod honeſtius et cum majori devotione alias ſe haberent.* Ex Cod. *Reg. Viſitat.* apud Gerbert.

The term *Conduis*, in old French, had the ſame acceptation, according to the following paſſage, cited by the continuator of Ducange:

*De bien chanter eſtoit ſi duis*
*Que chanſonetes et* Conduis
*Chante ſi affaitéement, &c.*

*Tenore*

*Tenore faciendo Diſcantum.* Here a tune or melody is to be invented as well as the harmony or parts: and in the ſame tract, chap. vi. which is deficient in the Oxford copy, after ſpeaking of different kinds of compoſition, he ſays, *et nota, quod in his omnibus idem eſt modus operandi, excepto in* Conductis, *quia in omnibus aliis primo accipitur Cantus aliquis prius factus, qui Tenor dicitur, eo quod Diſcantum tenet, et ab ipſo* (f. *diſcantus*) *ortum habet. In* Conductis *vero non ſic, ſed fiunt ab eodem Cantus et Diſcantus, &c.* "It is to be obſerved, that in all theſe compoſitions the "proceſs is the ſame, except in the *Conductus*, becauſe in "every other ſpecies of Diſcant ſome melody already made is "choſen, which is called the Tenor, and which governs the "Diſcant that originates from it. But it is different in the "*Conductus*, where the Cantus, or Melody, and the Diſcant, "or Harmony, are both to be produced." Perhaps this ſpecies of Air had the name of *Conductus* from being the *Subject*, *Theme*, and *Guide*, to which different parts were applied.

Durand (*s*) ſays, that, about the latter end of the thirteenth century, *Motets* were cenſured as indecorous and prophane; and Carpentier (*t*) gives a paſſage from the manuſcript Conſtitutions of the Carmelite friars (*u*), which ordains that "no *Motets* or "other ſongs that are more likely to excite laſciviouſneſs than "devotion, ſhould be ſung, under ſevere penalties."

At preſent this title is given to all compoſitions ſet to Latin words for the uſe of the Romiſh church, as Pſalms, Hymns, Anthems, Reſponſes, &c. Muſicians, however, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even earlier, ſometimes gave the name of *Motetus* to the part which is now called *Counter-Tenor*. It was afterwards ſynonimous with *Motellus*, a kind of tune or melody, which, though continued in the church, was cenſured as too light and *ſcurrilous*.

(*s*) *De Modo Gen. Concil. Celebrandi.* *Lat.* V. Motetus.
(*t*) *Suppl. in Gloſſ. ad Script. Med. et inf.* (*u*) P. I. Rubr. 3.

The earlieſt, and indeed the moſt pompous publication of Motets which I have ſeen, are thoſe of Lodovico Vittoria at Rome, 1585, with the parts printed ſeparate on the oppoſite pages, and without bars (*x*). In 1659, a Collection of *Motetti*, by Cariſſimi and others, was publiſhed at Venice; and our countryman, Orlando Gibbons, in 1612, publiſhed Madrigals and *Motets*, together. But at the latter end of the laſt century, and the beginning of this, the Motet was in the greateſt favour, as the moſt elegant and poliſhed ſpecies of *Verſe-Anthem* that was uſed in the Romiſh church; and the Motets of Giambatiſta Baſſani were held in great eſtimation all over Europe, but particularly in England, about the beginning of this century; where the thirteenth Opera of divine *Motetti* by Baſſani was printed, "for "a ſingle voice with proper ſymphonies." I remember my father, a cotemporary of Purcell and Blow, ſinging and ſpeaking of them with great delight.

Though Philip de Vitriaco is mentioned by ſo many writers, yet only one of them names his country. If, as has been ſaid in Tunſted's manuſcript, he was of Auvergne, his talents, and the period when he lived will correſpond with the account that is given of *Philippes de Vitry*, biſhop of Meaux, in France, who died 1361: for this prelate is ſaid, by John de Vinette, a writer of the fourteenth century, to have been celebrated for his works in French and in Latin, and for his *abilities in Eccleſiaſtical Muſic*. And Du Pleſſis, in his Hiſtory of Meaux, ſpeaks of him in the following words: "Philip de "Vitry, or de Vitteri, applied himſelf to muſic and poetry "with ſo much ſucceſs, that, for the time in which he lived, "he may be ranked among the moſt excellent of their vo-"taries (*y*)."

This account, however, does not very well aſcertain his invention of the *Minim*, which ſeems the expedient of ſome

(*x*) *Thomæ Ludovici a Victoria Abulenſis* Motecta *feſtorum totius Anni, cum Communi Sanctorum, a* 4, 5, 6, *et* 8, *Vocibus.*

(*y*) *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xiii.

earlier

earlier muſician; for pope John XXII. in his decree given at Avignon, 1322 (z), in deſcribing the abuſe and corruption of ſacred muſic, and ſpeaking of the new figurative kind of polyphonic compoſitions with which it was infected, ſays, that thoſe who were captivated with it, "attending to the *new* notes and "*new meaſures* of the diſciples of the *new* School, would ra-"ther have their ears tickled with Semibreves and *Minims*, and "ſuch frivolous inventions, than hear the ancient Eccleſiaſtical "Chant (*a*)."

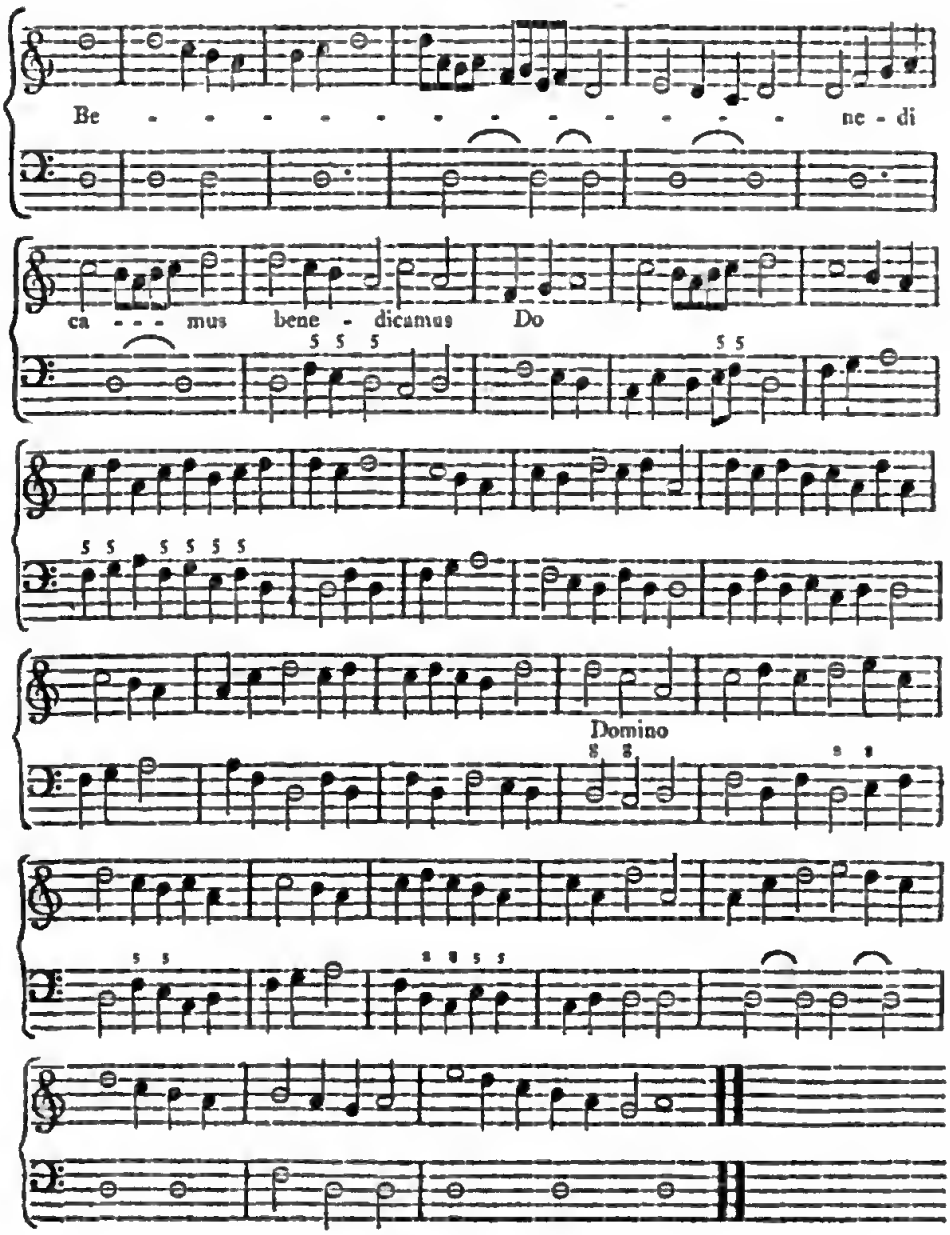
Indeed Vitriaco neither mentions the *coloured Notes*, nor the *Minim*, in his tract on Counterpoint; which laſt, though he may not have invented, yet the frequent uſe of it in his Motets, that ſeem to have been in general favour throughout Europe, may have authoriſed and encouraged others to admit it into their compoſitions.

Of what kind the compoſitions uſed in religious houſes were, four hundred years ago, that is, about the year 1374, we may form ſome judgment perhaps from the following ſpecimen given by the learned Gerbert, abbot of St. Blaiſe, in the firſt volume of his Hiſtory of Sacred Muſic, from a manuſcript of his own abbey. It only conſiſts of two words, *Benedicamus Domino*, which was called the *Benediction*, and enjoined to be ſung by the religious of ſome orders at the end of every hour, as a *Grace*. Here we have not only an example of ſuch Counterpoint as was in uſe at the time, but of the *Neumæ* or diviſions, with which the good monks were allowed to ſolace themſelves on feſtivals: *pro feſtivitatum ratione*.

(z) See the preceding chapter, p. 139, and 149.

(*a*) *Novæ Scholæ diſcipulos, dum temporibus menſurandis invigilant, novas notas intendant, fingere ſuas, quam antiquas cantare malunt, in Semibreves et* Minimas *Eccleſiaſtica Cantantur, notulis percutiuntur.* After this, he gives ſuch a deſcription of the wild modulations, and wanton diviſions which had deluged church muſic, particularly the *Hoquetti*, or Hiccups, as would ſuit the preſent *Bravura* ſongs of an Agujari, or a Danzi.

*Per Biſcantum.*




This

This Diſcant is too contemptible for criticiſm: there is in it neither meaſure nor harmony: indeed, almoſt the only concords to be found in it are 5ths and 8ths, and thoſe generally in ſucceſſion. None of the rules of Franco, Vitriaco, or John de Muris, are obſerved, to which the compoſer ſeems to have been an utter ſtranger. Only three kinds of characters are uſed: the Long, Breve, and Semibreve; and theſe are all *full*, and *black*, as *white*, *open* notes were not yet in uſe.

Franco's Diſcant ſhews that there was much better harmony known at a very early period after Guido than had been practiſed in the church under the title of *Organizing*.

New attempts at deviation from the old *Diaphonics* were long kept out of the church, if we may judge by the Motets and other written Diſcants that have been preſerved in convents and eccleſiaſtical archives, produced in times when ſecular muſic was much improved. The ſcanty rules given by de Muris, Vitriaco, and others of the fourteenth century, had they been known or followed, would have taught Contrapuntiſts how to uſe *Concords* at leaſt leſs offenſively than ſeems to have been done by the eccleſiaſtics, who could think ſuch Diſcant as that we have been mentioning worthy of admiſſion into the divine offices.

If the church had never ſuffered ſuch wretched compoſitions as theſe to enter its pale, who could have languiſhed for them? or, when better were invented, if ſhe had been haſty to excommunicate and anathematize theſe, who would have thought her power abuſed? but that ſhe ever ſhould have allowed ſuch jargon to diſgrace her temples, or pollute the ſacred ſervice, and ſhould long prohibit the uſe of better harmony, when better was found, muſt make the profane doubt of the infallibility of thoſe councils by whoſe decrees the one was received, and the other rejected.

But the cultivators of Melody and Counterpoint in general were now feeling their way in utter darkneſs, as to the muſical laws

laws which have been ſince eſtabliſhed, and in favour of which habitude has ſo much prejudiced our ears, that we wonder how any other arrangement or combination of ſounds could ever be tolerated than that to which we are accuſtomed.

It is perhaps nearly the ſame with reſpect to the combination of letters in the ſtructure of words, and arrangement of ſentences; and the Euphony of language, though not in itſelf ideal and arbitrary, is as temporary and local to the ears of thoſe that are accuſtomed to it as the arrangement of ſounds in Melody, and their combination in Harmony. Whoever ſhould now chuſe to converſe at St. James's in the language of Chaucer, which was that of the court in his time, would not only be thought rude and ſavage, but a lunatic. It is by ſmall and imperceptible degrees that a new-formed language or melody is poliſhed; we ſee and hear nothing but what is within point-blank of our ſenſes; and by accommodating ourſelves to the degree of perfection which ſurrounds us, we imagine that but little more can be acquired by poſterity than what we have attained.

There is indeed a period at which a language might be wiſhed to remain ſtationary, as fewer liberties are allowed in ſpeech than melody, which, a few tonal and fundamental laws excepted, is abandoned to all the caprice and vagaries of imagination. But that the immutable laws of *Harmony* ſhould be ſubject to the viciſſitudes of faſhion is wonderful: for it ſeems as if the Concords which we now call perfect, of Uniſon, Octave, 4th, and 5th, muſt *always* have been Concords, and that 3ds and 6ths, though nominally imperfect, muſt ever have been grateful to creatures organized like ourſelves; but, on the contrary, it has appeared in the courſe of this work, that almoſt every Concord, whoſe coincidence and perfection are open to mathematical demonſtration, has had its period of favour. When men became fatiated with the monotony of Uniſons and Octaves, the 4th for many ages was the favourite interval and

confo-

conſonance among the Greeks; and in the middle ages, during the infancy of Counterpoint, ſometimes it was moſt faſhionable to organize by a ſucceſſion of 4ths, and ſometimes of 5ths, to *Diateſſaronare* and *Quintoier*, as was in vogue by turns. Then 3ds were received among auricular ſweet-meats of the moſt piquant kind, which every ſubſequent age has ſo much contributed to refine and perfect, that there ſeems little probability that the inhabitants of Europe will ſoon be cloyed with them. In Corelli's time a chain of 7ths, regularly prepared and reſolved, was thought neceſſary to combine Harmony, and ornament almoſt every compoſition: 9ths, accompanied by 3ds, and 4ths by 5ths, abounded in every page of that period; whereas now the 9th is ſeldom ſeen without a 4th or 7th, and the 4th is conſtantly obſerved to prefer the 6th for its companion, to its old crony the 5th: a new aſſociation too has, of late years, been formed between the $\frac{7}{4}$, of which former times can give no example. All which circumſtances evidently prove that there is a *mode* and *faſhion* in *Harmony*, as well as Melody, which contribute to render the favour of muſical compoſitions ſo tranſient; and when we reflect on the various powers of voices, inſtruments, and performers, on which the perfect execution of every muſical compoſition depends, but little hope can remain to the artiſt that his productions, like thoſe of the poet, painter, or architect, can be bleſt with longevity!

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*Of the Origin of Modern Languages, to which written Melody and Harmony were firſt applied; and general State of Muſic till the Invention of Printing, about the year* 1450.

HAVING made ſome progreſs in the mechaniſm of Melody and Harmony, by tracing as near its ſource as poſſible, the firſt formation of the muſical Alphabet or *Scale*, whence ſingle ſounds are drawn, and given very early ſpecimens of their *Meaſure*, and ſimultaneous uſe in *Conſonance*; the reader will, perhaps, not be ſorry to quit for a while ſuch minute reſearches, in order to enquire at what time, and in what manner, theſe tones were firſt applied to modern languages, when the

" —Bleſs'd pair of Sirens—Voice, and Verſe,"

attempted friendly union amidſt the according murmurs of their new companion Harmony, who increaſing in power by a numerous offspring, ſoon grew ſo loud and inſolent, that ſhe was able to overwhelm them both, and, by her *artful contrivances*, to render them almoſt indifferent and uſeleſs to each other, as well as to the public.

Every nation aſpiring at high deſcent, will be ready to claim priority in the formation and culture of their language, and antiquity of their Songs; and it would perhaps be as difficult to ſettle theſe demands equitably, and to the ſatisfaction of all parties, as the political claims of ambitious and contending powers, at a general diet.

Perhaps

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Perhaps the ſpecimens of the Welch and Saxon Languages that might be produced in favour of our own pretenſions in this iſland, are of ſuch antiquity as no other country can equal; for the poems of Taliesin, Lyward Hên, Anéurin Gwawdrydd, Myrddin Wyllt, and Avan Veiddig, who all flouriſhed about the year 560, are preſerved, though hardly intelligible to the moſt learned Cambro-Britiſh Antiquary (*b*). And the Dialect of our Alfred, of the ninth Century, in his Saxon tranſlation of Boethius and Bede, is more clear and intelligible than the vulgar language, equally ancient, of any other Country in Europe. For I am acquainted with no other Language, which, like our own, can mount, in a regular and intelligible Series, from the Dialect in preſent uſe to that of the ninth Century: that is, from pure Engliſh to pure Saxon, ſuch as was ſpoken and written by King Alfred, unmixed with Latin, Welch, or Norman. And this may be done for a period of nine hundred years, by means of the *Chronicon Saxonicum* of Biſhop Gibſon, the excellent Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of the late Rev. Mr. Lye, and ſuch a chain of ſpecimens of our tongue at different ſtages of its perfection as Dr. Johnſon has inſerted in the Hiſtory of our Language prefixed to his Dictionary. Indeed we have the authority of Bede for ſocial and domeſtic ſinging to the Harp in the Saxon Language, upon this iſland, at the beginning of the eighth century; though he himſelf wrote in Latin, the only language of the Church and the learned then, and for many ages afterwards (*c*). But the queſtion is not what people had ſongs firſt in their own language: for wherever there is a language, there is Poetry; and wherever there is Poetry, there is Muſic, of ſome kind or other: the preſent inquiry is, where ſuch Muſic as that of which we have

(*b*) See Evans's Specimens of Welch Poetry.

(*c*) Dr. Percy, in his Eſſay on the Ancient Engliſh Minſtrels, (note G) has given ſo ample and ſatisfactory an account of the Saxon manner of ſinging to the Harp in Bede's time, as to leave his reader nothing to wiſh, or me to add, on the ſubject.

been tracing the origin, was firſt applied to a Modern Language. For it is not meant to ſpeak here of thoſe wild and irregular Melodies which come within the deſcription of *National Muſic:* ſuch as the old and ruſtic tunes of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; which remained for many ages traditional, and if not more ancient than the ſcale aſcribed to Guido, were certainly formed without its aſſiſtance, as we may judge by the little attention that was paid to Keys, and the awkward difficulties to which thoſe are ſubject who attempt to clothe them with Harmony. Of this kind of artleſs Muſic, which is beſt learned in the nurſery and the ſtreet, I ſhall ſpeak with due reverence hereafter; and at preſent confine my diſquiſitions and enquiries to *real Muſic*, ariſing from a complete ſcale, under the guidance of ſuch rules of art as ſucceſsful cultivation has rendered reſpectable and worthy of imitation (*d*).

Songs have at all times, and in all places, afforded amuſement and conſolation to mankind: every paſſion of the human breaſt has been vented in Song; and the moſt ſavage as well as civilized inhabitants of the earth have encouraged theſe effuſions. The natives of New Zealand, who ſeem to live as nearly in a ſtate of nature as any animals that are merely gregarious, have their Songs, and their *Improviſatori*; and the ancient Greeks, during every period of their hiſtory and refinement, had their *Scolia* for almoſt every circumſtance and occaſion incident to ſociety (*e*).

Singing was ſo common among the ancient Romans as to become proverbial. Phædria, in the Phormio of Terence, begs Dorio to hear him, he has but one word to offer: when Dorio

(*d*) It is the fanciful opinion of ſome naturaliſt that the blackbird, the thruſh, the robin, or the bull-finch, that ſo often repeats his peculiar melody during ſummer, is but performing the part of a ſinging-maſter to the young birds of his own ſpecies: the nurſe, the ballad-ſinger in the ſtreet, and the pariſh clerk, exerciſe the ſame function in our towns and villages: and the traditional tunes of every country ſeem as natural to the common people as warbling is to birds, in a ſtate of nature.

(*e*) See vol. i. p. 464.

tells

tells him he is always ſinging the *ſame Song (f)*. Horace ſpeaks of the ſame affectation among the ſingers of his time as prevails with the preſent; never to ſing when they are entreated, or to deſiſt if no one wiſhes to hear them (*g*). And ſome idea of the cultivated ſtate of Muſic in Gaul, ſo early as the fifth century, may be acquired from a paſſage in one of the epiſtles of Sidonius Apollinaris, who in his character of king Theodoric, the Goth, ſays that "This prince was more delighted with the "ſweet and ſoothing ſounds of a ſingle inſtrument, which "calmed his mind, and flattered his ear by its ſoftneſs, than "with Hydraulic Organs, or the noiſe and clangor of many "voices and inſtruments in concert (*h*)."

Clothaire II. in the ſeventh century, having gained a great victory over the Saxons, it was celebrated by a Latin ſong in rhyme, which the annaliſts tell us was ſung with great vociferation all over the kingdom.

In the time of Charlemagne, *Hiſtriones*, Mimes, and Actors of farces, were very numerous in France: and, according to the Abbé Vertot (*i*), this prince made a collection of ancient Gallic ſongs; and Eginhard, his hiſtorian, obſerves that theſe ſongs, which were chiefly military, like thoſe of the Germans, conſtituted the principal part of the Hiſtory of France, and compriſed the moſt heroic actions of her kings.

As the origin of Songs and the formation of the Language of every country are ſo nearly coeval, I hope the reader will allow me to beſtow a few pages upon a ſubject, which though it be thought not abſolutely neceſſary for a muſical hiſtorian to trace, yet it lies ſo near his path that he can hardly proceed on

(*f*) *Cantilenam eandem canis.* act. iii. ſc. ii. The French uſe the verb *chanter* in the ſame ſenſe: *chanſon! bagatelle!—— Qu'eſt-ce qu'il chante?*

(*g*) *Omnibus hoc vitium eſt cantoribus*, &c. Sat. iii. lib. 1.

(*h*) *Illic nec organa hydraulica ſonant, nec ſub Phonaſco vocalium concentus medietatum acroama ſimul intonat: nullus ibi Lyriſtes Choraules —— canit, rege ſolum illis fidibus delenito, quibus non minus mulcet virtus animum, quam cantus auditum.* Epiſt. ii. lib. 1.

(*i*) Mem. de Litt.

his way without its being often impreſſed upon his mind, fortuitouſly.

I ſhall not however enter upon the merits of a queſtion which has been much agitated of late in France: "Whether the pre-"ſent language of that country was firſt cultivated in the nor-"thern or ſouthern provinces?" The origin of all inventions, after having been ſuffered by ignorance and idleneſs to ſleep for many ages, is ſo difficult to aſcertain, that if the inhabitants of the kingdoms which gave them birth, where information is moſt likely to be furniſhed, are unable to bring them to light, it would be arrogance in a foreigner to attempt it (*k*). The French critics and antiquaries all agree that the capital was the laſt place to cultivate the vulgar tongue, and to receive the firſt eſſays of thoſe who made it the vehicle of their thoughts. Fontenelle ſays the firſt ſparks of poetry appeared chiefly at the two extremities of the kingdom, in Provence and Picardy. "The "Provençaux, ſays he, warmed by a more genial ſun, ought "to have had the ſuperiority; but the inhabitants of Picardy "are their inferiors in nothing*." M. de la Ravaliere gives the honour of priority to the writers of Normandy; and Fauchet and Paſquier, ſeparating the French poetry from the Provençal, challenge the admirers of the Troubadours to produce verſes of their writing of equal antiquity with the ſpecimens of French poetry which they have exhibited. However, the Provençal bards have lately had many able champions, among whom M. de Lacurne de Sainte Palaye, and his faithful 'ſquire, M. Millot, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves. And though it cannot be denied but that fragments of ſongs ſubſiſt in the French language of higher antiquity than in the dialect of Provence, yet, as I have been able to find no melodies that have been ſet to a modern language more ancient than thoſe which are preſerved in the Vati-

(*k*) For, ſays the admirable antiquary Fauchet, *Qui ſeroit ceſtuy-là tant hardi de ſeulement promettre pouvoir tirer la verité d'un ſi profond abyſme, que celui ou l'ignorance & nonchalence de ſept ou huit cens ans l'a precipitée?* De la Langue et Poeſie Françoiſe, liv. i.

* Hiſt. du Theatre François.

can

can library to the ſongs of the Troubadours, I ſhall begin my enquiries concerning the origin of vulgar dialects in Europe, by endeavouring to trace the firſt formation of the language of PROVENCE.

Every refined and poliſhed nation has a vulgar language in its remote provinces, and even in its capital, among the common people, in which there are innumerable words and phraſes that have never been admitted into books. This muſt doubtleſs have been the caſe with the Romans; and it is the opinion of ſome perſons of great eminence in literature, among whom may be numbered the learned Cardinal Bembo, and the Marquis Maffei, that the ancient Romans had at all times an oral vulgar language which was different from that of books; and that this colloquial language, leſs grammatical and elegant than that of the learned, was carried by the Romans into all the provinces under their dominion. It is therefore probable that this, and not the written language of Italy, was the mother of the Provençal, Sicilian, Italian, and Spaniſh dialects.

But ſuppoſing ſuch a language as Cicero's was ever ſpoken, it could not be laid aſide for another, all at once; and when we are told of a particular period or century, during which the Latin tongue ceaſed to be ſpoken in France or Italy, and the Provençal, French, or Italian begun; credulity itſelf is ſtaggered and unable to reconcile it to probability. Every language is long ſpoken before it is written; and though the firſt poet of Italy or Provence, who committed his verſes to writing in the vulgar tongue could be named, no one would venture to tell us by whom it was firſt ſpoken.

The learned Maffei (*l*) is of opinion that there was a *vulgar* Language in Italy long before the irruptions of the Lombards, Goths, or Franks; and has traced its uſe as early as the time of Quintilian, who tells us, that he had often heard the crowd in the Circus applaud, or demand ſomething of the champions, in

(*l*) *Verona illuſtrata*, lib. ii. p. 601.

a bar-

a barbarous language (*m*): that is, in a vulgar and Plebean dialect, different from pure Latin. Sammonicus, who lived in the time of Septimius Severus, names the *vulgar Language*. And both Pliny and St. Jerom ſpeak of the *military* Language as of that kind: the latter even tells us (*n*), that Fortunatianus, biſhop of Aquileia, wrote a Commentary on the Evangeliſts in this vulgar Language, *Ruſtico Sermone*, during the time of Conſtantine. But this was a ſingular inſtance, which was not imitated.

It appears however, from the Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great, written 593, that there was then a Language merely colloquial at Rome. For he tells us that a new convert, of whom he is ſpeaking, was ſent to a convent with two veſſels of wine, which the *vulgar call flaſks* (*o*).

And Gregory of Tours, ſo early as 572, complains of this vulgar or ruſtic tongue gaining ground in France, and being more in favour than Latin, the language of the learned (*p*).

It was therefore by degrees that Latin ceaſed to be underſtood by the common people, and the *Romance* Language had admiſſion into books. And in 813 it was ordered by a canon at the council of Tours, that the Biſhops ſhould be employed in tranſlating homilies into the *Roman ruſtic Tongue*, that they might be the more eaſily underſtood by the common people (*q*). The ſame canon we are told was renewed in a council at Arles in 851 (*r*).

In the ninth century hiſtorians tell us that Charlemagne and his ſons and ſucceſſors ſpoke the *Romance* Language, ſpecimens of which may be ſeen in Fauchet, Paſquier, and ſeveral other writers on the French language. And in the twelfth century it

(*m*) *Exclamaſſe barbare*, lib. i. cap. 12.

(*n*) Ser. ill. cap. 97.

(*o*) —— *Vino plena duo vaſcula, quæ vulgo* flaſcones *vocantur deferret.* Lib. ii. cap. 18.

(*p*) *Philoſophantem rhetorem intelligunt pauci, loquentem ruſticum multi.*

(*q*) *Eaſdem homilias quiſque Epiſcopus apertè tranſferre ſtudeat in Romanam ruſticam linguam aut Theotiſcam, quò facilius cuncti poſſint intelligere quæ dicuntur.*

(*r*) *Diſſert. ſur l'Origine de la Langue Françoiſe*, par M. Barbazan, 1759.

began

began to be the general Language of poets and polite writers. Some of the ſermons written and preached by St. Bernard, about 1137, in this language, are ſtill preſerved among the MSS. of the Convent of Feuellans, in the Rue St. Honoré at Paris.

In the times of the emperors the Romans inſtituted ſchools and academies in the principal cities of Gaul for teaching the Latin Language. A reſcript of Gratian ſtill ſubſiſts for the election and appointments of profeſſors in theſe ſeminaries (*s*).

In the latter end of the fourth century, by theſe means, and the offices of dignity and profit conferred on thoſe who were maſters of this language, it became general among perſons of education, and conſequently would be imitated, though in an awkward and incorrect manner, by thoſe of a lower claſs. Strabo tells us that in the time of Auguſtus the Spaniards and Portugueſe had forgotten their own language, and uſed only that of the Romans.

The great corruption of the Latin tongue about the end of the ſeventh century is manifeſt in the collection of the *formules* of the Monk Marculf, ſtill preſerved, as well as public acts, charters, teſtaments, and diplomas. In theſe records it appears that the dialects of the neighbouring people had begun to diſfigure the Latin nouns, by certain contractions of ſyllables and frequent repetitions of pronouns. Indeed the repetitions of the pronoun *ipſe* were innumerable; on account of the articles *le* and *la* having been long before this period introduced into the vulgar tongue. An evident proof of the introduction of the article *ille* or *illa* contracted and diſguiſed is found in the litanies written about the year 780, in the dioceſe of Soiſſons.

In theſe the prayers for Pope Adrian the Firſt, for Charlemagne, his wife, and children, are terminated by *tu lo juva*, inſtead of the uſual formule, *tu illum juva*. Even ſo early as the ſixth century, according to Gregory de Tours (*t*), the rules

(*s*) Cod. Theodoſ. Leg. XI. (*t*) *Prolog Libri de Glor. Conf.*

of

of grammar, with reſpect to caſes and genders, were diſregarded, and proper names frequently deprived of their Latin terminations: as *Theodoric* for *Theodoricus*, &c (*u*).

This common or vulgar Language is frequently mentioned under the title of *Sermo Ruſticanus*, *Lingua Romana*, becauſe of its derivation from the language of the Romans, which was Latin; *Lingua Laica*, *Lingua Gallicana*, is frequently mentioned in ancient Latin MSS. before it ſeems to have been written; and ſome of the moſt ancient fragments of this language now ſubſiſting are verſes in rhyme.

The colloquial Language uſed only in familiar converſation was called by the Romans *Sermo uſualis*, *quotidianus*, *pedeſtris*, *vulgaris*, *militaris*, *ruſticus*, &c. It is ſuppoſed by M. Bonamy (*x*) as well as by others, that from this vulgar Latin not only the French language and its different dialects but the Spaniſh and Italian are derived. Indeed it is moſt probable that the Latin tongue, in its periods of greateſt purity, was only the language of the Learned, in the Roman provinces remote from the capital; and that it was never ſo generally cultivated in other times as to exclude the vulgar dialect.

In the frequent revolutions and ſtruggles for empire during theſe ages, the Roman Language muſt have been debaſed and corrupted, while new tongues were forming, which though not ſufficiently fixed and grammatical to be uſed in books, were doubtleſs long the vulgar and colloquial dialects before the Latin ceaſed to be the common language of the learned.

It was about this time that the Art of Rhyming, or uniſonous terminations of verſes, ſtole into poetical compoſition, in a manner which the learned and judicious author of an Eſſay on the Language and Verſification of Chaucer, ſeems to have traced to its ſource (*y*). *Leonine Verſes*, ſuppoſed to have been

(*u*) *Recherches ſur les plus Anciennes Traductions*, par L'Abbé Lebeuf, Mem. de Litt.

(*x*) Mem. de Lit.

(*y*) See the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 52. 1775.

ſo

ſo called from a Pope or Monk Leo, their author, in the ſeventh century, are by ſome thought the firſt attempt at rhyme (*z*); while others imagine the hymn to St. John the Baptiſt, by Paul Diaconus, writtten about the latter end of the eighth century, to be not only rendered memorable by Guido's ſcale, but by having been the model of all other Monkiſh Rhymes in Latin, as well as in modern languages. *Ut queant laxis*, &c (*a*).

But neither of theſe genealogies ſatisfies all enquirers. Gravina (*b*) thinks it as abſurd to aſcribe the invention of rhyme to any one writer, as to attribute to an individual the propagation of the plague, which is cauſed by the univerſal contagion of the air.

The Arabs had rhyme, according to Don Calmet (*c*), before the time of Mahomet, who died 632, and in the ſecond century uſed a kind of poetry in meaſures ſimilar to the Greek, and ſet to muſic (*d*).

The

(*z*) Leonine verſes are thoſe of which the middle rhymes with the end.

(*a*) See p. 85. It ſeems as if the rhymes in the firſt ſtanza of this hymn had been accidental, as they do not occur in the reſt of it. But the diligent editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales obſerves, "That evident marks of a fondneſs for "rime appear in the hymns of St. Ambroſe and S. Damaſus, as early as the "fourth century." Few however of theſe compoſitions were regularly rhymed throughout; and yet from theſe beginnings it is natural to conclude with the author juſt quoted, that "From ſuch Latin "Rhythms, and chiefly thoſe of the iambic "form, the preſent poetical meaſures "of all the nations of the Romans in "Europe are clearly derived." *Ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) *Ragion Poetica.*

(*c*) Treſor de l'Antiquité, p. 44.

(*d*) If this were proved, it would ſtrengthen Mr. Warton's ingenious idea (Diſſert. prefixed to Hiſtory of Poetry, vol. i.) that modern poetry and romance were brought into Europe from Arabia at the time of the Cruſades. Chivalry had the ſame origin; and if the wild adventures of knights errant, with which the firſt romances were filled are oriental, the rhymes in which they are clad may be derived from the ſame ſource. As Arthur and Charlemagne are the firſt and original heroes of romance in Europe, their hiſtories, real or fabulous, are connected with the Saracens, the primitive Mahometans, who had extended their conqueſt from the Eaſt, to the weſtern world.

Dr. Percy's clear deduction of chivalry and romances in a lineal deſcent from the ancient hiſtorical ſongs of the Gothic Bards and Scalds, though it aſſign them a much higher antiquity than the time of the Cruſades, does not deſtroy Mr. Warton's hypotheſis, which ſuppoſes them of eaſtern origin; on the contrary, as the northern nations deduce their anceſtry from Oden or Woden and his followers, who were Aſiatics that fled into Scandinavia from the Roman armies ſoon after the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, the reaſoning

The ancients in their verſe required only meaſure and quantity, without tuning the terminations; the moderns admit a greater variety of arrangement, but require an equal number of ſyllables, and, except in blank verſe, ſimilar ſounds at the end of correſpondent lines.

There are hymns in the Romiſh church, which are called *Proſæ*, *Proſes*, a title given to compoſitions in rhyme, in which the laws of meaſure and quantity eſtabliſhed by the ancient Greeks and Romans are neglected. Theſe being ſung after the Gradual or Introitus, were likewiſe called *Sequentia*, and of this kind is the *Stabat Mater*. The uſe of *Proſing* began at the later end of the ninth century. Notker, Monk of St. Gæl in Switzerland, who wrote about the year 880, and who is regarded by ſome as the firſt author of *Proſes*, ſays in the preface to the book where he mentions them, that he had ſeen hymns of this kind in the Abbey of Jumieges, which was burned by the Normans in 841. It ſeems now a contradiction to call a hymn in *rhyme*, *proſe*; but before the number of ſyllables and their regular chime and coincidence at the end of lines was ſettled, *rhyming* was not honoured with the name of poetry or

ſoning of this excellent critic might eaſily be reconciled to a ſuppoſition, that as a foundation was laid ſo early in Europe for chivalry and romance by oriental Goths, the ſyſtem was the more eaſily completed and eſtabliſhed by additional materials brought into Europe during the Holy War. At leaſt the poetry and gallantry of the times were greatly enlivened and embelliſhed by the fictions imported from Arabia and Spain.

If this were a place to ſpeak of the effects of oriental and northern fables and poetry, I ſhould confeſs, with reſpect to my own feelings, that there is ſomething in the metaphors of Scaldic and northern bards that is chilling and oppreſſive. The countries they deſcribe are ſo bleak and dreary that the imagination is frozen, and the mind always filled with painful ſenſations while peruſing them. Whereas the magnificence and ſplendour of Arabian and other eaſtern fictions, warm and exhilarate, as the ſun while it injures and ſcorches ſome parts of nature fructifies and cheriſhes others. The glowing tints and ſpicy gales with which that country is ſuppoſed to abound, never fail to furniſh ideal beauties of climate, and luxuriance of imagery, with which the mind is deluded and inflamed, even while ſome ſad and ſorrowful tale is reciting.

If Homer, Virgil, and Milton, had laid the ſcene of their poems in Iceland and Norway, inſtead of Greece, Italy, and Paradiſe, it is hardly poſſible to imagine that their names ever would have been ſo dear to the moſt enlightened part of mankind.

verſe.

verſe. Indeed mere rhymes and metres in modern languages are ſtill inſufficient, without other requiſites, to exalt an author into a *Poet*.

While the New Languages were unſettled and but partially known, even in the ſingle kingdom or province where they were forming, it was not uncommon to write half a poem in Latin, and half in a vulgar tongue (*e*). Indeed Dante (*f*) has left a poem in three languages, Latin, Provençal, and Italian; and Rambaud de Vachieras, a Provençal poet, in five (*g*).

Petrarca and Muratori think that the Sicilians firſt compoſed and wrote ſongs in a vulgar language; that from them the cuſtom went into Provence; and from Provence into Italy (*h*). Indeed Sicily and Provence were long under the dominion of the ſame princes, and the ſame language may have been cultivated at the courts of both countries; but as no veſtiges remain of Sicilian poetry reſembling the Provençal, the opinions of theſe authors, however eminent, and, on other accounts, reſpectable, while unſupported by reaſons and facts, can have but little weight.

Cardinal Bembo (*i*), however, was of opinion that the firſt Rhymers and poets who wrote in a modern language were of Provence; after them the Tuſcans, who had more aſſiſtance from them in their poetry than from any other people. And both Creſcembeni (*k*) and Gravina (*l*) make the ſame conceſſion.

Noſtradamus, in his Lives of the Provençal Poets (*m*), ſays

(*e*) Specimens of this caprice may be ſeen in the Muſeum, Harl. MSS. 2253. f. 137. b. and in Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Poetry, vol. i. p. 66.

(*f*) Tom. v.

(*g*) Creſcembeni Volg. Poeſ. p. 15.

(*h*) Petrarca, *Trionfo d'Amore*, capo iv. e Lett. Fam. & Muratori della Perfetta Poeſia, tom. i. p. 7.

(*i*) *Proſe*, o ſia *della lingua Volgare*.

(*k*) *Comment. della Volg. Poeſ.*

(*l*) *Della Ragion Poetica.*

(*m*) Jean Noſtradamus, or ther of the aſtrologer of that name, was a native of Provence, and flouriſhed about 1500.

that Provence was called the Mother of Troubadours and Minſtrels; and that Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and other Tuſcan poets enriched both their language and fancy from the productions of his countrymen (*n*). However, as no *verſi ſciolti*, or poetical lines without rhymes are to be found in the Provençal poets, though they abound among the Italians, it is natural to ſuppoſe that in theſe meaſures of blank verſe the Italians imitated their anceſtors the Romans, and that in rhyming the Provençals were their models *.

It was the opinion of Voltaire (*o*) that this language began to be formed in the ninth century, out of Latin and Teutonic; that it was the mother of French, Spaniſh, and Italian; "continued in favour till the reign of the emperor Frederic II. "and is ſtill ſpoken in ſome villages of the Griſons, and near "Switzerland (*p*)."

Carpentier derives the word Troubabour from *Troba*, Provençal, *figmentum*. *Hinc* Troubadours *appellati Poetæ Provinciales* (*q*).

It was in the eleventh century, during the firſt Cruſade,

(*n*) I ſhall give the title at full length of Noſtradamus's book, as it is become ſcarce. *Les Vies des plus celebres et Anciens Poetes Provenſaux, qui ont fleury du temps des Comtes des Provence. Recueillies des Oeuvres de divers Autheurs nommez en la page ſuivante, qui les ont eſcrites, et redigies premierement en Langue Provenſale, et depuis Miſes en Langue Françoyſe par Jehan de Noſtre Dame Procureur en la Cour de Parlement de Provence, par leſquelles eſt Monſtrée l'ancienneté de pluſiers nobles Maiſons tant de Provence, Languedoc, France, que d'Italies, & d'ailleurs.* A Lyons, *pour* Alexander Marſilés. M.D. LXXV.

* *L'Italia Liberata*, by Triſſino, was the firſt Italian poem of any length, in *Verſi Sciolti*.

(*o*) *Eſſai ſur l'Hiſt.* tom. i. p. 168

(*p*) Upon comparing the Provençal Language with that of the Griſon Bible, *in Lingua Romanſcha*, firſt printed in 1673, and reprinted at Engadinabaſſa 1743, there appears to be a great reſemblance between them. The Provençal at preſent is compoſed of French, Spaniſh, Gaſcogne, Tuſcan, and Lombard words; and the Griſon of French, Spaniſh, Italian, and German. Many words however in this tranſlation of the Bible have a German appearance, merely from a Teutonic orthography. Fauchet tells us that as in former ages to ſpeak *Romance* was regarded as an accompliſhment by all Europe, ſo the Swiſs of his own time ſeem ſtill to think it: for inſtead of ſaying *I can ſpeak French*, a native of Switzerland would ſay *I can ſpeak Romanſe*; *Je ſçay bien parler Roman. Antiq.* p. 542.

(*q*) The b in the old Provençal and Languedocian writers had the power of a conſonant v, as in the Spaniſh language, between which and the ſouthern dialects of France, there is ſtill in many reſpects a great reſemblance. *Troubadour*, doubtleſs, came from *trovare*, or *trobare*, *trouver*, to invent; it anſwers to ὁ ποιητὴς, a *Maker*.

according

according to the Abbé Millot (*r*), that Europe began to emerge from the barbarous ſtupidity and ignorance into which it had long been plunged. And while its inhabitants were exerciſing every ſpecies of rapine, plunder, and pious cruelty in Aſia, art, ingenuity, and reaſon inſenſibly civilized and ſoftened their minds.

It was then that the Poets and Songſters known by the name of *Troubadours* were multiplied, and their profeſſion honoured by the patronage and encouragement of the Count of Poitou, and many other powerful Princes and Barons, who had themſelves ſucceſsfully cultivated Poetry and Muſic. At the courts of theſe munificent patrons they were treated with the greateſt conſideration and reſpect. The ladies, whoſe charms they celebrated, gave them the moſt generous and flattering reception; and ſometimes diſdained not even to liſten with compaſſion to tales of tenderneſs, and deſcriptions of the havoc which the irreſiſtible charms of theſe ſublunary divinities of chivalry had made in their hearts. The ſucceſs of a few inſpired the reſt with hope, and excited exertions in the exerciſe of their art, which impelled them towards perfection with a rapidity that nothing but the united force of emulation and emolument could occaſion.

As theſe founders of modern verſification, theſe new poetical architects, conſtructed their poems upon plans of their own invention; and as all claſſical authority was laid aſide, either through ignorance or deſign, each individual gave unlimited indulgence to fancy in the ſubject, form, and ſpecies of his compoſition. And it does not appear, during the cultivation and favour of Provençal literature, that any one Troubadour ſo far out-ſtript his brethren in the approaches he made towards perfection as to be conſidered as a model for his ſucceſſors. We find, though military proweſs, hoſpitality, Gothic

(*r*) Hiſt. Litt. de Fr. tom. vi. p. 13. & Prelim. p. 15 et ſeq. Hiſt. des Troubadours, Tom. i. Diſc.

gallantry,

gallantry, and a rage for feaſts and revelry prevailed, that taſte, refinement, and elegance, were never attained during this period, either in public or private amuſements. The want of originality of compoſition is frequently lamented when licence is repreſſed by laws, and the wild effuſions of an ardent imagination are bounded by authority; but the productions that have been preſerved of the Provençal Bards, which may be called the offspring of writers in a *ſtate of nature*, ſeem to prove the neceſſity of rule, order, and example, even in the *liberal arts* as well as the government of a *free ſtate*. For the progreſs of taſte muſt ever be impeded by the ignorance and caprice of thoſe who cultivate an art without ſcience or principles.

During near two centuries after Guido's arrangement of the Scale and invention of the Time-table aſcribed to Franco, no remnants or records of Secular Muſic can be found except thoſe of the Troubadours, or Provençal poets. And though in the ſimple tunes which have been preſerved of theſe Bards, no time is marked and but little variety of notation appears, yet it is not difficult to diſcover in them germs of the future melodies, as well as poetry, of France and Italy. Unluckily the poetry and muſic of the Troubadours of Provence were not for a long time called into notice by writers poſſeſſed of thoſe blandiſhments of ſtyle or manner which faſcinate, and render whatever ſubject they treat intereſting to the generality of readers. Fauchet, Paſquier, and Noſtradamus have written in a language that is now become ſo uncouth and difficult that few have the courage to attempt acquiring information or amuſement from it; and Muratori and Creſcembeni, who are reſpected for their diligence and exactitude, are certainly dry and dull narrators of facts which promiſe delight to every lover of literature; nor do I remember, in conſulting their voluminous writings, ever to have found them guilty of hazarding a ſingle reflection or conjecture that has embelliſhed the ſubject, or rendered it amuſing. But this cenſure muſt not be applied to Sainte-

Sainte-Palaye, Bonamy, la Ravaliere, and Barbazan, who in the Memoires de Litterature, and elſewhere, have not only embelliſhed, but nearly exhauſted the ſubject. Indeed the period of Provençal poetry is intereſting to literature, and the Melody to which it was ſung is a ſubject of curious enquiry to a Muſical Hiſtorian; for it is generally allowed that the Troubadours, by ſinging and writing in a new tongue, occaſioned a revolution not only in literature but the human mind. And as almoſt every ſpecies of Italian poetry is derived from the Provençals, ſo AIR, the moſt captivating part of Secular vocal Melody, ſeems to have had the ſame origin. At leaſt the moſt ancient ſtrains that have been ſpared by time, are ſuch as were ſet to the ſongs of the Troubadours.

The Provençal Language began to be in favour with poets about the end of the tenth century (*s*). But in the twelfth century, it was not only the general vehicle of Poetry, but of Proſe, for ſuch as were ignorant of Latin; and theſe were not merely the Laity: for at the council of Rheims 1119, the Biſhop of Oſtia, having in a Latin oration declared to the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics the buſineſs on which they were aſſembled, the Pope made William de Champeaux, Biſhop of Chalons, explain it in the Romanſe dialect. It was about this time that Provençal Poetry arrived at its greateſt point of perfection; and that it began to be ſung to the ſound of inſtruments: for at this period *Violars*, or performers on the Vielle and Viol; *Juglars*, or Flute-players; *Muſars*, or players on other inſtruments; and *Comics*, or Comedians, abounded all over Europe. This ſwarm of Poet-Muſicians, who were formerly comprehended in France under the general title of *Jongleurs*, travelled from province to province, ſinging their verſes at the courts of Kings, Princes, and other great perſonages, who rewarded them with cloathes, horſes, arms, and

(*s*) See Hiſt. Litt. de la Fr. tom. ix. p. 175, et ſeq.

money,

money, which though ſometimes given unwillingly, ſerved to augment the number of theſe ſtrolling Bards.

*Jongleurs*, or Muſicians, were employed very early to ſing the works of thoſe Troubadours who, for want of voice or knowlege in Muſic, were unable to do it themſelves. Jongleurs and Ménétriers, or Strollers and Minſtrels, were common at all times; but the Troubadours, or Bards, followed a profeſſion, which though very ancient, ſeems to have been laid aſide in Greece and Italy when literature became common, and was revived only during the middle ages when it was again loſt. Modern hiſtory during this dark period has no other materials to work upon than the fragments of theſe Bards, which though leſs reſpectable than thoſe of much higher antiquity, would, if neglected, involve the annals of Europe in mere darkneſs, fable, and conjecture. A collection of old Ballads, ſays Bayle, is not an unprofitable companion to an Hiſtorian (*t*).

The pure Provençal Language was uſed in Dauphiné and Provence, then dependent on the empire; and in the three great provinces of Toulouſe, Barcelona, and Poitou, with the duchy of Acquitain, by the Bards of Chivalry and Romance, a title their writings obtained from the Roman vulgar Language upon which that of the Troubadours was formed. The moſt ancient poems in this language that have been preſerved, except a Satire by a Troubadour againſt an Iriſh poet, about the year 1000 (*u*), were written by William IX. Count of Poitou, born 1071. But this dialect was ſpoken, and ſongs which have been loſt were compoſed in it, long before.

The Poetical Hiſtory of our Richard the Firſt, and his impriſonment in Germany on his return from Paleſtine, have lately been often cited from Fauchet's Antiquities (*x*), and are too

(*t*) *Oeuvres, Tom. i. p. 221, and 300. Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Feb. 1685. art. ii.*

(*u*) *Hiſt. Litt. tom. vi. p. 53.*

(*x*) *Recueil de l'Origine de Langue et Poeſie Françoiſe, Ryme, et Romans, Paris, 1581.*

well

well known to need enlargement here: however, as an introduction to a *Lay* or Song of Complaint written by that heroic prince during his confinement, I ſhall avail myſelf of an elegant tranſlation of the old *Chronique* whence Fauchet had his account, as it was publiſhed in the Miſcellanies of Mrs. A. Williams, 1766.

"Blondiaux was a poet of whom it is not told exactly when "he lived or died, otherwiſe than as he is found to have been "known to king Richard of England, who died in 1200. "A good French chronicle which is in my poſſeſſion contains "the following narrative.

"Richard having had in the Holy Wars a quarrel with the "Duke of Auſtria, was afraid at his return home to paſs in "his public character through the Auſtrian dominions for fear "of the Duke, or through thoſe of France for fear of king "Philip Auguſtus, and therefore travelled in diſguiſe. But "the Duke being informed of his arrival, ſeized him and "confined him in a caſtle, where he remained priſoner, none "knowing for a long time where he was.

"King Richard had retained in his ſervice a Minſtrel, or "Bard, whoſe name was Blondel. The Bard miſſing his maſ-"ter felt his ſubſiſtence cut ſhort, and the happineſs of his life "very much impaired. He found the account well verified "of the King's departure from the Holy Land, but met with "none that could tell with certainty whither he was gone, "and therefore wandered over many countries to try whether "he could find him by any intelligence.

"It happened after a conſiderable time thus ſpent, that "Blondel came to a city near the caſtle in which king Richard "his maſter was confined, and aſking his hoſt to whom it be-"longed, was told that it was one of the fortreſſes of the "Duke of Auſtria. Blondel then enquired whether there "were any priſoners in it, which was a queſtion that he al-"ways took ſome indirect method of introducing; and was

" anſwered by his hoſt, that there was one priſoner, who had " been there more than a year, but that he was not able to " tell who he was.

" Blondel having received this information, made uſe of " the general reception which Minſtrels find, to make ac- " quaintance in the caſtle; but though he was admitted, could " never obtain a ſight of the priſoner, to know whether he " was the king; till one day he placed himſelf over-againſt a " window of the tower in which king Richard was kept, and " began to ſing a French ſong which they had formerly com- " poſed together. When the King heard the ſong, he knew " that the ſinger was Blondel, and when half of it was ſung, " he began the other half and completed it. Blondel then " knowing the reſidence and condition of the king his maſ- " ter, went back to England, and related his adventure to the " Engliſh Barons."

" This, continues Fauchet, is all the account which my " book affords me of the life of Blondel (*y*)."

The ſong written by Richard and Blondel, jointly, by which the place of his confinement was thus diſcovered, is preſerved in an old French romance, called *La Tour Tenebreuſe*, or the Black Tower (*z*). This little poem is ſtill in the ancient language of Provence, whereas the other writings aſcribed to Richard ſeem to have been compoſed, or at leaſt to have come down to the preſent times, in Old French, or *Langage Roman.*

B. *Domna voſtra beutas*
*Elas bellas faiſos*
*Els bels öils amoros*
*Els gens cors ben taillats*
*Don ſieu empreſenats*
*De voſtra amor que mi lia.*

(*y*) The names Blondiaux and Blondel are thus confounded by this author.

(*z*) The Romance, ſo denominated, *Tirez d'un ancienne Chronique compoſée par* Richard, *ſurnommé* Cœur de Lion, *Roy d'Angleterre*, was publiſhed at Paris 1705.

R. *Si*

R. *Si bel trop affanſia*
*Ja de vos non portrai*
*Que major honorai*
*Sol en votre deman*
*Que ſautra des beiſan*
*To can de vos volria.*

Imitated (*a*).

Blondel. Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight;
But ſtill ſo cold an air
No paſſion can excite:
Yet this I patient ſee,
While all are ſhunn'd like me.

Richard. No nymph my heart can wound,
If favour ſhe divide,
And ſmile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear,
Than love with others ſhare.

The Lay, or Song of Complaint, which was written entirely by our romantic monarch during his impriſonment, is inſerted in the original by Mr. Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* (*b*), who ſeems unwilling to allow that Richard was an author, and ſtill more that he poſſeſſed any conſiderable degree of poetical merit. The French critics, however, who are nothing leſs than partial to Richard, and the Italians, are leſs ſevere on his rhymes than our honourable countryman; and the French verſion of this ſong, in the hiſtory of the Troubadours (*c*), contains ſeveral natural and affect-

(*a*) From a tranſlation of this ſong into more modern French, as inſerted in *La Tour Tenebreuſe.*

(*b*) Vol. i.

(*c*) *Hiſt. Litt. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 58.

ing ſentiments, which, if we may ſuppoſe them to have been dreſſed in the moſt poliſhed language of the time, though now obſcure, uncouth, and obſolete, are ſuch as would not have diſgraced a profeſſed bard of the twelfth century, much leſs an active and warlike prince, who had ſo many purſuits and occupations of higher importance on his hands (*d*).

As I have never ſeen an Engliſh tranſlation of this early ſpecimen of Romanſe poetry, except of one ſtanza, which Rymer has given in his *Short View of Tragedy*, I ſhall endeavour to transfuſe into our preſent dialect the ideas which this compoſition ſeems to contain, according to the copy of it which was printed in the preface to the *Roman de la Tour Tenebreuſe*, already mentioned.

Song by Richard the Firſt, *Cœur de Lion*, written during his impriſonment in the *Tour Tenebreuſe*, or Black Tower (*e*).

No wretched captive of his priſon ſpeaks,
Unleſs with pain, and bitterneſs of ſoul;
Yet conſolation from the Muſe he ſeeks,
Whoſe voice alone misfortune can controul.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whoſe face I ne'er beheld without a ſmile,
Will none, his ſov'reign to redeem, expend
The ſmalleſt portion of his treaſures vile?

Though

(*d*) The learned editor of the late edit. of Chaucer's Cant. Tales, vol. iv. p. 62. has vindicated the character of Richard from an aſperſion which was firſt caſt upon him by Rymer, in conſequence of a miſtaken conſtruction of a paſſage in Hoveden.

(*e*) *Ja nus hom pris non dira ſa razon,*
*Adreſchement ſe com hom dolens non;*
*Ma per conort pot il faire canſon.*
*Prou ai d'amis, mas poure ſon li don.*
*Oata i auron ſe per ma retenzon*
*Soi fait dos yver pris.*

Or

Though none may bluſh that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endur'd,
Yet know my Engliſh, Norman, Gaſcon peers,
Not one of you ſhould thus remain immur'd:
The meaneſt ſubject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ranſom ſhould have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet ſtill I wear them on a foreign ground!

Too true it is, ſo ſelfiſh human race!
" *Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,*"
Since here I pine in bondage and diſgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind.
Much for myſelf I feel, yet ah! ſtill more
That no compaſſion from my ſubjects flows;
What can from infamy their names reſtore,
If, while a pris'ner, death my eyes ſhould cloſe.

But ſmall is my ſurprize, though great my grief,
To find, in ſpite of all his ſolemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cauſe has courage to eſpouſe.
Though lofty tow'rs obſcure the chearful day,
Yet, through the Dungeon's melancholy gloom,
Kind Hope, in gentle whiſpers, ſeems to ſay,
" Perpetual thraldom is not yet thy doom."

Ye

*Or ſachou ben mi hom e mi baron*
*Engles, Norman, Pettavenet Guaſcon,*
*Se ge n'avoie ſi povre compagnon*
*Qeu laiſſaſſe por aver en preiſon*
*Ge nil di pas, por nulla retraiſon*
*Mas anquar ſoige pris.*

*Car ſachon ben per ver certanament*
*Qu'hom mort ny pris n'a amye ne parent*
*Quant il me laiſſent por or ni por argent.*
*Mal m'es de my, may perz m'es por ma gent*
*Q'apres ma mort n'auron reperzhament*
*Tan longament ſoi pris.*

*Non merravil s'eu ai lo cor dolent*
*Qe meſſire met ma terra en torment*
*No li membra de neſtre ſagrament*
*Qe nos feimes andos comunalment*
*Ben ſai de ver qe gaire longament*
*Non ſerai ge ſous pris.*

Mi

Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh Chail and Penſavin, aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlaſting lays,
My foes againſt me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit, or fraud appear;
That infamy will brand to lateſt times
The inſults I receive while captive here.

Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
And ev'ry bach'lor knight, robuſt and brave,
That duty now and love alike are vain,
From bonds your ſov'reign and your friend to ſave.
Remote from conſolation here I lie,
The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
Who all your zeal and ardour can defy,
Nor leaves you ought but pity to beſtow!

As there was no ſituation ſo ſerious or deplorable in theſe *heroic times* of modern hiſtory, but that it was thought neceſſary to do homage to love, this ſong was addreſſed in the *envoi* from the Black Tower to a counteſs Soir, with equal devotion and gallantry.

Gaucelm, or Anſelm Faidit, a Troubadour, who had been much eſteemed and patroniſed by our Richard when he was Count of Poitou, and reſided at the court of Provence during the life of his father Henry II. and who accompanied him to

*Mi compagnon cui j'amoi e cui j'am*
*Cil de Chail & cil de Penſavin*
*Di lor chanzon qil non ſont pas certain*
*Unca vers els non ai cor fals ni vain*
*Sil me guerroent il feron qe vilain*
*Tan com ge ſoie pris* *.

*Or ſachent ben Enjevin e Torain*
*E il Bachaliers qi ſon legier e ſain*
*Qen gombre ſoie pris en autrui main*
*Il ma juvaſſen mas il no vc un grain*
*De belles armes ſont era voit li plain*
*Per zo qe ge ſoi pris* †.

* This and the following ſtanza are not inſerted in the *Tour Tenebreuſe*, but are given from Mr. Walpole's copy.

† Of this ſtanza no notice is taken by the Abbé Millot, in his verſion of Richard's ſong.

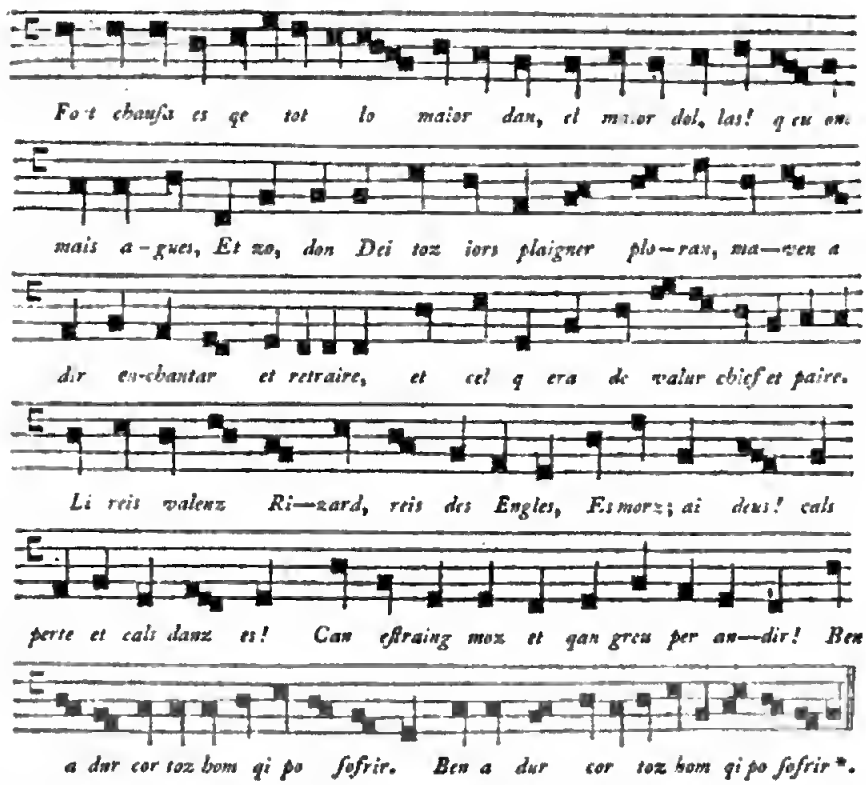
Paleſtine,

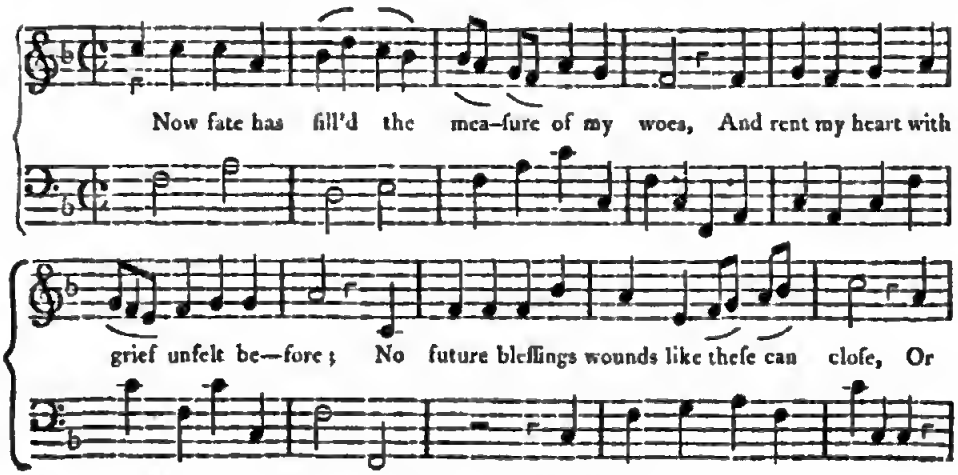
Paleſtine, in the Holy War, has left a poem on the death of his benefactor, which I found in the Vatican, among the MSS. bequeathed to that library by the queen of Sweden, No 1659, with the *original muſic, by the bard himſelf*, who was as much admired by his cotemporaries for *ſetting* his poems to Muſic, as *writing* them: having been ſaid in the old language of Provence, to have compoſed *de bons mots, & de bons ſons*, good words, and good tunes. He ſeduced from a convent at Aix, and married, a beautiful nun, with whom he travelled on foot from one court to another, many years. This lady, beſides her perſonal charms and accompliſhments, had a remarkable fine voice, and was much admired for ſinging her huſband's ſongs.

The melody to the verſes on the death of Richard is the moſt ancient which I have been able to find to Provençal words, and as the original may be difficult to ſome of my readers in its antique guiſe, I hope the reſt will excuſe my attempting a tranſlation of it *.

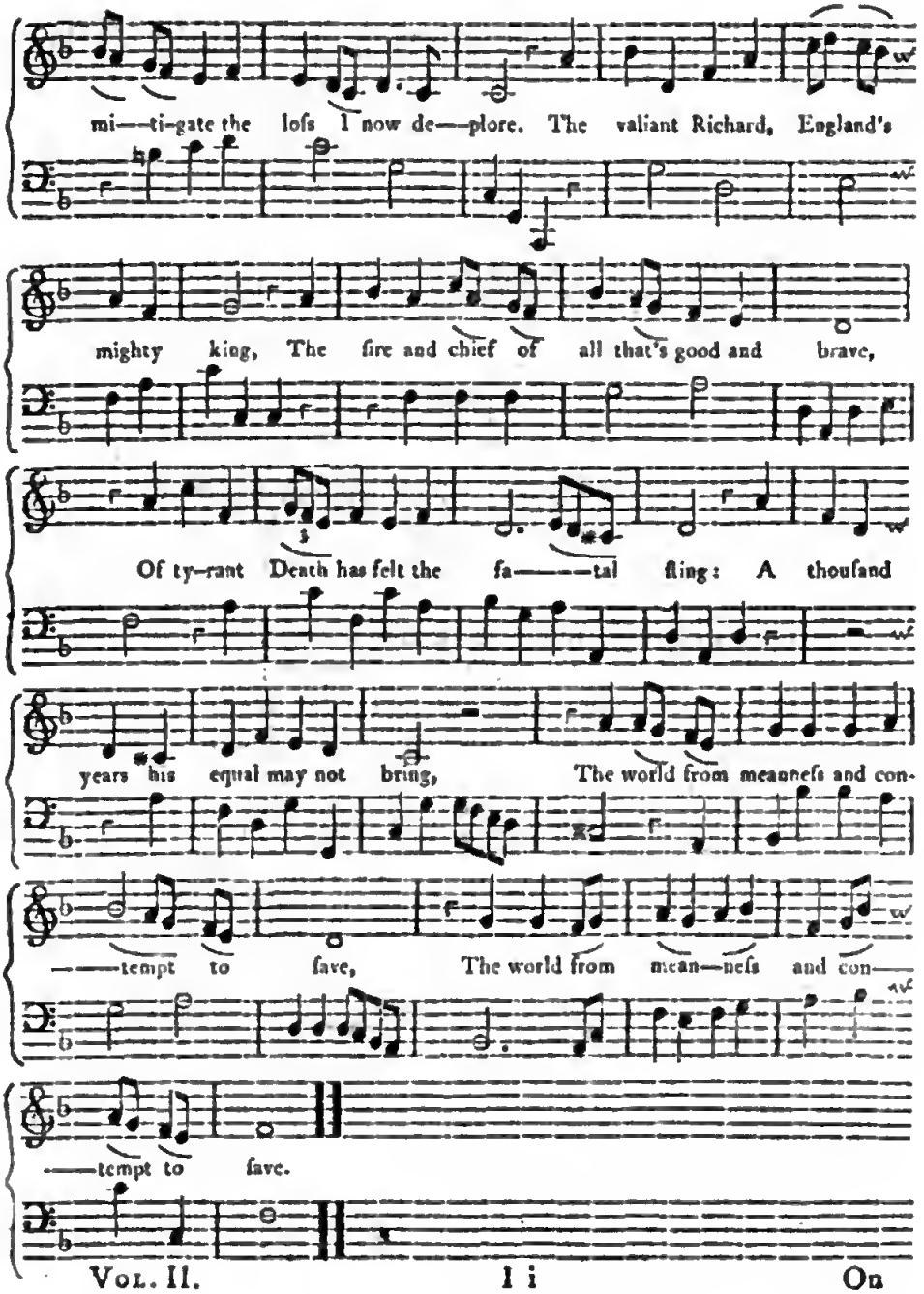
Noſtradamus, in his life of this poet, tells us that he had long been unfortunate before he loſt his royal patron Richard, which event completing his miſery, he ſignalized his ſorrow and affection in the following ſtanzas, of which I ſhall firſt give a fac-ſimile of the muſic in the ſame ſtate as I found it in the Vatican, and afterwards the ſame melody, with a baſe, in modern notes, to which the tranſlation is adjuſted.

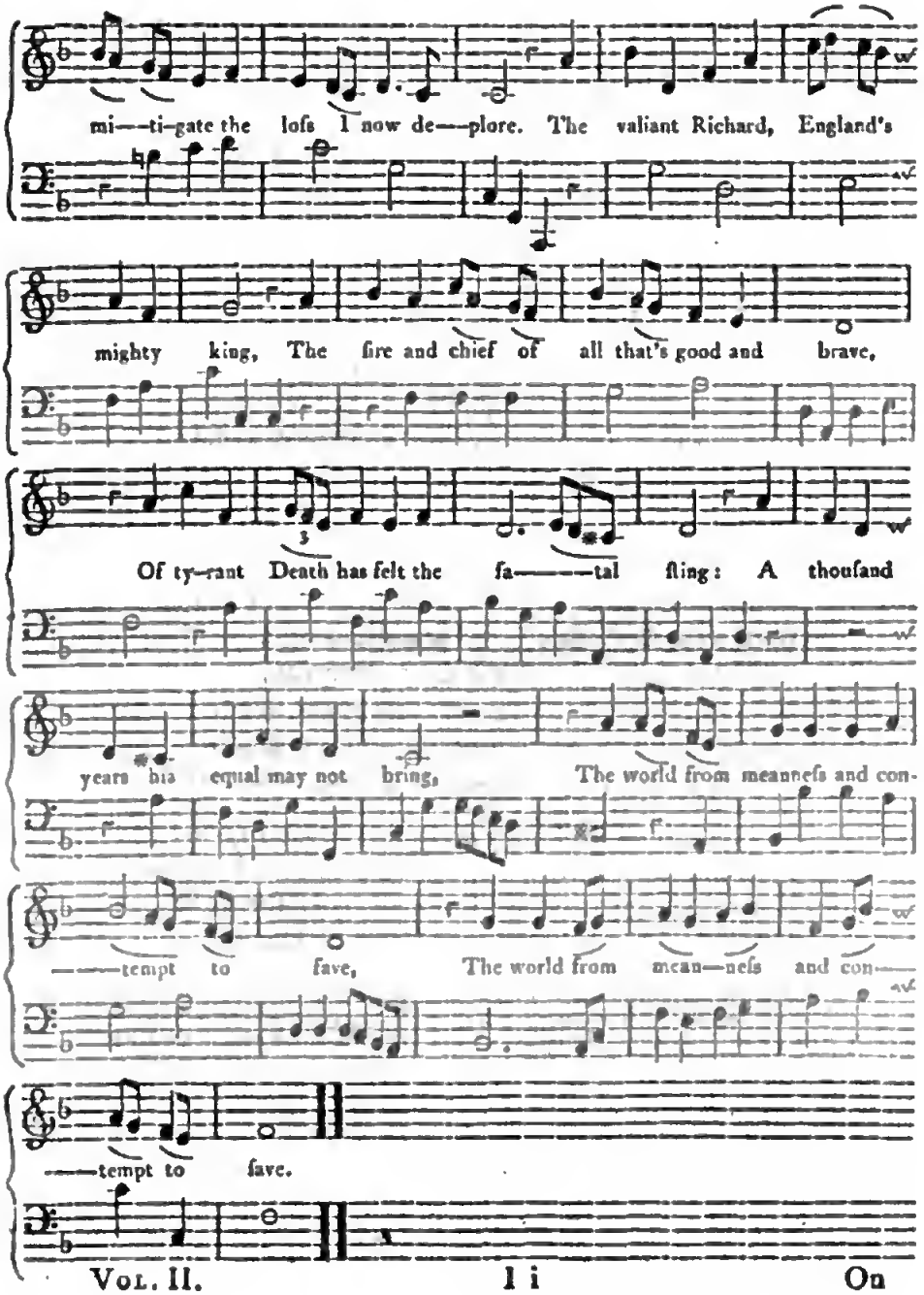
* No more than two ſtanzas are contained in the Vatican MS. and in theſe the words are ſo diſfigured by bad orthography, and the verſes ſo diſlocated by careleſs arrangement, that I was obliged to have recourſe to a much more correct copy of the ſame two ſtanzas, inſerted in the Gloſſary to the late edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, vol. v p. 275, 6. For the reſt of the ſtanzas, I have been allowed, in the moſt liberal and obliging manner, to tranſcribe them at my leiſure from the beautiful and valuable MS. of Provençal ſongs in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Croſts. In this collection of the lyric compoſitions of the Troubadours, admirably written on veilum, there are no leſs than ten poems in different meaſures by Anſelm Faydit. The handwriting of this MS. is uncommonly clear, and as correct as can be expected from the unſettled orthography of the times; but in this particular the ſcribe has been ſo capricious as to ſpell the name of our author three ſeveral ways in one page. For tho' in the title to each ſong he is called *Guiſelm Faidiz, de Lemoſi*; yet in the courſe of the ſecond of his pieces his name is written *Guacm*, and *Gaulelm Faidit*.




* *Ex Bibl. Vat.* N° 1659. Fol. 89. Col. 4.


mi—ti-gate the loſs I now de—plore. The valiant Richard, England's
mighty king, The fire and chief of all that's good and brave,
Of ty-rant Death has felt the fa———tal ſting: A thouſand
years his equal may not bring, The world from meanneſs and con-
——tempt to ſave, The world from mean—neſs and con—
——tempt to ſave.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Of ty-rant Death has felt the fa———tal ſting: A thouſand
years his equal may not bring, The world from meanneſs and con-
——tempt to ſave, The world from mean—neſs and con—
——tempt to ſave.

On the death of Richard the Firſt, by Gaucelm Faidit. Tranſlated from the Provençal.

Now Fate has filled the meaſure of my woes,
And rent my heart with grief unfelt before;
No future bleſſings wounds like theſe can cloſe,
Or mitigate the loſs I now deplore.
The valiant Richard, England's mighty king,
The ſire and chief of all that's good and brave,
Of tyrant Death has felt the fatal ſting:
A thouſand years his equal could not bring
The world from meanneſs and contempt to ſave *.

Not Alexander's ſelf, whoſe ſlaught'ring ſword
Each warlike nation of the earth ſubdu'd,
Not Charlemagne, nor Arthur, Britain's lord,
Could boaſt ſuch proweſs, worth, and fortitude.
In this corrupt, this baſe, perfidious age,
In truth and wiſdom he had no compeer;
Of half the actors on the world's great ſtage,
His ſplendid virtues could the hearts engage,
The reſt his ſtrength and valour taught to fear.

The friend of Virtue and of Honour's gone!
For though to all her trumpets Fame give breath,
Yet vain are great and glorious deeds, for none
Can ſhield the hero from the dart of Death!

* *For chauſa es et tot lo maior dan,*
*El maior dol, las! q eu onc mais agues,*
*Et zo, don dei toz iors plaigner ploran,*
*M aven a dir en chantar et retraire,*
*De cel q era de valorz caps et paire*
*Li Reis valenz Rizard, Reis des Engles,*
*Esmorz; ai Deus! cals perda et cals dauzes!*
*Can eſtraing morz et qan greu per audir!*
*Ben a dur cor toz hom qi po ſofrir.*

*Morz es li Reis, et fon paſſat mil an*
*Qanc tan pros hom no fo ne nol vit res,*
*Ne ja mais hom non er del ſon ſenblant*
*Tan larcs, tan pros, tan ardiz, tals donaire;*
*Q Alixandre lo reis, qe venqi Daire*
*No cuit qe tan dones ni tan meſſes,*
*Ni onc Karles ni Artus tan valgues,*
*Qa tot le mon ſeu fez, qin vol ver dir,*
*Als us doptar et als altres grazir.*

*Meravcill me del fals Segle truan*
*Qoi pot iſtar ſavis hom ni cortes.*
*Pos re vaille val bel dons ni faich prezan,*
*Et donc per qe ſefforzon paoc ni gaire?*

Since

Since ſuch the wretched ſtate of human race,
Why ſhould we fear to mingle with the dead?
For me I aſk of God no other grace,
Than inſtant to arrive at that bleſt place
Where Richard's great and tow'ring ſoul is fled.

O potent Prince! who now in feats of arms,
In tournaments, or ſplendid courts ſhall ſhine?
Or who to modeſt worth diſplay the charms
Of true munificence, with hand benign?
Ah! where will Genius now a Patron find?
Thy fond dependants an aſylum, where?
No foſt'ring father Fate has left behind,
But all, abandon'd by the world unkind,
Fly to the arms of Death, or wild Deſpair!

Now Pagans, Turks, and Saracens elate,
Who thought thee more than man of woman born,
Exulting in thy ſad, untimely fate,
Will treat the Chriſtian name with pride and ſcorn.
The holy ſepulchre each day will be
A harder conqueſt to the faithful brave ——
But ſuch is God's inſcrutable decree!
For Syria, had it been his will to free,
He ſtill had kept his champion from the grave (g)!

No

*Qa oras a moſtrat morz qe pot faire*
*Qa un ſol colp a lo meill del mon pres,*
*Totas lonors, toz los gaun, toz los bes?*
*O mais vedem qe res noi pot grandir,*
*Ben devriom menz doptar a morir?*

*Ai Seigner, reis valenz, & qes faran*
*Oimais armas, ni fort tornei eſpes,*
*Ne ricas corz, ni bel don alt et gran;*
*Pos vos noies qen eraz caps del aire?*
*Ne qes faran li livrat a mal traire*
*Cil qe eron en voſtre ſervir mes,*
*Qatendion qel guierdon vengues?*

*Ni qes faran cels qes degran avir,*
*Qaviaz faich en gran ricor venir?*

*Longa ira et duol vida avran,*
*Et toz temps dol qar aiſſi lor es pres;*
*Et Sarracin, Turc, Paian, et Perſan,*
*Qees doptavon mais come nat de Maire,*
*Creiſſeran tan dorgoill tot lor afaire,*
*Qe plus gren ner lo ſepolcre conqes.*
*Qar Deus lo vol, car ſil no lo volgues*
*Et vos ſeigner veſqiſſes ſes mentir*
*De Soria los navengra fozir.*

*O mais*

(g) Though few claſſical imitations are diſcoverable in the writings of Provençal bards, yet there is a great ſimilarity in this thought and the reflexion made by the ghoſt

But where will prince or potentate be found
The ſacred tomb, like thee, to gain and ſave,
Or like thy brothers, Henry, early crown'd,
And courteous Geoffry, lov'd by all the brave!
No chief like theſe remains of human race,
Who day by day to certain conqueſt leads;
Their ſteps no future hero e'er will trace,
And he who now preſumes to claim their place,
Muſt earn and keep it by tranſcendant deeds.

Oh! moſt rever'd of all the ſons of Fame!
For ev'ry crime may God thy pardon ſeal!
Remembering thou wert foremoſt to proclaim,
Throughout the earth, the glory of his name,
And cauſe to aſſert with unremitting zeal.

Noſtradamus ſays that the Provençal language and poetry arrived at their greateſt degree of ſplendour about 1162, and continued in favour till 1382. So that the period of their perfection was about two hundred and fifty years. Though this language is called Provençal, it is certain, ſay the authors of *l'Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France*, that it was more cultivated in Languedoc, Dauphiny, and Acquitain, than in the province that has given it a name: for in two great collections of the

*O mais non ai eſperanza qell an*
*Reis ni princes qi cobrar la ſaubes.*
*Et cel Seigner quel voſtre leu teran*
*Devon gardar co fos de prez amaire;*
*Ni tal faron voſtri dui valen fraire,*
*Li iouſner reis, el cortez cons Zoufres,*
*Et qui en loc remanra de vos tres,*
*Ben deu aver ferm cor et fin conſir*
*De tez bons aips et ſi meteis iauzir.*

*Envoy*

*Bel Seigner reis, cel Deus qes perdonaire,*
*Verais hom, verais vida, verais merces,*
*Vos faza tal perdon com ops vos es;*
*Di qel tort avos perdon et ſalir,*
*Et membre li com lo ſaviez ſervir.*

ghoſt of Hector, in the ſecond book of Virgil's Æneid:

—— *ſi pergama dextra*
*Defendi poſſent, etiam hac defenſa fuiſſent.*

Could any mortal hand prevent our Fate,
This hand, and this alone, had ſav'd the ſtate. Pitt.

lives

lives of theſe poets among the ancient MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, out of a hundred and ten, not above eight or nine are Provençaux.

Not only our Richard the Firſt, but the famous biſhop of Lincoln, Groſſeteſte, Alexander the monk of Ely, St. Ældred, and ſeveral other Engliſh prelates and eccleſiaſtics diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their compoſitions in this language.

The ſouthern provinces of France becoming, either by conqueſt or inheritanee, ſubject to the French king, and loſing their natural ſovereigns, and, conſequently, the ſplendour of their courts, the cultivation and favour of their language were ſuddenly diſcontinued, and it was ſoon as much diſregarded as the jargon of any other provincial dialect. It has ever been the ſame with the language of countries that have loſt their princes and independence: the Iriſh, the Scots, and the Welch, who were onee proud of their vernacular tongues and poetry, ſeem to have loſt all deſire of cultivating either, when their capitals were deprived of the preſence of their natural and hereditary ſovereigns.

The Provençals ceaſed writing after the fourteenth century. The Troubadours had degraded themſelves by their licentiouſneſs to ſuch a degree as to be ſuppreſſed and baniſhed with ignominy. Courts were diſguſted with the crouds of theſe rapacious and eorrupt artiſts without talents. Like the Knights Templars and the Jeſuits, their diſgrace and perſecution became general; and there was no eountry in Europe that was diſpoſed to pity or encourage them after they had been publicly cenſured and branded in France by Philip Auguſtus.

●●●●●●●●●

It is very difficult to ſeparate the Provençal dialect from the language that was ſpoken during the middle ages in other parts of the French dominions. The Normans made it their boaſt at the beginning of the eleventh eentury, that they ſpoke the Romanſe

Romanſe language with purity, particularly at Rouen *(g)*. Some of the writers of thoſe times call the French language *Lingua Gallica*, and ſome *Romana*, or *Romana Ruſtica*. The term Romanſe, derived from the language in which tales and novels were firſt written, did not for many years after this period convey the ſame idea as at preſent, *Parler Roman* was another expreſſion for ſpeaking French. In the time of Charles V. of France, the ſame expreſſion is uſed by Guillaume de Nangy. And as the ruſtic Romanſe language was that of the courts of French princes in general, every heroic hiſtory and metrical narration, and indeed almoſt every thing that was written in that language, was called *Romans*, or *Romance*. This is confirmed by a line of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, by Lambert Li Cors:

*Veſtu comme François, et ſot parler Romans.*
He dreſſed like a Frenchman, and ſpoke the Romance.

It was not till the reign of Philip Auguſtus, at the latter end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, ſays M. de la Ravaliere *(h)*, that men of learning and reputation in the capital ventured to write in the vulgar tongue; when, ſtill leaving the Latin Language in poſſeſſion of hymns, and other poems on ſacred ſubjects, they exerciſed their talents upon themes merely ſecular; but moſt frequently in lyric compoſitions.

The preſent FRENCH LANGUAGE is allowed to have originated from corrupt Latin, ancient Gallic, and Teutonic, brought into Gaul by the Franks; but in the ſouthern parts of France, bordering upon the Mediterranean, many Greek words are ſtill diſtinguiſhable, which are ſuppoſed to have been brought thither by the colonies of Phoceans planted

*(g) Revol. de la Langue Fran.* p. 113. *(h) Ancienneté des Chanſons*, par le même, p. 214.

there

there in remote antiquity, and, perhaps, by Greek merchants trading to Marſeilles.

According to M. de Sainte-Palaie (*i*), the principal difference between the French and Provençal languages during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries conſiſted in the terminations of the ſame words. When the French uſed the *e* feminine the Provençals uſed *a* or *o*, neither of which were pronounced, as is the caſe in our words ſe*a* and pe*o*ple. The Provençal terminations reſembled thoſe of the Italian and Spaniſh languages, and where the French uſed *eux* and *eur*, the Provençals had *os* and *or*.

M. de la Ravaliere (*k*) obſerves that laymen in the provinces began to write the vulgar language much earlier than in the capital, where Latin was longer underſtood (*l*). The year 1130 was the date of the firſt poem in French of which tradition has preſerved the name: *Priſe de Jeruſalem*, par le Chevalier Bechada; but no veſtige of this work is come down to the preſent times.

The moſt ancient remnants of the French proſe language are the laws of William the Conqueror, who died 1087, and the ſermons of St. Bernard, written early in the following century, in which it appears that this language differed conſiderably from that of Provence, of the ſame period, as it was written by the Troubadours (*m*).

But the early poets of Provence and Normandy rendered their dialects ſuperior to all others at that time by their ſongs, and tales, which were read with great avidity. Works of amuſement, being within the reach of every kind of reader, extend the influence of a language univerſally, while thoſe of philoſophy and ſcience can only be read by the learned.

(*i*) *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xxiv. p. 680.

(*k*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 119.

(*l*) In the firſt Cruſade 1095, the military cry or ſignal for battle uſed by the French differed but little from Latin: *Deu lo volt*, for *Deus illud vult*.

(*m*) *Recherches ſur les plus anciennes traductions en langue Françoiſe, par l'Abbé Lebeuf*, Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. 3me. partie.

The

The chief difference and difficulties in theſe dialects, to modern readers, ariſe from the capricious, or careleſs orthography in which they have been written: as the ſame word, by the ſame author, in the ſame line, is frequently diſguiſed by a new combination of letters.

The French are unable to produce ſpecimens of poetry in their vulgar tongue, or any of its dialects, of an earlier date than the conqueſt of England 1066, or indeed than the beginning of the twelfth century, "So that probably," ſays the learned editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (*n*), "the oldeſt "French poem of any length now extant, is a tranſlation of "the *Beſtiarius* by Phil. de Thaun." The Authors of the *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France* (*o*), ſuppoſe it to have been written about 1125, that is, thirty years before *le Brut*, which Fauchet places at the head of French poems (*p*).

No canticles or hymns unmixed with Latin can be found in France with muſical notes of ſo early a period as the twelfth century, except in eccleſiaſtical books, where the rhymes were generally maſculine, becauſe they beſt ſuited ſinging; "And "it ſeems," ſays the Abbé Le Beuf (*q*), "as if the muſical

(*n*) Vol. iv. p. 50.

(*o*) Tom. ix. p. 173—190.

(*p*) The *Beſtiarius* is a kind of natural hiſtory, in rhyme; and *Le Brut* is the title of a metrical and fabulous hiſtory of *Britain*. It is called *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, from *Brutus*, the ſon of Æneas, the pretended founder of the Britiſh nation. The date of this compoſition, which is imagined to be only a tranſlation, verſified, of the Hiſtory of Geoffery of Monmouth in Latin, is given by the author himſelf in four verſes at the end of the work:

*Puis que Dieu incarnation*
*Pris, pour notre redemption,*
*M. C. L. & cinq ans*
*Fiſt Maiſtre Wiſtace ceſt Romans.*

This citation, from the preface to the *Fabliaux*, affords an additional proof in favour of the arguments uſed by the editor of the Canterbury Tales, concerning the name of the author of *Le Brut: Wiſtace*, and *Euſtache*, in French verſe are triſyllables, and Vace, Wace, Guace, and Gaſſe, diſſyllables. Now if this Romanſer's name be regarded as a triſyllable, there then will be nine ſyllables in the laſt verſe of the Quatrain, which is one more than either of the reſt coutains.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
*Puis que Dieu incarnation*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
*Pris, pour notre redemption,*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
*Mille cent cinquante et cinq ans*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
*Fit maiſtre Wiſtace ceſt Romans.*

*Wace* or *Gace* would certainly ſuit the metre better:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
*Fit maiſtre Wace ceſt Romans.*

However, it is probable, ſuch was the unſettled ſtate of orthography before the invention of printing, that all theſe appellations implied one and the ſame perſon

(*q*) *Traité Hiſt. du Chant Eccl.* p. 115.

"notes

" notes ſet to this old language would beſt diſcover when our " forefathers made a word conſiſt of two or more ſyllables, " which we pronounce in one (*r*)."

It is not only the eccleſiaſtical books of Paris which furniſh proofs of early chanting in the French language; ſtill more ancient examples may be found in cities remote from the capital: Du Cange, under the word *Farſa*, and *Epiſtola farſita*, has proved that it was once univerſal in all the provinces of France; and Carpentier, his continuator, ſays that they ſtill ſing the epiſtle of St. Stephen at Aix in Provence, half in French and half in Latin; and this they call *Les plaints de Saint Eſteve*, or, " The Complaints of St. Stephen." The ſame practice ſubſiſted very lately at Rheims. And in the rules for the church ſervice of Soiſſons, written in 1097, under biſhop Nivelon the firſt, it is ordained in the Rubric that three ſubdeacons, robed in ſacred veſtments, ſhould ſing *Entendez tuit a ceſt ſermon* (*s*).

The following ſpecimens of their ancient chants to the French language, with which the people were amuſed or inſtructed on certain feſtivals, were found by the Abbé Le Beuf at Amiens. However it was a common practice in the Gallic church during the ninth century, according to this author, to read the acts of ſaints during the maſs, in Latin: but he ſuppoſes that this language was then ſufficiently underſtood by the ancient Gallic families. The practice of ſinging canticles or *carols* in the vulgar tongue, on Chriſtmas eve, and thence called *noels*, in the country churches of France, had its origin about the time that the common people ceaſed to underſtand Latin *.

(*r*) The ſame expedient would greatly facilitate the reading our own old poets, by enabling us to aſcertain the number of ſyllables in each line, and pointing out their true accentuation, could we but find the melodies to which they were originally ſet and ſung: for though we ſhould frequently meet with ſeveral notes to one ſyllable, yet no compoſer was ever ſo careleſs or ignorant as to leave a ſyllable *without a note*.

(*s*) Theſe are the firſt words of the prologue or introduction to the paraphraſe, in old French, of the epiſtle of St. Stephen.

* The word *noël* is derived from *natalis*, and ſignified originally a cry of joy at Chriſtmas. *Origines de Menage* in v. NOUEL.

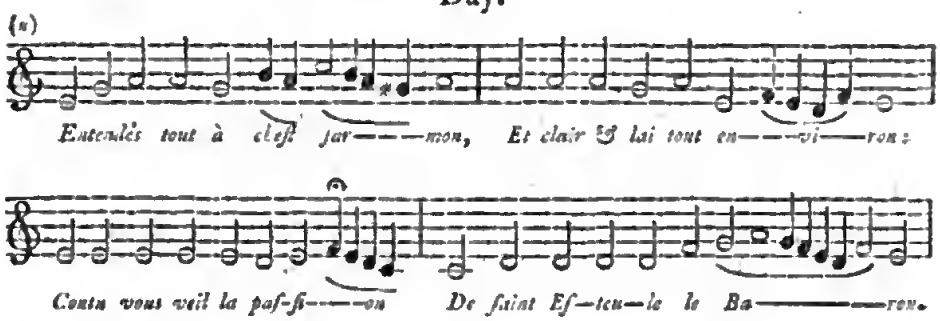
Such chants as were appropriated to St. Stephen's day were uſually ſung in the following manner: the ſubdeacon firſt repeated each verſe of the epiſtle in Latin, and two choriſters ſung the explication or paraphraſe; all were mounted in a pulpit in order to be the better underſtood (*t*).

The Miſſals, whence theſe ſpecimens were extracted, are in Gregorian notes, written on a ſtaff of four red lines, in the following manner.

Prologue. *In Die S. Stephani Epiſtola.*

But I ſhall exhibit them in a more modern dreſs.

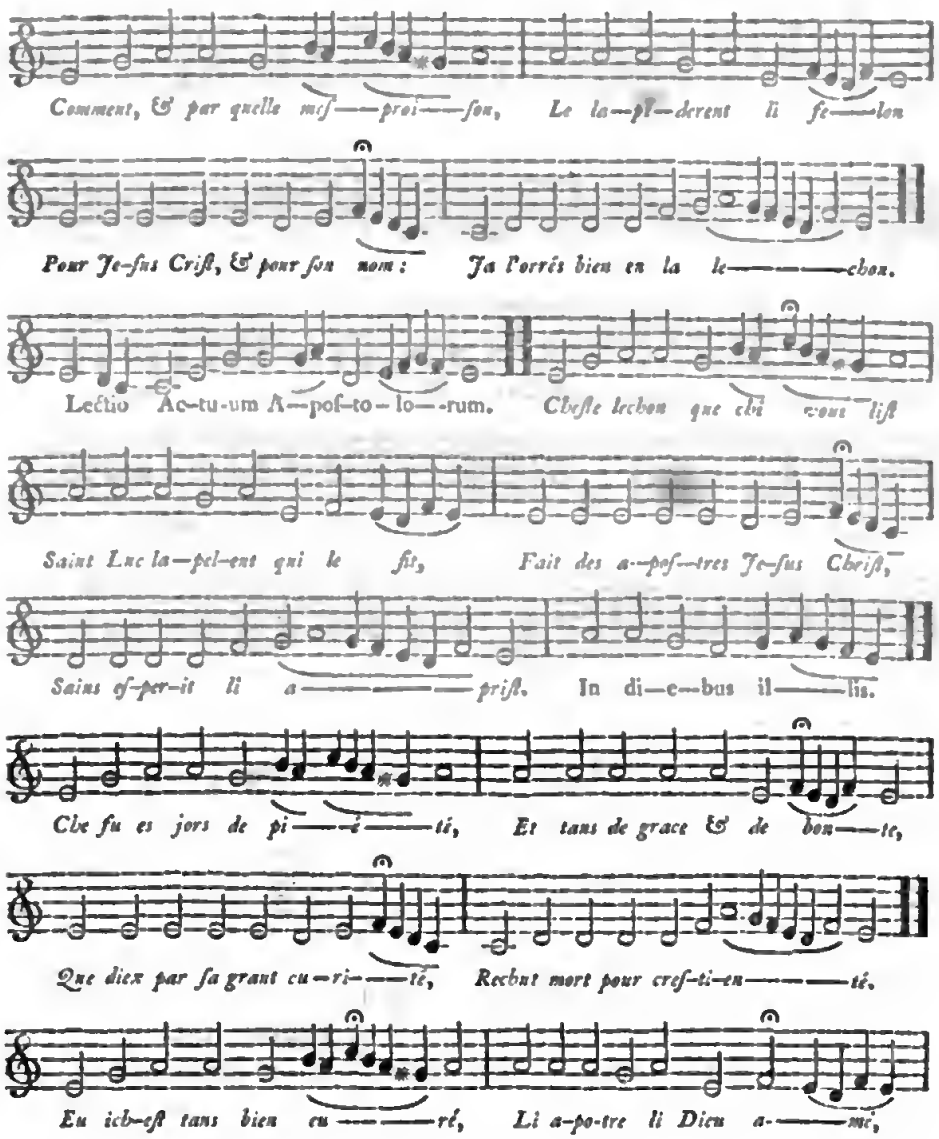
Prologue to the Paraphraſe of the Epiſtle for St. Stephen's Day.



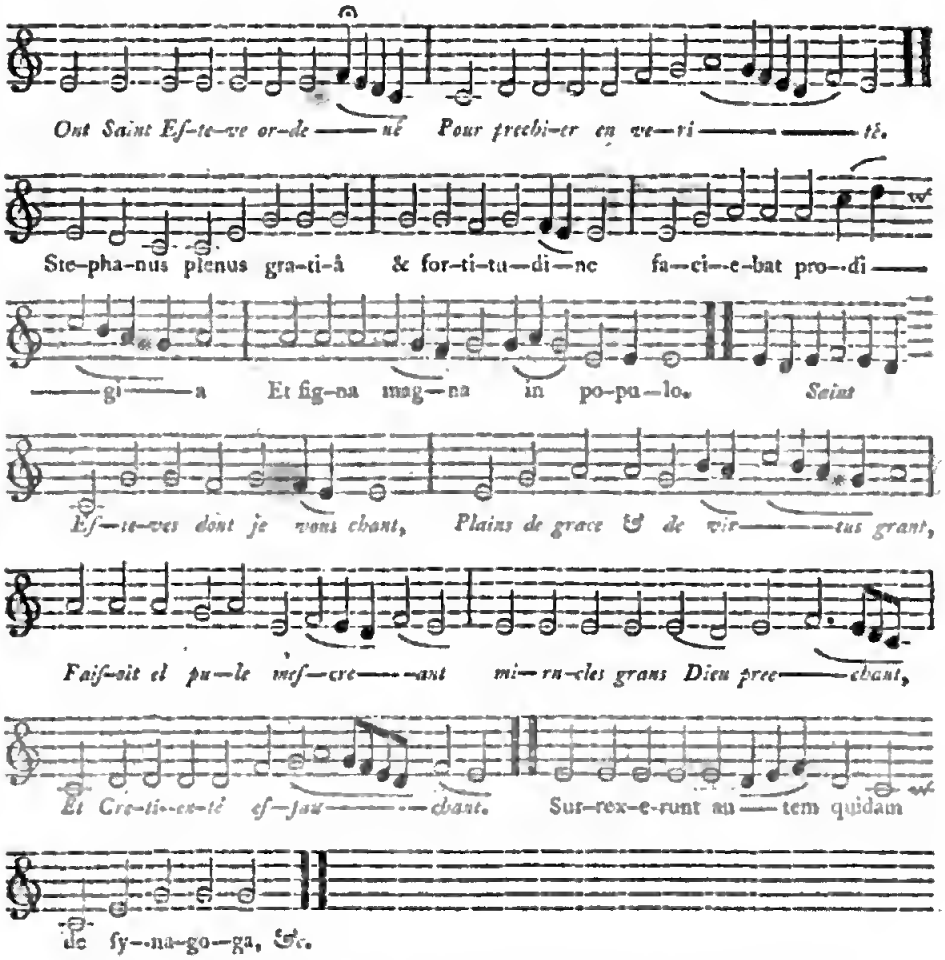

(*t*) Mr Addiſon tells us, Spectator, N° 18. that when operas were firſt exhibited in England "the Italian actors "ſung their parts in their own language, "at the ſame time that our countrymen "performed them in our own native "tongue." Indeed part of the church ſervice in Ruſſia is ſtill performed in Greek, and part in the Sclavonian language.

(*u*) "Liſten all to this ſermon, both clerks "and laymen all around: and I will relate "to every one the paſſion of the Baron St. "Stephen:

"how




" how, and by what treaſon he was
" wickedly ſtoned, for Jeſus Chriſt and
" for his name: here you will have it
" in the leſſon. [*Leſſon from the Acts of*
" *the Apoſtles.*] This leſſon that he reads to
" you, was written by St. Luke, in the
" Acts of the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, in-
" ſpired by the Holy Ghoſt." *In diebus illis.*
" It was in thoſe days of piety, and of ſo
" much faith and grace that God in his great
" mercy died for Chriſtianity. In this
" happy time, the apoſtles beloved of God

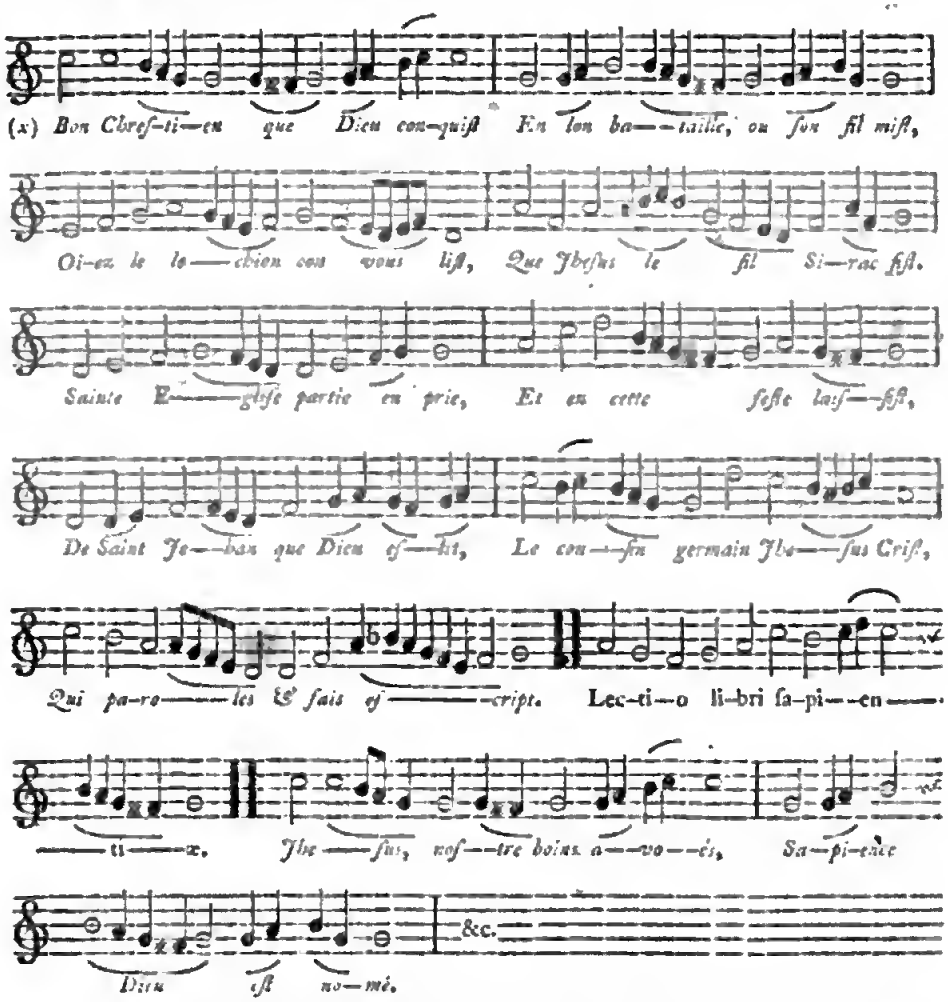



The melody of the preceding chant ſeems of much higher antiquity than the words, as it greatly reſembles that which Meibomius has printed in his preface to the ſeven ancient Greek writers on Muſic, to which he thinks *Te Deum* was originally ſung.

" choſe St. Stephen to preach the truth." *Stephanus plenus gratiâ et fortitudine faciebat prodigia et ſigna magna in populo.* " St. Stephen of whom I ſing, full of " grace and virtue, did great wonders " and miracles among the people, preach- " ing the word of God and the Chriſtian " faith to unbelievers." *Surrexerunt autem quidam de ſynagoga*, &c.

The

The following Chant, for the Feaſt of St. John the Evangeliſt, was extracted from a MS. at Amiens, written about the year 1250.



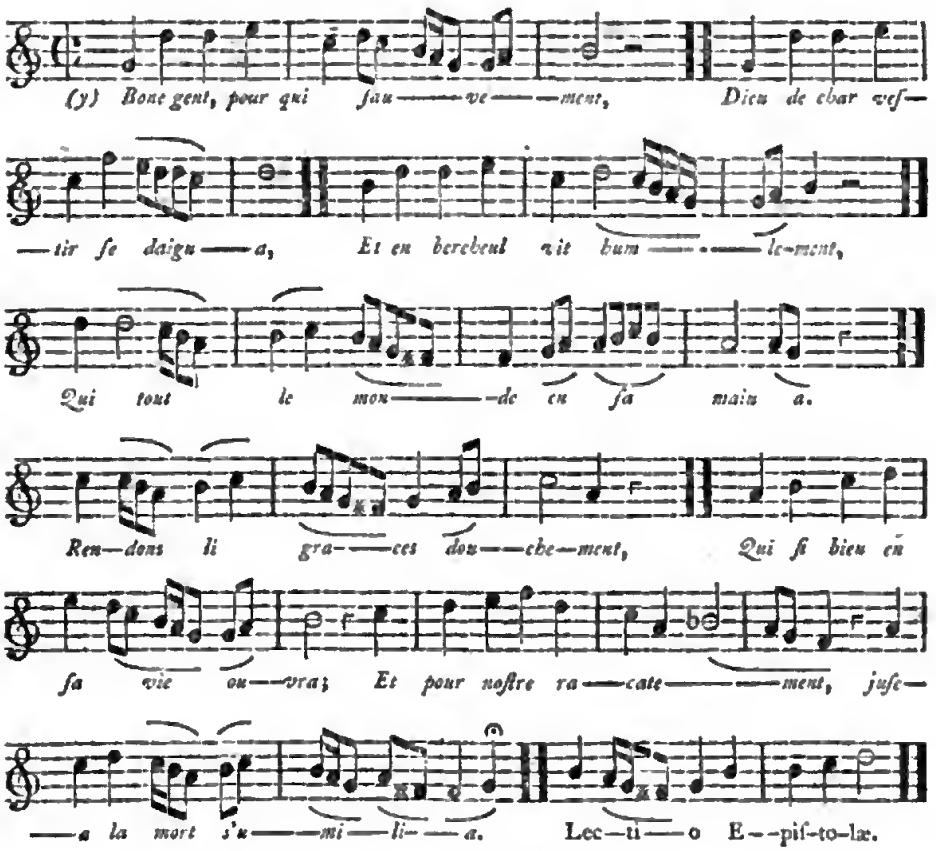

(x) "Good Chriſtians, whom God conquered in long battle, when he ſent his only ſon, hear the leſſon that is now read unto you, which Jeſus the ſon of Sirac made."

"The holy church ſelected part of it, and uſes it on this Feaſt of St. John, the couſin german of Jeſus Chriſt, whom God elected, and who wrote both his words and actions." *Lectio libri ſapientiæ.* "Jeſus our good advocate, the wiſdom of God is named, &c."

The

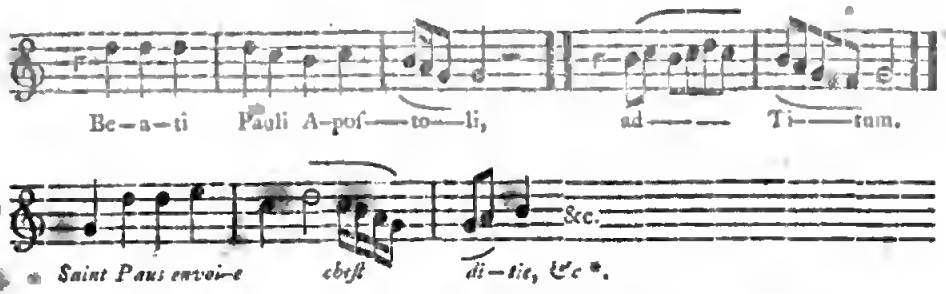
The ſame Chant is repeated ſeveral times to different words; but as theſe ſpecimens are given more to ſhew the ſtate of Muſic at ſo early a period, than that of Poetry, I ſhall quit this Melody, and inſert another of the ſame antiquity, which, however, when written in common notes, and barred, ſeems more like a modern French ſecular air, than an ancient eccleſiaſtical Chant.

New Year's Day.




(y) "Good people, for whoſe ſalvation "God deigned to cloath himſelf in fleſh, "and humbly live in a cradle, who has "the whole world in his hand. Render "him ſweet thanks who in his life worked "ſuch wonders; and for our redemption "humbled himſelf even to death. *Lectio "epiſtolæ*, &c.—Leſſon from the Epiſtle "of St. Paul to Titus; St. Paul ſent this "ditty, &c."

Here




This Melody, compared with ſimple Plain-Chant, is very florid, and full of ſuch embelliſhments as ſeem to have been in favour during the thirteenth century. The original copy conſiſts of three kinds of notes, longs, breves, and ſemibreves, beſides ligatures and triplets. "It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, ſays the "Abbé Le Beuf, that the deſign of thoſe who eſtabliſhed ſuch "chants in ſome of the churches of France, was to diſtinguiſh "feſtivals and holy times, by the ornaments and graces with "which they were ſung; as, in others was done by allowing "particular portions of the ſervice to be performed in *Fauxbourdon*, or Counterpoint (z)."

The French have at all times had a paſſion for ſuch muſic as their country afforded. King Pepin made the chants of the church, which were indeed Roman, his particular ſtudy, and his ſon Charlemagne had Roman maſters to teach it, and eſtabliſhed ſchools for it in all parts of his empire. In the tenth century the ſingular attention that was paid to its culture would encourage a belief that it was regarded as one of the moſt neceſſary of the liberal arts, and had arrived at a higher pitch of perfection than is now eaſy to diſcover. Indeed the treatiſes that were written on the ſubject in the preceding century were innumerable; but the writers of the tenth and ſucceeding cen-

* Here the word *ditie*, from *Dictum*, is uſed in its primitive ſenſe for an *Epiſtle*, a *ſaying*, a *ſentence*, and not for a poem, or ſong, to which it was afterwards appropriated.

(z) *Traité Hiſt ſur le Chant Eccleſ.* p. 138.

turies

turies hardly ever ſpeak of the abilities of a man of letters without including, as an honourable accompliſhment, his progreſs in muſic. There was no ſchool in which it was not taught, and the greateſt maſters, ſuch as Remi d'Auxerre, Hucbald of St. Amand, St. Odo of Cluni, Gerbert Scholaſticus, and Abbon taught it with the ſame care as the moſt ſublime ſciences. It is to be wiſhed, however, that ſome conſummate judge of muſic and antiquity, of indiſputable authority would kindly inform us, once for all, what were the excellencies of this muſic wh ch was ſo highly eſteemed and ſo diligently cultivated. "It is difficult to imagine, ſay the au-" thors of the *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France* (*a*), that all this " care and ſtudy was beſtowed upon mere *plain Chant*. For " ancient authors who ſpeak of chanting in the church, and of " other muſic, never confound them; nor does what they ſay " of the one at all ſuit the other. In the time of Charlemagne when the plain-chant of the Gallican church was changed for that of the Roman, no mention is made of a change in other muſic, which we may ſuppoſe remained the ſame as before."

In anſwer to this charitable remark of the pious authors of the Literary Hiſtory of France it may be obſerved, that the venerable perſonages of whom they ſpeak had too ſeriouſly renounced the vanities of the world to ſtudy and teach the light and ſcurrilous ſtrains, as they were then called, with which the vulgar were captivated. The difficulty of underſtanding the peculiar property of each mode, and learning the numerous chants in the Antiphonarium, not only for the uſe of Sundays and common days, but for the ſeveral feſtivals throughout the year, muſt have employed all the time which eccleſiaſtics could ſpare from more ſerious and devout occupations. But that *no* diſtinction was made between the word *Muſic* and *Plain Chant* is certain, from the titles of all the MS. tracts on theſe ſubjects that are come down to us; in which, though no other

(*a*) *To.* vi. p. 71.

rules

rules are given than merely for the eccleſiaſtical modes and canto fermo, yet they are called treatiſes on *Muſic:* as Odo's dialogue beginning, *Quid eſt Muſica?* The *Enchiridion Muſicæ* of Hubald; and Guido's Mierologus, *Sive Libri duo* DE MUSICA, in the dedication of which to Theodald the author himſelf ſays —*cæpi inter alia* Muſicam *pueris* tradere. "Among other "things I began to teach the children (of our convent) *muſic.*" The truth is that a rage for univerſality in ſciences during this century impeded the progreſs of all. The ſtudy of the *Trivium*, comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *Quadrivium*, arithmetic, muſic, geometry, and aſtronomy, including all the liberal arts, could afford no leiſure for becoming profound in any one of them, and each individual contenting himſelf with that ſuperficial acquaintance with the ſciences which was required by his college, could never quit the beaten track, or penetrate new regions of intellectual ſpace. The human mind has limits which are very remote from omniſcience; and a rage for univerſal knowlege is more frequently the conſequence of oſtentation and frivolous curioſity than a ſerious deſire to fathom the abyſs of true ſcience. Auguſtine, Boethius, and Caſſiodorus, wrote upon all the liberal arts *(y)*; but the ſtudent who ſhould endeavour to learn them by the ſcanty information to be found in their treatiſes, would have little leſs trouble on his hands, and be enabled to advance but little farther, than the original inventors of the arts they pretend to teach. To ſpecify the numerous tracts on the ſubject of muſic written long after by the French clergy, of which ſeveral are ſtill preſerved in the king's library at Paris, and in other public libraries, would afford ſmall ſatisfaction to the reader, without extracts; and indeed the extracts themſelves, were they to be given, would not, by their utility, repay the trouble of deciphering them.

*(y) Vide Fabric. Bib. Lat.*

It was not till the reign of Philip Auguſtus that SONGS in the French language became common. Gautier de Coincy, an eccleſiaſtic of St. Medard de Soiſſons, compoſed a conſiderable number, which are ſtill preſerved in MS. among his other writings.

The moſt ancient French ſongs are called *lays*; "They were a "kind of elegies, ſays M. l'Eveque de la Ravaliere (*z*), filled with "amorous complaints. The origin of this ſpecies of compoſition "is ſuch as rendered it neceſſarily plaintive: as the word *Lai* "is imagined to have been derived from *Leſſus*, Latin, which "ſignifies complaints and lamentations. However there are "ſome lays which deſcribe moments of joy and pleaſure more "than ſorrow or pain; and others upon ſacred ſubjects (*a*)."

Chaucer, who frequently uſes the word *lay*, confines it wholly to ſongs of complaint and ſorrow:

> And in a lettre wrote he all his ſorwe,
> In manere of a complaint or a *Lay*,
> Unto his faire freſhe lady May.
>
> Cant. Tales, v. 9754.

> He was diſpeired, nothing dorſt he ſay,
> Sauf in his ſonges ſomwhat wold he wray
> His wo, as in a general complaining;
> He ſaid, he loved, and was beloved nothing.
> Of ſwiche matere made he many *Layes*,
> Songes, complaintes, roundels, virelayes ——
>
> Tran. T. 11255.

(*z*) *Ancienté des Chanſons, Tom. I.* p. 225.

(*a*) The judicious and penetrating editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, (ſee introductory diſcourſe, vol. iv.) is of a different opinion; and thinks "that *Liod*, "Iſland. *Lied*, Teuton. *Leorh*, Saxon, "and *Lai*, French, are all to be deduced "from the ſame Gothic original." Skinner, very improbably, I think, imagines that all theſe words, eſpecially the Anglo-Saxon *Ley*, and French *Lai*, are derived from *La*, the name of a muſical note; but this ſyllable is never pronounced *lay*, in ſolmiſation, but *law*. Junius ſeems equally unfortunate in his genealogy of this word, which he derives from the Greek, ἰλάσκω. The Dutch, he ſays, call a birth-day hymn, *Leyſen*; and perhaps, continues he, from the frequent uſe of *Kyrie Eleiſon*, Κύριε ἐλέησον, on ſolemn feſtivals, the word *Lay* had its origin.

Thus

Thus end I this complaining or this *Lay*. ib.

In Spencer's time, however, its acceptation was more general, and as frequently applied to ſongs of joy, as ſorrow:

To the maiden's ſounding timbrels ſung
In well attuned notes, a *joyous lay*. Fairy Queen.

Shakſpeare and Milton uſe it likewiſe indiſcriminately for every kind of ſong.

*Lai* ſeems a word purely Francic and Saxon, it is neither to be found in the Armoric language, nor in the dialect of Provence. The French poeteſs *Marie*, who in the time of St. Louis, about the middle of the thirteenth century, tranſlated ſeveral tales from the Armoric language of Bretagne, calls them *lais*; but the term is of much higher antiquity. After its adoption by the Engliſh poets it ſoon became a generical term in poetry for every ſpecies of verſe, as *Song* is now: but both theſe words ſtill retain their particular acceptation as well as generical: for by a *ſong* is underſtood a ſhort poem ſet to a tune, and this was the particular meaning of *lay*, in the laſt century among our muſical writers.

Tales and ſongs, ſays the editor of ancient *Fabliaux et Contes François*, were the moſt common and ancient ſpecies of poetry. The French, naturally gay, chearful, and ſportive, were more attached to this ſpecies of compoſition than any other nation, and communicated this love for lyric poetry to their neighbours. They muſt have been in poſſeſſion of a great number of theſe ſongs and tales, becauſe in all ſocial meetings the cuſtom was for every one preſent either to ſing a ſong or tell a ſtory, as appears by the end of the fable of the prieſt, *qui ot Mere à force*, where we read theſe verſes.

*A ceſt mots feniſt cis Fabliaux*
*Que nous avons en rime mis,*
*Pour conter devant nos amis.*

And according to John li Chapelain, in his ditty of the Sacriſtain of Clugny, it was cuſtomary for a bard to pay his reckoning with a ſtory or a ſong.

*Uſage eſt en Normandie,*
*Que qui hebergiez eſt, qu'il die*
*Fable ou Chanſon a ſon oſte*
*Ceſte coſtume pas n'en oſte*
*Sire Jehans li Chapelains.*

In Normandy a ſong or tale
Is current coin for wine or ale;
Nor does the friendly hoſt require
For bed and board a better hire.

In the thirteenth century the ſongs in vogue were of various kinds; moral, merry, and amorous. And at that time melody ſeems to have been little more than plain-ſong, or *chanting*. The notes were ſquare, and written on four lines only, like thoſe of the Romiſh church, in the clef of C, without any marks for time. The movement and embelliſhments of the air depended on the abilities of the ſinger. The compaſs of modern muſic is much extended ſince by the cultivation of the voice, for it was not till towards the end of St. Lewis's reign that the fifth line began to be added to the ſtave. The ſinger always accompanied himſelf on an inſtrument *in uniſon* (*b*).

The HARP paſſed for the moſt noble and majeſtic of inſtruments, and on this account the romancers place it in the hands of their greateſt heroes, as the ancient Greek bards did the lyre.

(*b*) *Poeſies du roy de Navarre*, Tom. ii.

This

This inſtrument was in ſuch general favour that an old poet (*c*) has made it the ſubject of a poem, called *Le Dict de la Harpe*, "the Ditty, or Poem, upon the Harp," and praiſes it as an inſtrument too good to be profaned in taverns, or places of debauchery, ſaying that it ſhould be uſed by knights, eſquires, clerkes, perſons of rank, and ladies with plump and beautiful hands; and that its courteous and gentle ſounds ſhould be heard only by the elegant and good.

It had twenty-five ſtrings, to each of which the poet gives an allegorical name: calling one *Liberality*, another *Wealth*, a third *Politeneſs*, a fourth *Youth*, &c. applying all theſe qualities to his miſtreſs, and comparing her to the harp.

The inſtrument which moſt frequently ſerved for an accompaniment to the harp, and which diſputed the pre-eminence with it in the early times of muſic in France, was the VIOL; and, indeed, when reduced to four ſtrings, and ſtript of the frets with which viols of all kinds ſeem to have been furniſhed till the ſixteenth century, it ſtill holds the firſt place among treble inſtruments, under the denomination of *Violin*.

The *Viol* played with a *Bow*, and wholly different from the *Vielle*, whoſe tones are produced by the friction of a wheel, which indeed performs the part of a bow, was very early in favour with the inhabitants of France. Theſe inſtruments, however, are frequently confounded by writers as well as readers; but, to remove all ambiguity, I ſhall give an engraving of a figure on the portico of Notre Dame at Paris, which, according to Monfaucon (*d*), repreſents king Chilperic, with a Violin in his hand (*e*).

(*c*) Machau, who flouriſhed in the fourteenth century, and of whom a farther account will be given in the preſent chapter.

(*d*) *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe*. tom. i. p. 56. The cathedral of *Notre Dame*, at Paris, was founded by Childebert the Firſt, in the ſixth century: began to be rebuilt in the tenth century, by king Robert; was continued by his ſucceſſors, and finiſhed by Philip Auguſtus, who died 1223, after a long reign, which began 1180.

(*e*) See Plate II. N° 1.

On

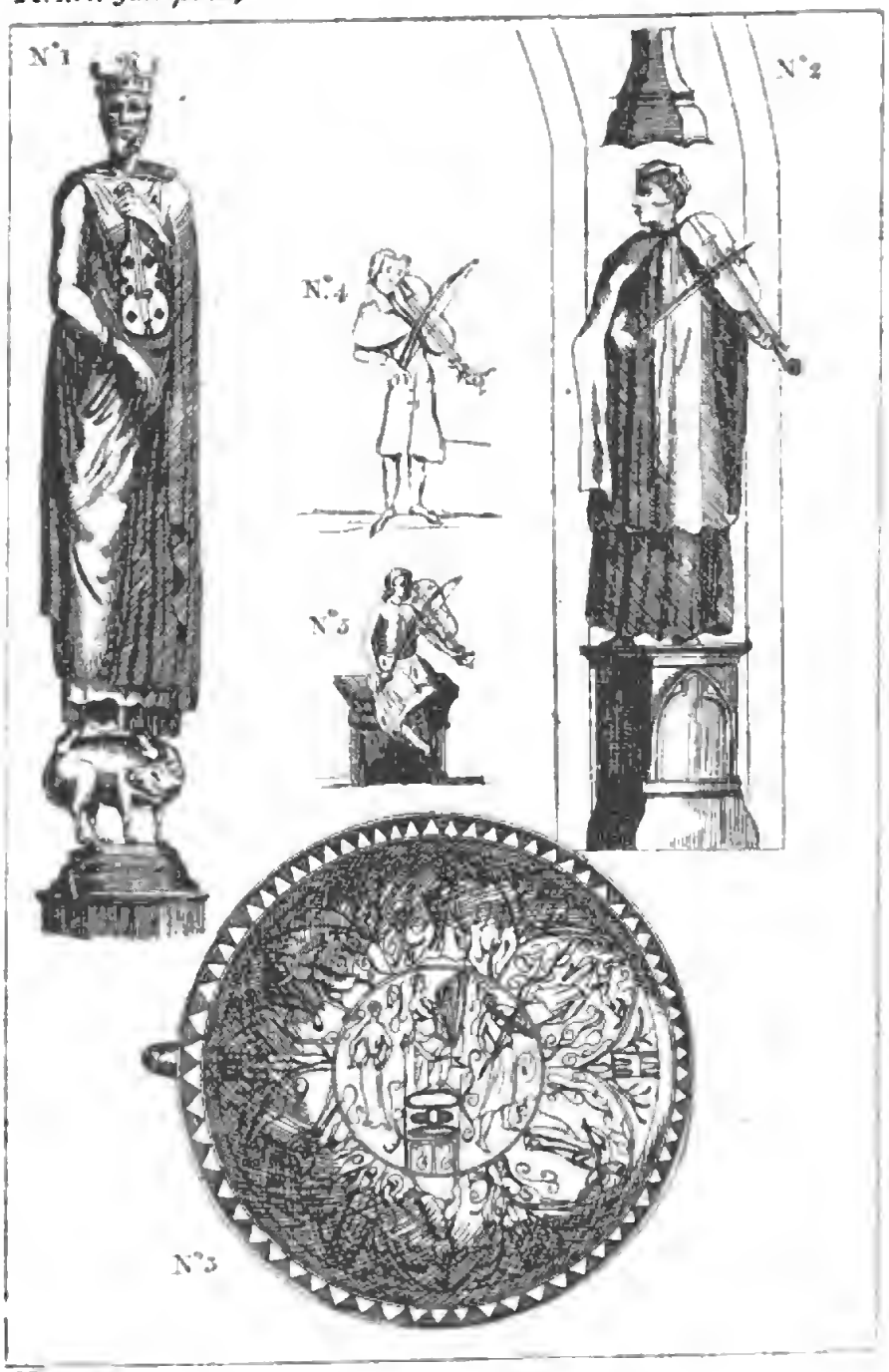
On an antique baſon, or ewer, dug up near Soiſſons, is a repreſentation of a muſician playing on a viol with a long bow. The late excellent antiquary, l'abbé Le Beuf, was of opinion that the workmanſhip of this baſon was executed during the time of the firſt race of French kings, that is, before the year 752, which makes the uſe of the bow of much higher antiquity in France than can be proved in any other country. The deſign engraved upon this veſſel, which was dug up in a place where a palace of one of the kings of Soiſſons is ſuppoſed to have ſtood, is divided into compartments, in one of which is repreſented a player on the Harp, exalted on a high ſeat; on his right hand is a Singer, with a roll of paper in his hand, and on his left a player on the Viol (*f*).

In the illuminations of a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century containing the Poems of the King of Navarre, and his cotemporary poets, deſcribed by M. de la Ravaliere (*g*), is the figure of a *Jongleur*, or Minſtrel, ſitting likewiſe on an exalted ſeat, who ſeems playing to the king and queen of Navarre (*h*). But a ſtill more conſpicuous monument of the early uſe and importance of the *Bow* in France may be ſeen on the portico of the chapel of St. Julian *des Meneſtriers*, at Paris, of which I likewiſe inſert an engraving (*i*). This church was built 1331, by Jaques Grure and Hugues li Lorrain, two of the *Jongleurs*, or minſtrels, of Philip de Valois: and in the Hiſtory of the Troubadours (*k*), M. Millot tells us that William the Ninth, Count of Poitou, in one of his Poems, after relating a particular adventure with a common woman in very free terms, and reflecting upon his *bonnes fortunes*, or favour with the ladies, thanks God and *St. Julian* for his ſucceſs. "It "was then," ſays M. Millot, "cuſtomary, ſuch was the ſu- "perſtition of the times, for libertines to invoke Heaven

(*f*) See plate II. N° 3.
(*g*) *Poeſies du Roi de Navarre*, tom. I. p. 252.
(*h*) See pl. II. N° 4.
(*i*) Plate II. N° 2.
(*k*) Tom. I. p. 11.

"for

Pl. II. *to face p. 264*



" for ſucceſs in their moſt profligate undertakings; and St. " Julian was the particular ſaint and protector to whom they " addreſſed themſelves upon ſuch occaſions." As, in higher antiquity, Mercury was the patron divinity of thieves (*l*).

The ſtatue which is fixed at the portico of St. Julian's chapel, is that of St. Genet, in whoſe hands the *Viol* and *Bow* are placed: an honour conferred upon him by the minſtrels on account of his having been a Comedian by profeſſion, and conſequently one of their brethren (*m*).

The ancient and reſpectable monuments upon which the *Viol* appears, are proofs that it has long been a favourite in-

(*l*) St. Julian, in order to expiate an involuntary crime, is ſaid to have made a vow that he would receive into his houſe all paſſengers who ſhould be in want of a habitation, by which he obtained the title of the *Hoſpitable Saint*, and was afterwards addreſſed as the patron of travellers, to whom prayers were made for a good lodging. *L'Oraiſon de S. Julian*, & *l' Hotel de St. Julien*, were afterwards uſed by the French in pleaſantry, much in the ſame ſenſe as with us, *dining with Duke Humphrey*. But in the tales written in old French ſo early as the twelfth century, the alluſion was more licentious. Boccace (Giorn. II. nov. 2.) ſpeaks of the *Paternoſtro di San Giuliano*, and makes Rinaldo, after a ſucceſsful adventure with a female, return thanks to God and St. Julian: *Per la qual coſa Rinaldo Iddio, & San Giuliano ringraziando, montò a Cavallo.* La Fontaine, who has tranſlated this tale, calls it *L'Oraiſon de St. Julien.*

(*m*) Surius * informs us that St. Genet lived in the time of the emperor Dioclesian; and that in order to entertain this prince and his people he frequently ridiculed the Chriſtians upon the ſtage, where he undertook to repreſent the ceremonies of baptiſm, and performed himſelf the part of the perſon that was to be baptiſed: counterfeiting ſickneſs, of which he was to be cured by becoming a Chriſtian. But when the prieſt and exorciſt appeared to perform the ceremony, he was admoniſhed in a viſion to renounce the errors of Paganiſm, and ſeriouſly aſſume the character of Chriſtian; upon which, he inſtantly declared that he would no longer worſhip idols but receive the divine grace that was offered to him, which the other actors and the audience imagined was done in order to render the ſcene more natural and amuſing; he was therefore baptiſed according to all the Chriſtian rites, and dreſſed in a white robe. After this, ſoldiers appeared as if ſent by the emperor to drag him before the judge, where he was to worſhip a ſtatue of Venus which was placed on the ſtage for that purpoſe: Genet, however, loudly proteſted that he was a Chriſtian and would adore the true God, and not images of wood or ſtone. The emperor himſelf at firſt believed that this was only done to heighten his part; but at length finding that he continued to ſpeak like a Chriſtian and not an actor, he commanded him to be chaſtiſed before the people, and afterwards ſent to a præfect of the name of Plautian, who finding it impoſſible to ſubdue his conſtancy by torture, ordered him to be beheaded. This event happened the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, 303.

* *Recueil des Saints*, tom. iv.

ſtrument

ſtrument in France; and that the *Minſtrels*, in the higheſt eſtimation with the public, were at all times the beſt *Violiſts* of their age.

Muſicians who accompanied ſuch bards as ſung their own hiſtorical ſongs in the halls of princes and nobles at great feſtivals, are deſcribed by an old French poet who flouriſhed about 1230, and who is quoted by Ducheſne in his edition of the works of Alain Chartier, and by *Borel, Treſ. des Antiq.*

*Quand les tables otées furent*
*Cil jugleour in pies eſturent*
*S'ont viols & harpes priſes*
*Chanſons, ſons, vers et repriſes*
*Et de geſtes chanté nos ont.*

Roman du Tournoyement de l'Antechriſt.

When the cloth was ta'en away
Minſtrels ſtrait began to play,
And while harps and viols join
Raptur'd bards in ſtrains divine,
Loud the trembling arches rung
With the noble deeds we ſung.

Though the word *Minſtrel* in our language is confined to *a muſician who plays on inſtruments*, yet the term *Jonglerie*, in old French, included four different ſpecies of performers: the *Troubadours* who wrote, ſet, and ſung their own verſes; the *Singers*, employed by thoſe poets and compoſers to whom nature had denied a voice; the *Diſeurs*, *Narrators*, or *Romancers*, who in a kind of chant recited their metrical hiſtories; and the *Players upon Inſtruments*, who accompanied the troubadours and ſingers, or performed at feaſts and revels without ſinging. Theſe laſt exerciſed the art of minſtrelſy ſo often mentioned by our poets. The French word *Jongliour* or *Jongleur* is

is generally thought to be a corruption of *Joculator*; but this term originally implied a *Jeſter* or *Buffoon*, rather than a Muſician. The etymology, therefore, of this word, which has been hazarded by M. de la Ravaliere (*n*), from *Ongle*, a nail; *Ongleur*, a thrummer of inſtruments with the nails, ſeems ingenious and probable; as the *Lyre*, *Cithara*, *Harp*, *Lute*, and *Guitar*, the moſt ancient ſtringed inſtruments, have at all times been played with the *nails*, and ends of the fingers.

Strolling Muſicians of this kind abounded in France ſo early as the time of Charlemagne, who forbids their admiſſion into convents (*o*); and in the firſt Capitulary of Aix la Chapelle (*p*), this prince ſpeaks of them as perſons branded with infamy. They continued, however, to amuſe the great in private, as well as the people in public, as a diſtinct body of men, till the Troubadours introduced Poetry into France in the dialect of that country. Their licentiouſneſs was frequently repreſſed, and their conduct regulated, by the police; and, during the reign of Philip Auguſtus, the Troubadours and Minſtrels were involved in the ſame diſgrace, and for ſome time baniſhed the kingdom; which left ſuch a ſtigma upon their order, as no efforts of genius, or auſterity of manners, could entirely efface; though they were afterwards recalled, and in ſome degree reſtored to public favour. It is obſerved by a late elegant French writer, that "though the proſcription of Muſic and Poetry, and "the kind of inquiſition which Philip eſtabliſhed againſt the "*Jongleurs* in France, may have originated from the laudable "intention of repreſſing thoſe diſorders which the abuſe of their "profeſſion had occaſioned; yet, if he had reflected that the "fate of letters was at that time in the hands of the *Troubadours*, and that among every people approaching towards civilization, the progreſs of virtue is generally proportioned to

(*n*) *Preſ. du Roy de Navarre*, tome ii. p. 255.
(*o*) *Mem. de Litt.* tome xv. p. 581. & tome xvii. p. 212. 713, & ſeq.
(*p*) *Capit. Baluz.* tome i. art. 41. anno 789.

" the cultivation of arts and literature, he would have inflicted " a leſs ignominious puniſhment on the objects of his diſplea- " ſure. For ſuch is the empire of prejudice, that the ana- " thema it pronounces againſt the abuſe of a profeſſion remains " in full force, even after the reformation of thoſe who exer- " ciſe it." This author ventures to pronounce the *Jongleurs*, or *Troubadours* and Minſtrels, notwithſtanding the contempt with which they are named at preſent, to have been the fathers of literature in France: " It was they who baniſhed ſcholaſtic " quarrels and ill-breeding, and who poliſhed the manners, " eſtabliſhed the rules of politeneſs, enlivened the converſa- " tion, and purified the gallantry of its inhabitants. That ur- " banity, continues he, which diſtinguiſhes us from other peo- " ple, was the fruit of our *Songs*; and if it is not from them " that we derive our virtues, they at leaſt taught us how to " render them amiable (*q*)."

*MENESTREL*, or *Minſtrel*, ſo early as the eighth century was a title given to the *Maeſtro di Capella* of king Pepin, father of Charlemagne; and afterwards to the *Coryphæus*, or leader of any band of muſicians. However in proceſs of time, the power of muſic over the munificence of the public being enfeebled by the multiplicity of thoſe who had no other ſubſiſtence, it was thought expedient to try the force of new and different incentives to admiration and benevolence.

Among the *Metrical Tales* and *Fables* of the twelfth and thirteenth century, written in the Romanſe or old French language, there is one ſtill ſubſiſting in the libraries of France, and in the Bodleian Library (*r*) intitled *Les deux Meneſtriers*, the Two Minſtrels; in which the ſeveral talents neceſſary to their profeſſion are diſplayed: from this I ſhall give an ex-

(*q*) *Tableau Hiſtorique de Gens de Lettres*, par l'Abbé de Longchamps, tome v.

(*r*) MS. Digby, 86.

tract,

tract, as it will ſhew at leaſt the ſtate of minſtrelſy in France at the time it was written (*s*).

" Two companies of minſtrels meeting at a caſtle, endea-
" vour to amuſe its Lord by counterfeiting a quarrel. One of
" them quitting his companions, inſults a minſtrel of the
" other troop, calling him a ragged beggar, who never had
" done any thing to deſerve a better dreſs from his patrons;
" and, in order to prove his own ſuperiority, ſays with triumph,
" that *he* can *tell ſtories* in verſe, both in the Romanſe and Latin
" tongue; can ſing forty *Lays* and *Heroic Songs* (*t*), as well
" as every other kind of ſongs which may be called for;
" that he knew alſo ſtories of *Adventures*, particularly thoſe
" of the *Round Table*; and in ſhort, that he could ſing in-
" numerable romances, ſuch as *Vivian*, *Reinhold the Dane*, *&c.*
" and *relate* the ſtories of *Flora and White-Flower*. He finiſhes
" the enumeration of his talents by facetiouſly informing the
" ſpectators, that he did not chuſe his preſent employment for
" want of knowing others; as he was poſſeſſed of ſeveral ſe-
" crets by which he could make a great fortune: for he knew
" how to circle an egg, bleed cats, blow beef, and cover houſes
" with omelets. He alſo knew the art of making goats-caps,
" cows' bridles, dogs' gloves, hares' armour, joint-ſtool caſes,
" ſcabbards for hedging-bills; and if he were furniſhed with a
" couple of harps, he would make ſuch muſic as they never
" heard before." At length, after ſome additional abuſe, he adviſes the Minſtrel whom he attacks, to quit the caſtle without ſtaying to be turned out; " For I deſpiſe you too much," ſays he, " to diſgrace myſelf and comrades by ſtriking ſuch a
" pitiful fellow."

(*s*) The remarks upon this Tale by the late excellent editor of *Fabliaux et Contes du XII. et du XIII. Siecle*, who has explained them in modern French proſe, are ſo ample and ſatisfactory, that I ſhall here avail myſelf of his diligence and information; referring thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of that inſtructive and amuſing work to vol. I. p. 299.

(*t*) *Chanſons de Geſte: Lays* have been deſcribed above, p. 260.

The other vilifies him in his turn, and aſks how he dares preſume to call himſelf a Minſtrel, who does not know a ſingle tale or ditty worth hearing. "For my part," ſays he, "I am "not one of your ignorant fellows who can only take off a "cat, play the fool, the drunkard, or talk nonſenſe to my com- "rades; but one of thoſe true and genuine Troubadours who "invent every thing they ſay."

Je Joueur
*Ge ſai* Juglere *de* Vielle;
*Si ſai de* Muſe *et de* freſtele,
*Et de* Harpe *et de* Chiphonie,
*De la* gigue, *de l'*Armonie,
du
*Et el* falteire, *et en la* rote.
Je ſais chanſon
*Sai-ge bien chanter une note*;
fabliaux
*Ge ſai Contes, je ſai fablcax,*
beaux dits nouveaux
*Ge ſai conter beax diz noveax,*
vielles nouvelles
*Rotruenges viez et noveles,*
*Et ſervantois, et paſtoreles,*
d'amour
*Si ſai porter conſeil d'amors*
chapel fleurs
*Et faire chapelez de flors,*
d'amoureus
*Et ceinture de druerie*
courtoiſie
*Et beau parler de cortoiſie (u).*

All the Minſtrel art I know:
I the *Viol* well can play;
I the *Pipe* and *Syrinx* blow,
*Harp* and *Gigue* my hand obey.
*Pſaltry*, *Symphony* and *Rote*
Help to charm the liſt'ning throng,
And *Armonia* lends its note
While I warble forth my ſong.
I have tales and fables plenty,
Satirs, paſt'rals, full of ſport.
Songs to Vielle I've more than twenty,
Ditties too of ev'ry ſort.
I from lovers tokens bear,
I can flow'ry chaplets weave,
Am'rous belis can well prepare,
And with courteous ſpeech deceive.

(u) A few of the inſtruments of which the minſtrel boaſts he is maſter, and which are not explained in the tranſlation of the verſes, require ſome comment. The *Muſe* is the muzzle or tube of a bag-pipe, without the bellows. Cornmuſe was the name of a *horn*, or *Corniſh pipe*, blown like our bagpipe. *Chalmy*, ſhawm in old Engliſh, is a clarinet of low pitch *; and *chalumeau* is French for a large bagpipe made of box, with a great *bourdon* or drone, as *muſette* is for one of a ſmall ſize. Of what kind of inſtrument was the *chiphonie*, *cyſoine*, *ſymphonie*, is not very well known. Some of thequotations given by Du-Cange deſcribe it as a wind inſtrument, and others as a ſpecies of drum, pierced with holes like a ſieve. I have not the leaſt doubt but that the inſtrument called a *rote*, ſo frequently mentioned by our Chaucer, as well as by the old French poets, was the ſame as the modern *vielle*, (ſee above, p. 263) and had its firſt name from *rota* the *wheel* with which its tones are produced. The *gigue* and *armonia* were inſtruments concerning which I can procure no information. The pſaltry has been deſcribed in the firſt volume, (p. 519).

* Trompettes, horne, and *ſhalmys*
The ſea burnt all of fyre Grekys.
Rom. of Richard Coeur de Lion, written about the beginning of the 14th century.

The

The Minſtrel then ſpecifies the ſeveral poetical tales he can repeat, moſt of which are ſtill ſubſiſting; and then, having diſplayed his talents as a muſician and a man of wit, he next deſcribes his dexterity at tricks and ſlight of hand:

jouer
*Bien ſai joer de l'eſcambot,*
l'eſcarbot
*Et faire venir l'ecarbot*
ſautant
*Vif et ſaillant deſſus la table.*
maint jeu
*Et ſi ſai meint beau geu de table*
d'adreſſe de magie
*Et d'entregiet et d'artumaire*
*Bien ſai un enchantement faire* ---
jouer bâtons
*Ge ſai joer des baaſteax,*
couteaux
*Et ſi ſai joer des coſteax,*
fronda
*Et de la corde et de la fonde (x).*

Joint ſtool feats to ſhew I'm able,
I can make the beetle run
All alive upon the table,
Where I ſhew delightful fun.
At my ſlight-of-hand you'll laugh,
At my magic you will ſtare;
I can play at quarter-ſtaff,
I can knives ſuſpend in air.
I enchantments ſtrange deviſe,
And with cord and ſling ſurpriſe.

He moreover boaſts that beſides the *heroic ſongs* which his antagoniſt mentioned, he can ſing many others, ſuch as *Oliver*, *Roland*, &c. and then, like him, finiſhes by ſome vulgar pleaſantries, telling the company that he had the honour to be acquainted with all the bailiffs, catchpoles, and renowned champions of his time: Augier Poupée, who at one ſtroke cuts off the ear of a cat with a ſword: Herbert Kill-Beef, who breaks an egg with its point, &c. and the moſt celebrated Minſtrels, *Firebrand*, *Smaſh*, *Turn-about*, *Sliver*, &c. At length addreſſing himſelf to his rival he adviſes him, if he has any ſhame left, never again to be ſeen in the ſame place as himſelf: "and you, my lord," ſays he, "if I have been more elo-"quent than he, I entreat you to turn him out of doors, to "convince him that he's an ignorant blockhead."

(x) With the Minſtrel's legerdemain I have little to do, except to point out the origin of the word *Juggler*, from *Jonglour*, a minſtrel; who beſides being a poet, muſician, and buffoon, was expected to be a *conjurer*.

The

The profeſſion of Minſtrel at this time ſeems to have required ſuch talents and abilities as it would be difficult to find in the poſſeſſion of any modern muſician. We will ſuppoſe his muſical knowledge and performance upon inſtruments to have been as inferior to thoſe of the preſent profeſſors, as the inſtruments themſelves were to thoſe of modern conſtruction; and indeed, though we may imagine it poſſible for a Minſtrel to know Latin, and to be able to compoſe tales in that language, yet it is hardly probable that he would riſk it. The editor of the Fabliaux ſays that in all his reſearches after the remains of ſuch productions, he has ſeen very few; and indeed they would have been prevented from becoming common, by the ſmall number who would have underſtood them; ſo that the Minſtrel's aſſertion in this particular may be regarded as a mere ſwagger, or challenge, which he knew would not be accepted. But all deduction made, his qualifications will ſtill remain ſo numerous and of ſuch a kind as, it is to be hoped, will place him out of the reach of rivalry in the preſent age: for I apprehend it would be difficult to find muſicians now, who would venture to boaſt of ſuch accompliſhments, even if he were poſſeſſed of them, as making *amorous girdles*, delivering letters or meſſages for lovers, teaching them the pink of courteſy and flower of compliments, or how to ornament their perſons in the moſt emphatical manner.

To what kind of air the metrical romances which he mentions were ſung, is not left on record; but that it was as ſimple as the eccleſiaſtical chants, is natural to ſuppoſe, as theſe romances, conſiſting of many thouſand lines, were too long to be ſet or ſung to very elaborate muſic. The author of an old romance called *Gerard de Rouſſillon*, ſays that he has written it upon the model of the *Song of Antioch*, which the editor of Fabliaux imagines to imply, that it might be ſung to the ſame tune. Nothing was more common for many ages after this

this period, than for poets to write *new ſongs* to *old tunes*, and for muſicians to make *variations* on theſe tunes; for we find little elſe done by either during the reign of queen Elizabeth.

About the year 1330 the minſtrels of Paris formed themſelves into a *company*, and obtained a charter. The police frequently repreſſed their licentiouſneſs, and regulated their conduct: Philip Auguſtus baniſhed them the firſt year of his reign, but they were recalled by his ſucceſſors, and united under the general name of *Meneſtraudie*, Minſtrelſy; having a chief appointed over them who was called *King of the Minſtrels* (*y*). Lewis IX. exempted them from a tariff or toll at the entrance into Paris, on condition that they would ſing a ſong, and make their monkeys dance to the tollman, perhaps to prove their title to ſuch indulgence; and hence aroſe the well-known proverb: *Payer en Gambades et en monnoïe de ſinge* (*z*).

The aſſociated Minſtrels inhabited a particular ſtreet, to which they gave the name which it ſtill retains of *St. Julien des Meneſtriers*. It was here that the publie was provided with muſicians for weddings, and parties of pleaſure; but as a greater number of them uſually attended on ſuch occaſions than were ordered, and all expected to be paid the ſame price, *William de Germont*, provoſt of Paris, in 1331 prohibited the *Jongleurs* and *Jongleresſes* from going to thoſe who required their performance in greater numbers than had been ſtipulated, upon a ſevere penalty. In 1395 their libertiniſm and immoralities again incurred the cenſure of government, by which it was ſtrictly enjoined that they ſhould henceforth, neither in public nor private, ſpeak, act, or ſing any thing that was

(*y*) See Du-Cange, in V. *Rex Miniſtellorum*. Our king of the Fidlers, or Minſtrels, in Staffordſhire, was probably an eſtabliſhment derived from the French, as the earlieſt mention of it in our annals is in 1338. *temp.* Hen. IV. and in the fourth year of Richard II. The records of France however have this title in the time of St. Lewis, and in that of his ſucceſſor.

(*z*) *Eſſai ſur la muſique ancienne et Moderne*, Vo I. p. 415. This is a fact however which, to be believed, requires more than a bare aſſertion: for an impoſition ſo ludicrous and uſeleſs to the ſtate, ſeems very unworthy of ſo grave and pious a prince as St. Lewis.

in-

indecorous or unfit for modeſt eyes and ears, upon pain of two months impriſonment, and living on bread and water.

In the reign of Charles VI. they ſeem to have relinquiſhed the juggling art, and to have confined themſelves more particularly to the practice of muſic. It was about this time that treble and baſe rebecs, or viols with three ſtrings, began to be in uſe, either to play in octaves to each other, or perhaps in a coarſe kind of counterpoint, of which the laws were now forming: on this occaſion the Minſtrels aſſumed the title of *Players on high and low Inſtruments* (*a*), and this pompous denomination was confirmed by a charter in 1401, which begins in the following manner:

"Charles by the grace of God, &c. &c. It having been "humbly repreſented, unto us, by the King of the Minſtrels, "and other performers upon high and low inſtruments, "that ſince the year 1397 when they were formed and aſ- "ſociated into a company for the free and lawful exerciſe of "their profeſſion of *Minſtrelſy* (*b*), according to certain rules "and ordinances by them formerly made and ratified, and "by which all Minſtrels, as well players on high inſtruments "as low, having agreed and bound themſelves to appear be- "fore the aforeſaid King of the Minſtrels, to take oath and "ſwear to the performance of the covenants hereafter de- "clared, &c."

It appears from the ancient records of Paris that the *Dancing Maſters* were incorporated in the ſame company with the Minſtrels under the denomination of *Maîtres joueurs d'inſtrumens, et Maîtres à danſer*; and that the preſentation of the living of St. *Julien des Meneſtriers* had at all times been allowed by the rulers of the church of Paris to appertain to the ſaid company as founders, lay-patrons, governors, and adminiſtrators of the ſaid church (*c*).

The

(*a*) *Joueurs des Inſtrumens tant haut comme bas.*

(*b*) *Meneſtrandiſe.*

(*c*) "*et les révérends peres de la doctrine* "*Chrétienne de la prévôté de Paris, re-* "*connoiſſent que de toute ancienneté et à per-* "*petuité*

The ancient hiſtorians and poets of France mention their *Military Songs* of very remote antiquity, in which were celebrated the heroic deeds of their favourite chiefs and moſt gallant commanders. Theſe uſed to be ſung in chorus by the whole army in advancing to attack an enemy; a cuſtom probably derived from their German anceſtors, as the privilege of leading off this kind of *War-Whoop* uſually appertained to the Bard who had compoſed it. Charlemagne had a great paſſion for theſe heroic ſongs, and, like our Alfred, not only had them collected, but knew them by heart. However, the atchievements of this victorious prince and his captains obliterated thoſe of their predeceſſors, and gave birth to new ſongs. One of theſe, in praiſe of Roland, the *Orlando inamorato* and *furioſo* of Boiardo, Berni, and Arioſto, was longer preſerved than any of the reſt. This, the French hiſtorians tell us, was begun at the battle of Haſtings, where William became the conqueror of the Engliſh nation, by a knight called Taillefer, on whom this honour was conferred for his ſtrong and powerful voice. Here he performed the office of *herald minſtrel* (*meneſtrier huchier*) at the head of the Norman army, and was among the firſt that were ſlain in the onſet (*d*).

The ſong upon Roland continued in favour among the French ſoldiers as late as the battle of Poitiers, in the time of their king John; who, upon reproaching one of them with

" *petuité*, les dits Maîtres joueurs de Violon " et à danſer, *ſont les fondateurs patrons* " *laiques, preſentateurs, gouverneurs, et ad-* " *miniſtrateurs de l'Egliſe, &c.*"

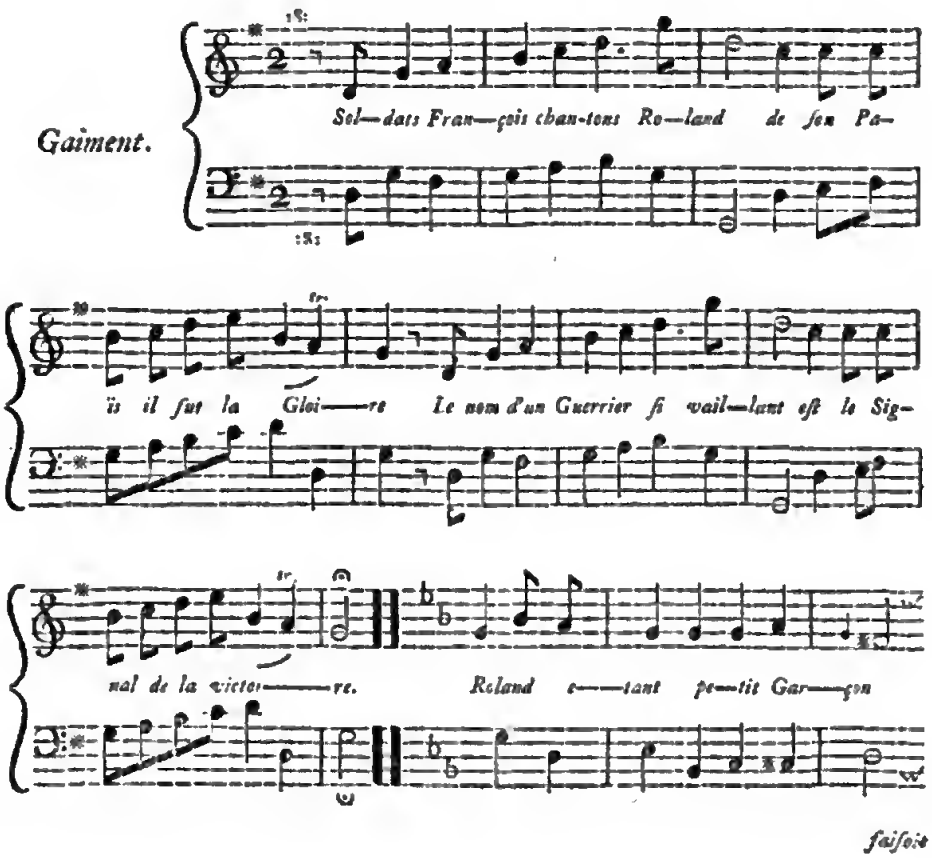
Drawn from the extracts inſerted in the *Eſſai ſur la Muſ Anc. et Mod.* par M. Laborde, from the ancient patents and privileges of the minſtrel's company. Tom. I. p. 418.

(*d*) The Minſtrels were called Heralds, we find, from an old French poem entitled *Le Dict des Heraults*, by Baudoin de Condé, on account of the ſtrength and clearneſs of their voices, which qualified them ſo well, not only for animating the ſoldiers in battle, but for making proclamations at tournaments and public ceremonies. *Fabliaux et Contes du XII. et du XII. Siecle.* Tom. I. p. 297. 8vo. 1779. Carpentier (*Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloſſ Lat.* Tom. II. p. 750.) is of opinion that the French Heralds, called *Hiraux*, were the ſame as the Minſtrels, and that they ſung metrical tales at feſtivals: and Mr. Warton has given many proofs (Hiſt Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 332.) that in England they frequently received fees or largeſſe with the Minſtrels.

ſinging it at a time when there were no Rolands left, was anſwered that Rolands would ſtill be found if they had a Charlemagne at their head. But however popular this ſong may have been in the fourteenth century, it is not come down entire to the preſent times.

Yet the marquis de Paulmy having found ſome fragments of it in the writings of the old romanſers, has collected and digeſted them into the following ſong, which ſeems to breathe ſo much of the true national and military ſpirit of France, that I ſhall inſert it with the tune, and a tranſlation.

## *CHANSON de ROLAND.*

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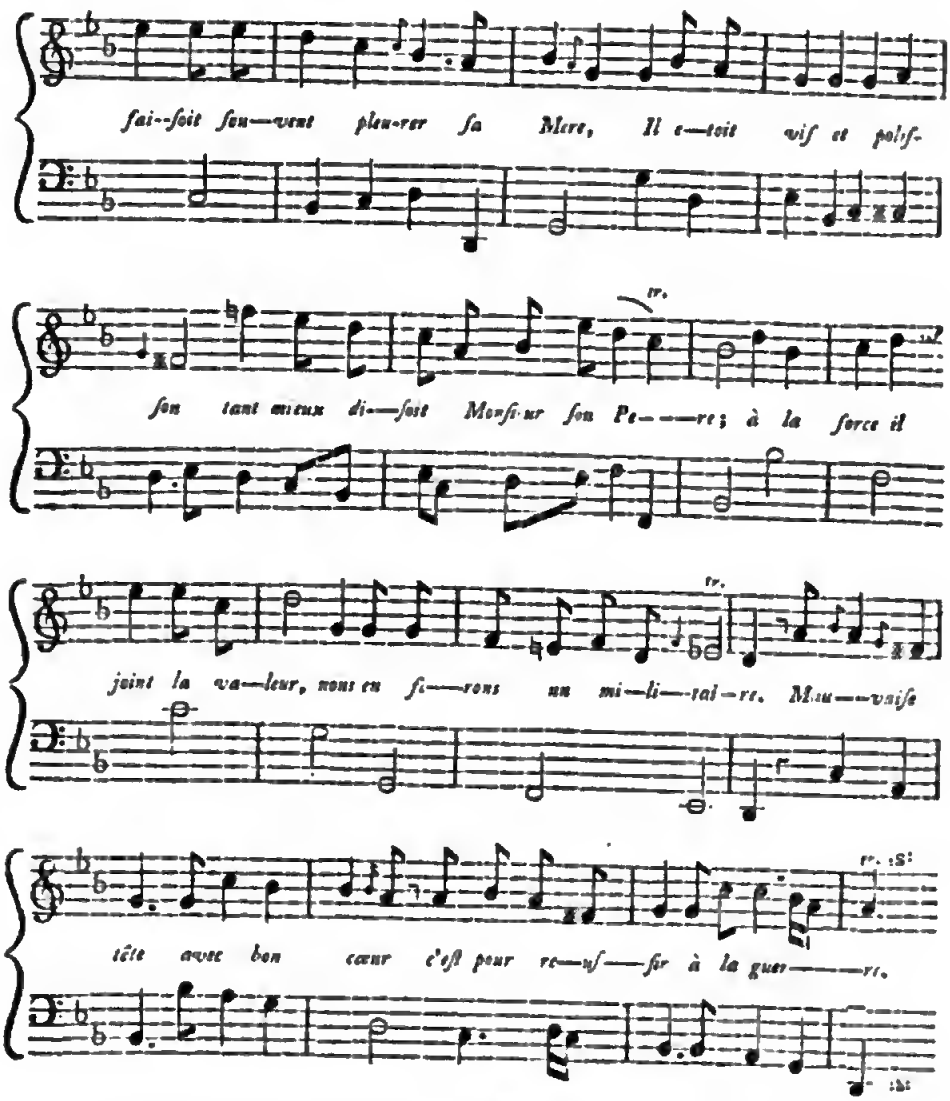



## *Chanſon de Roland.*

*Soldats François, chantons Roland,*
*De ſon païs il fut la gloire,*
*Le nom d'un Guerrier ſi vaillant*
*Eſt le ſignal de la victoire.*

## Military Song, on the French Champion Roland.

Let ev'ry valiant ſon of Gaul
Sing Roland's deeds, her greateſt glory,
Whoſe name will ſtouteſt foes appal,
And feats inſpire for future ſtory.

*Roland etant petit garçon*
*Faiſoit ſouvent pleurer ſa mere:*
*Il etoit vif et poliſſon—*
*Tant mieux, diſoit monſieur ſon pere—*
*A la force il joint la valeur,*
*Nous en ferons un militaire.*
*Mauvaiſe tête avec bon coeur*
*C'eſt pour reuſſir a la guerre.*
*Soldats François, &c.*

*II.*

*Le pere penſoit juſtement,*
*Car dès que Roland fut en age,*
*On vit avec etonnement,*
*Briller ſa force et ſon courage;*
*Perçant eſcadrons, bataillons,*
*Renverſant tout dans la mêlée*
*Il faiſoit tourner les talons*
*Lui tout ſeul a toute une armée;*
*Soldats François, &c.*

*III.*

*Dans le combat particulier*
*Il nétoit pas moins redoutable,*
*Qu'on fut geant, qu'on fut ſorcier,*
*Que l'on fut monſtre, ou qu'on fut diable,*
*Rien jamais n'arretoit ſon bras,*
*Il ſe batteit toujours ſans crainte,*
*Et s'il ne donnoit le trépas*
*Il portoit quelque rude atteinte.*
*Soldats, &c.*

*IV.*

*Quand il falloit donner l'aſſaut,*
*Lui même il appliquoit l'echelle;*
*Il etoit le premier en haut,*
*Amis, prenez le pour modele.*
*Il paſſoit la nuit au bivac,*
*L'eſprit gaillard, l'ame contente;*
*Ou dormoit ſous un avreſac,*
*Mieux qu'un géneral ſous ſa tente.*
*Soldats, &c.*

Roland in childhood had no fears,
Was full of tricks, nor knew a letter,
Which though it coſt his mother tears,
His father cried "So much the better:
"We'll have him for a ſoldier bred,
"His ſtrength and courage let us nouriſh,
"If bold the heart, though wild the head,
"In war he'll but the better flouriſh."
Let ev'ry, &c.

II.

Roland arriv'd at man's eſtate
Prov'd that his father well admoniſh'd,
For then his proweſs was ſo great
That all the world became aſtoniſh'd.
Batallions, ſquadrons, he could break,
And ſingly give them ſuch a beating,
That, ſeeing him, whole armies quake,
And nothing think of but retreating.
Let ev'ry, &c.

III.

In ſingle combat 'twas the ſame:
To him all foes were on a level,
For ev'ry one he overcame
If giant, ſorc'rer, monſter, devil.
His arm no danger e'er could ſtay,
Nor was the goddeſs Fortune fickle,
For if his foe he did not ſlay
He left him in a rueful pickle.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IV.

In ſcaling walls, with higheſt glee,
He firſt the ladder fixt, then mounted;
Let him, my boys, our model be,
Who men or perils never counted.
At night, with ſcouts he watch would keep
With heart more gay than one in million,
Or elſe on knapſack founder ſleep
Than general in his proud pavilion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

*V.*

*Pour l'ennemi qui reſiſtoit*
*Reſervant toute ſon audace,*
*A celui qui ſe ſoumettoit*
*Il accordoit toujours ſa grace.*
*L'humanité dans ſon grand cœur*
*Renaiſſoit, apres la victoire;*
*Et le ſoir méme le vainqueur*
*Au vaincu propoſoit à boire.*
*Soldats, &c.*

*VI.*

*Quand on lui demandoit pourquoi*
*Les François etoient en campagne,*
*Il repondoit de bonne foi,*
*C'eſt par l'ordre de Charlemagne.*
*Ses miniſtres, ſes favoris*
*Ont raiſonné ſur cette affaire;*
*Pour nous, battons ſes ennemis,*
*C'eſt ce que nous avons à faire.*
*Soldats, &c.*

*VII.*

*Roland vivoit en bon Chrétien,*
*Il entendoit ſouvent la meſſe,*
*Donnoit aux pauvres de ſon bien,*
*Et méme il alloit a confeſſe;*
*Mais de ſon confeſſeur Turpin*
*Il tenoit que c'eſt oeuvre pie*
*De battre, et de mener grand train*
*Les ennemis de ſa patrie,*
*Soldats, &c.*

*VIII.*

*Roland à table etoit charmant,*
*Buvoit du vin avec delice;*
*Mais il en uſoit ſobrement*
*Les jours de garde et d'exercice;*

V.

On ſtubborn foes he vengeance wreak'd
And laid about him like a Tartar,
But if for mercy once they ſqueak'd
He was the firſt to grant them quarter.
The battle won, of Roland's ſoul
Each milder virtue took poſſeſſion;
To vanquiſh'd foes he o'er a bowl
His heart ſurrender'd at diſcretion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VI.

When aſk'd why Frenchmen wield the brand
And dangers new each day ſolicit,
He ſaid, 'tis Charlemagne's command
To whom our duty is implicit:
His miniſters, and choſen few,
No doubt have weigh'd theſe things in private,
Let us his enemies ſubdue,
'Tis all that ſoldiers e'er ſhould drive at.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VII.

Roland like Chriſtian true would live,
Was ſeen at maſs, and in proceſſion;
And freely to the poor would give,
Nor did he always ſhun confeſſion.
But biſhop Turpin had decreed
(His counſel in each weighty matter)
That 'twas a good and pious deed
His country's foes to drub and ſcatter.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VIII.

At table Roland ever gay,
Would eat, and drink, and laugh, and rattle,
But all was in a prudent way
On days of guard, or eve of battle.

*Pour*

*Pour le ſervice il obſervoit*
*De conſerver ſa tête entiere,*
*N'buvant que quand il n'avoit*
*Ce jour-la rien de mieux a faire.*
*Soldats, &c.*

*IX.*

*Il corrigeoit avec rigueur*
*Tous ceux qui lui cherchoient querelle,*
*Mais il n'etoit point querelleur,*
*Bon camarade, ami fidele:*
*L'ennemi ſeul dans les combats*
*Trembloit, voyant briller ſa lame,*
*Et pour le dernier des ſoldats*
*Il ſe ſeroit mis dans la flame.*
*Soldats, &c.*

*X.*

*Roland aimoit le cotillon,*
*(On ne peut guere s'en defendre)*
*Et pour une reine, dit on,*
*Il eut le cœur un peu trop tendre:*
*Elle l'abandonne un beau jour*
*Et lui fait tourner la cervelle;*
*Aux combats, mais non en amour:*
*Que Roland ſoit notre modèle.*
*Soldats, &c.*

*XI.*

*Roland fut d'abord officier,*
*Car il etoit bon gentilhomme;*
*Il eut un régiment entier*
*De ſon oncle, Empereur de Rome.*
*Il fut comte, il fut general,*
*Mais vivant comme a la chambrée*
*Il traitoit de frere, et d'egal*
*Chaque brave homme de l'armée;*
*Soldats, &c.*

For ſtill to king and country true
He held himſelf their conſtant debtor,
And only drank in ſeaſon due,
When to tranſact he'd nothing better.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IX.

To captious blades he ne'er would bend,
Who quarrels fought on flight pretences;
Though he, to ſocial joys a friend,
Was ſlow to give or take offences.
None e'er had cauſe his arm to dread
But thoſe who wrong'd his prince, or nation,
On whom whene'er to combat led
He dealt out death and devaſtation.
Let ev'ry, &c.

X.

Roland too much adored the fair
From whom e'en heroes are defenceleſs,
And by a queen of beauty rare
He all at once was rendered ſenſeleſs.
One hapleſs morn ſhe left the knight,
Who, when he miſs'd her, grew quite frantic,
Our pattern let him be in fight:
His love was ſomewhat too romantic.
Let ev'ry, &c.

XI.

His mighty uncle, Charles the Great,
Who Rome's imperial ſceptre wielded,
Both early dignity and ſtate
With high command to Roland yielded.
Yet though a Gen'ral, Count, and Peer,
Roland's kind heart all pride could ſmother,
For each brave man from van to rear
He treated like a friend and brother.
Let ev'ry, &c.

Among

Among the moſt ancient Songs on the ſubject of *Love* which have been preſerved in the French language, are thoſe of the unfortunate *Chatelain de Coucy*, whoſe ſtory is truely tragical. In a chronicle written about the year 1380, and cited by Fauchet, we are told that in the time of Philip Auguſtus and Richard the Firſt, there was a valorous and accompliſhed knight in the Vermandois, ſix leagues from Noyon, in Picardy, who was extremely enamoured with the wife of the lord of Fayel, his neighbour. After many difficulties and ſufferings incident to ſuch an attachment, the lover determined to take the croſs and accompany the kings of France and England to the Holy Land. The lady of Fayel, when ſhe diſcovered his intention, wrought for him a beautiful net, with a mixture of ſilk and her own hair, which he faſtened to his helmet, and ornamented the taſſels with large pearls. The parting of theſe lovers was of courſe extremely tender. On the arrival of Coucy in Paleſtine he performed many gallant and heroic actions, in hopes that their fame would reach the ears of the beloved object whom he had left in Europe; but, unfortunately, at a ſiege in which the Chriſtians were repulſed by the Saracens, he received a wound which was ſoon pronounced to be mortal, upon which he entreated his Eſquire the inſtant he ſhould be dead, to have his heart embalmed and carry it to the lady of Fayel, together with the ornament which ſhe had worked for him, in a little caſket with other tokens of her affection, and a letter full of tenderneſs written with his own hand on his deathbed. In this requeſt he was punctually obeyed by his friend and eſquire; but unfortunately, on his arrival in France, when he was hovering about the caſtle of the lady's reſidence, in order to ſeize the firſt opportunity that offered of delivering the caſket into her own hands, he was diſcovered by the lord of Fayel her huſband, who knowing him, and ſuſpecting that he was charged with diſpatches to his wife from the *Chatelain*, whom he hated more than any other human creature, he fell upon the

the eſquire and would have inſtantly put him to death had he not begged for mercy, and informed him of the buſineſs with which he was entruſted by his deceaſed maſter (*e*). The enraged huſband therefore ſeizing the caſket, diſmiſſed the affrighted 'ſquire, and went inſtantly to his cook, whom he ordered to dreſs the embalmed heart it contained, with ſuch ſauce as would make it palatable, and ſerve it up for dinner. In this he was obeyed by the cook, who at the ſame time prepared a ſimilar diſh, in appearance, for his lord's uſe, of which he eat, while his lady dined upon the heart of her lover. After dinner the Seigneur de Fayel aſked how ſhe liked the diſh of which ſhe had been eating? On her anſwering, very well; "I thought," ſaid he, "you would be pleaſed with it, "ſuppoſing it to be a viand of which you were always very "fond, and for that reaſon I had it dreſſed." The lady, ſuſpecting nothing, made no reply; but her lord continuing the ſubject, aſked her if ſhe knew what ſhe had been eating? ſhe anſwered in the negative; "Why then," ſaid he, "for "your greater ſatisfaction I muſt inform you that you have "eaten the heart of the *Chatelain de Coucy*." To be thus reminded of her friend, made her very uneaſy, although ſhe could not believe that her huſband was ſerious, till he ſhewed her the caſket and letter, which when ſhe had examined and peruſed, her countenance changed, and after a ſhort pauſe, ſhe ſaid to Fayel, "It is true, indeed, that you have helped "me to a viand which I very much loved; but it is the laſt "I ſhall ever eat, as after that every other food would be "inſipid." She then retired to her chamber, and as ſhe never

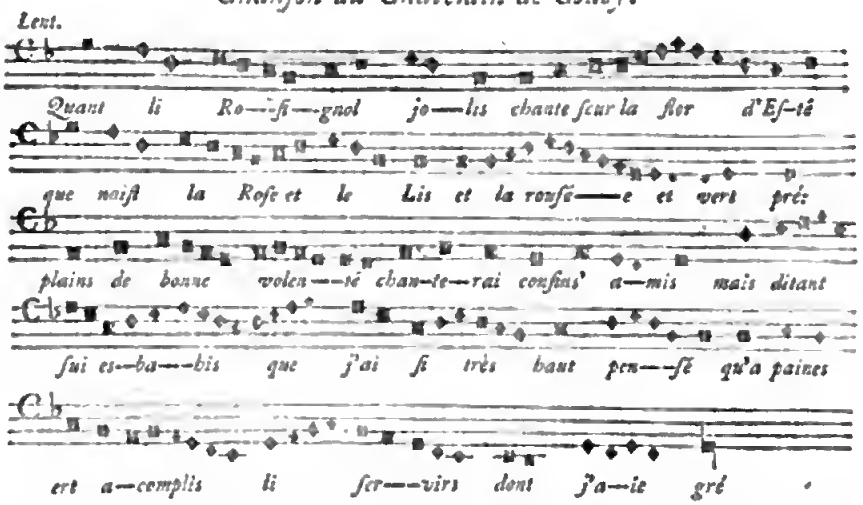
(*e*) Such was the gallantry of theſe times that not only the lady but her huſband felt a kind of diſgrace if her beauty was neglected: all married females had their chevaliers, by common conſent of the married men; but, if there was no latent cauſe of antipathy, the ſurly ſeigneur de Fayel muſt have had a head differently conſtructed from his neighbours, for he could never be prevailed on to regard the *Chatelain's* partiality to his lady in the light of an *obligation*.

more

more could be prevailed on to take any kind of ſuſtenance, faſting and affliction ſoon put an end to her days *(f)*.

As love is a ſtimulus to poetry, this unhappy and romantic knight, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his misfortunes than talents, has left behind him ſome of the moſt elegant and affecting ſongs in the French language, which have been preſerved in MSS. that are near 450 years old, and cited by all cotemporary writers as models on the ſubject of love (*g*). As the ancient melodies are ſtill ſubſiſting to ſome of theſe, I ſhall ſelect two of the moſt pleaſing, for the ſatisfaction of my muſical readers, who probably will find them equally rude and doleful with the Air of nearly the ſame antiquity, which has been already inſerted, from Anſelm Faydit.

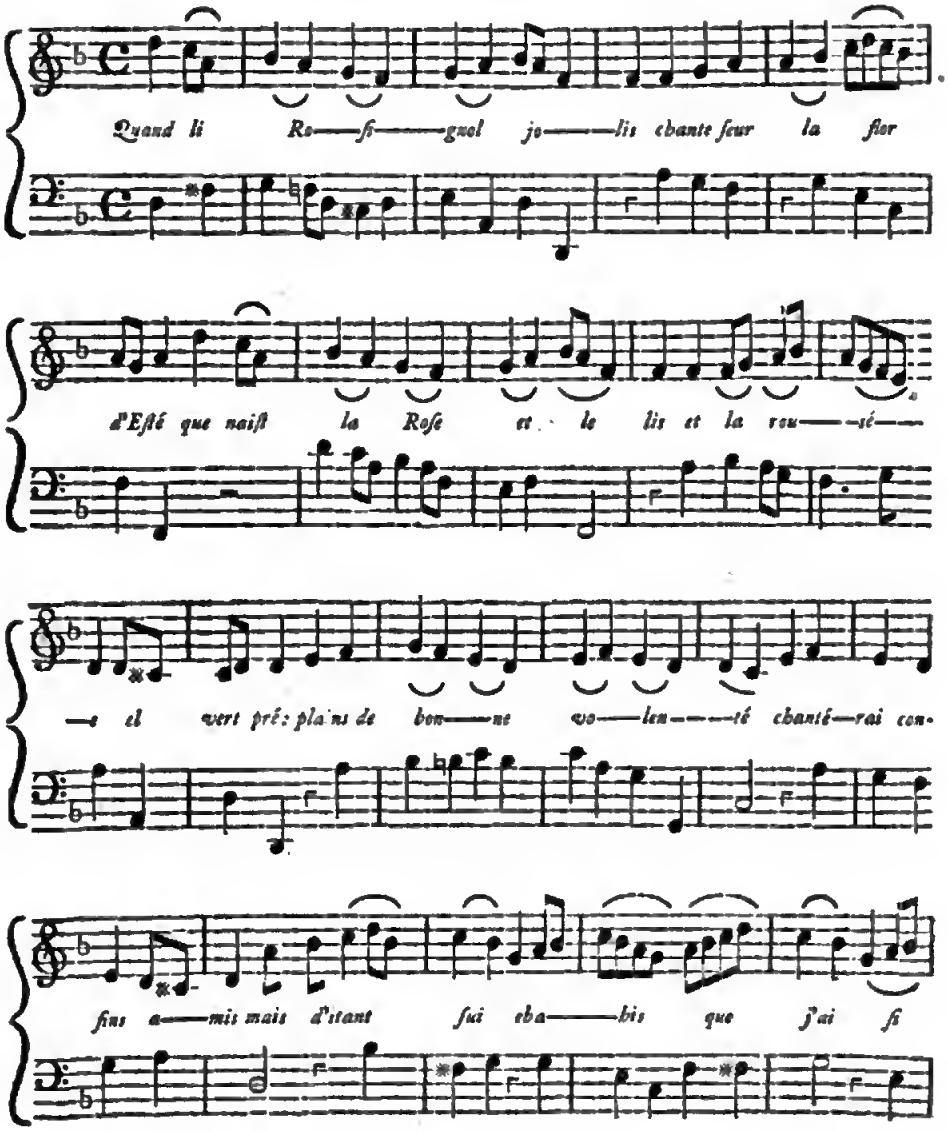
*Chanſon du Châtelain de Coucy.*




*(f)* The reader will recollect that this melancholy ſtory has not only been the ſubject of ſeveral tales, poems, and romances, but has likewiſe been lately repreſented with ſucceſs on the ſtage. However there are perſons in France who ſuſpecting the authenticity of the narration, are inclined to think it was originally fabricated by ſome Minſtrel or Troubadour in a Romance. An Engliſh metrical Romance on the ſubject of this ſtory, called *The Knight of Courteſy, and the Lady of Fayal*, ſtill ſubſiſts. See Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. I. p. 212.

(*g*) They have lately been publiſhed in the *Eſſai Sur la Muſ. Anc. et Mod.* to the number of twenty-three, from an ancient MS. in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis de Paulmy.

*Chanſon du Châtelain de Coucy.*

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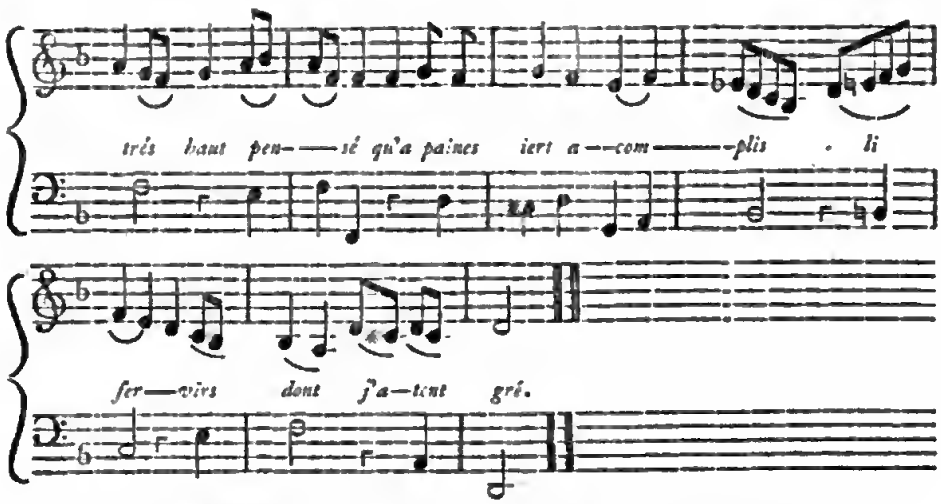
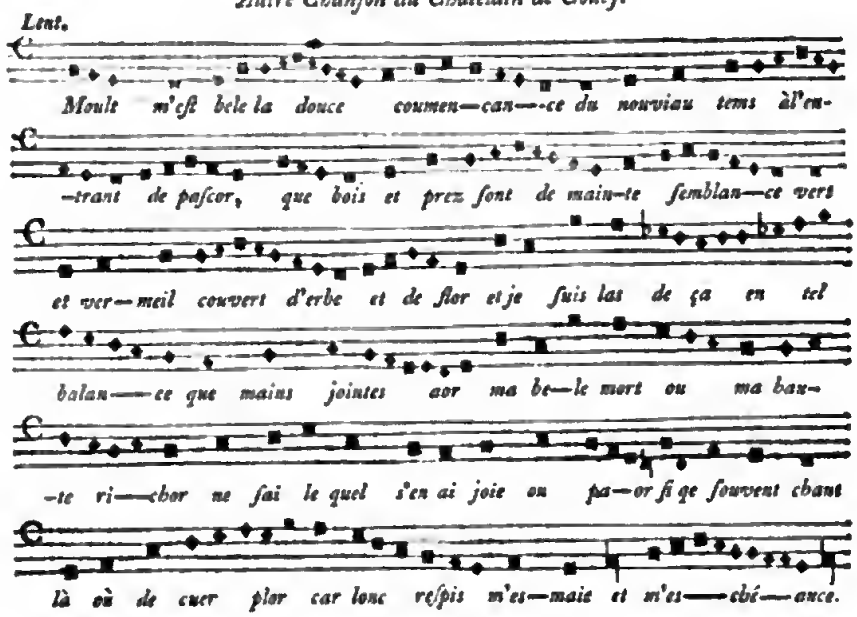
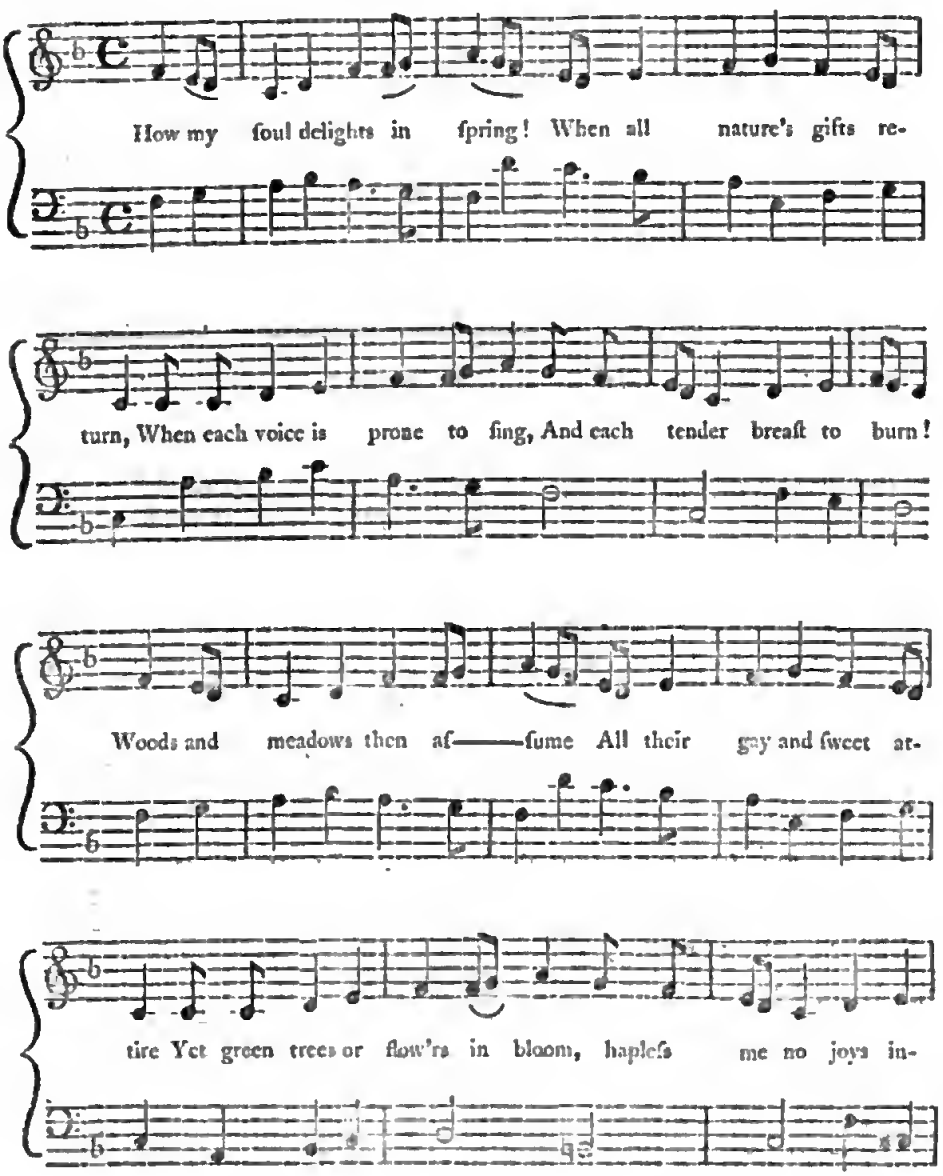


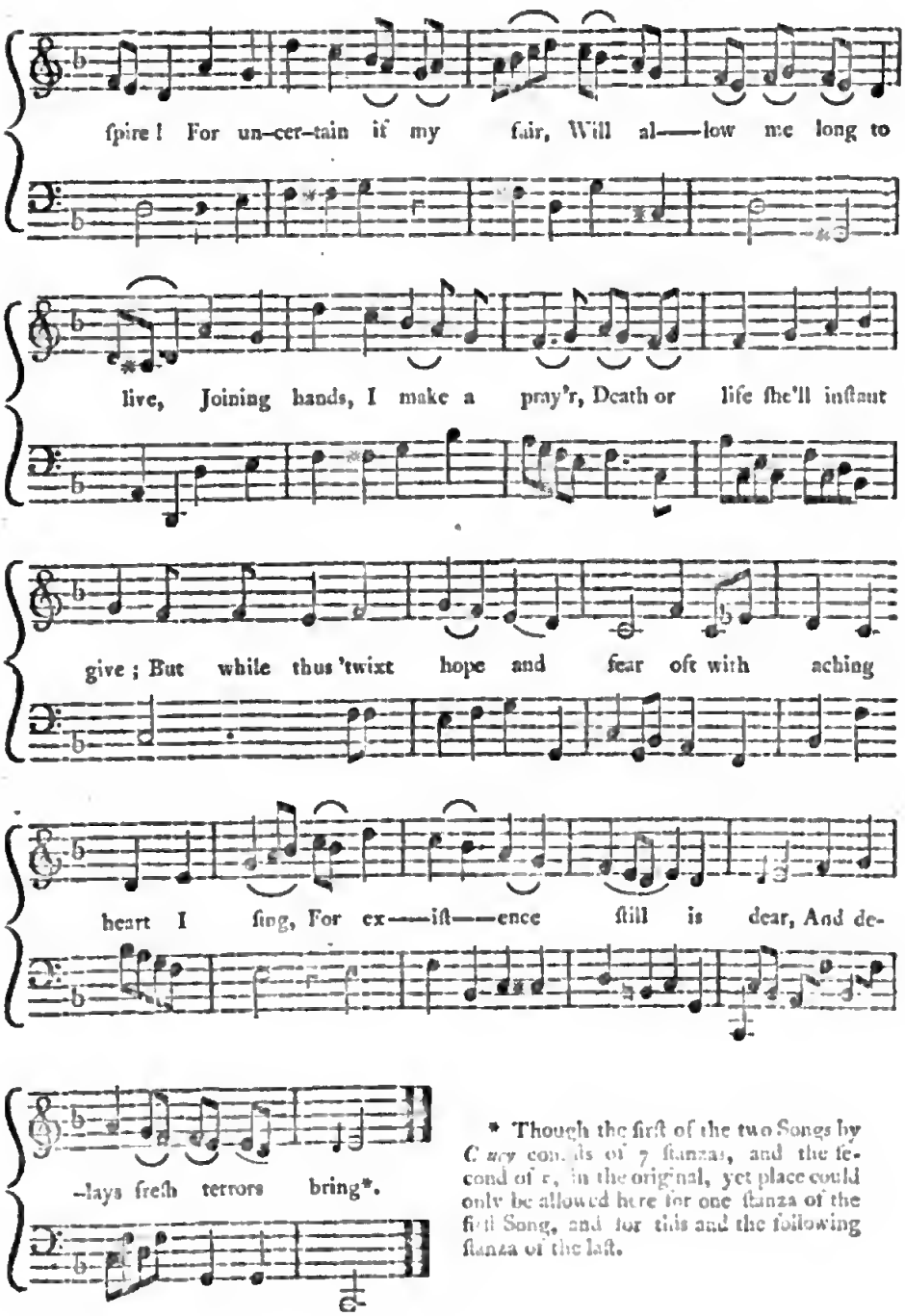

When the nightingale ſhall ſing
Songs of love from night to morn;
When the roſe and lily ſpring,
And the dew beſpangles thorn;
Then ſhould I my voice expand,
Like a lover fond and true,
Could I but its tones command
And the tender ſtrain purſue;
But his love who fears to tell
Notes of paſſion ne'er can ſwell.

*Autre Chanſon du Châtelain de Coucy.*



Another Song from the Chatelain de Coucy, written and ſet about the year 1190.






* Though the firſt of the two Songs by *Cacy* conſiſts of 7 ſtanzas, and the ſecond of 6, in the original, yet place could only be allowed here for one ſtanza of the firſt Song, and for this and the following ſtanza of the laſt.

*Ha! francherieus, puiſqu'en voſtre manoie*
*Me ſuis tous mis, trop me ſecorés lent;*
*Car nus dons n'eſt cortois qui trop delaie:*
*Si s'en eſmaie icil qui s'i atent.*
*Uns petiz bien vaut mieuz, ſe Dex, me voie*
*Qu'on fait cortoiſement,*
*Que cent greignor fais ennieuſement.*
*Car qui le ſuen donne retraiamment,*
*Son grè en pert: & ſi coſte auſiment*
*Con à celui qui bonement outroie.*

Ah! ingenuous foul! too late
Will ere long aſſiſtance come;
In your hands is plac'd my fate,
Speedy then pronounce my doom.
Gifts too much our pride alarm
If reluctanee interpoſe,
And deſtroy the pleaſing charm
Which from courteous bounty flows.
Want of value in the boon
Graceful kindneſs reconciles,
Nought is ſlight that's granted ſoon
If it come array'd in ſmiles.
Thoſe who long their gifts withhold
Have on gratitude no claim;
Be they love, or be they gold
Still they loſe their worth and aim.

In the time of Philip de Valois, between the year 1228 and 1250, the French had more than thirty muſical inſtruments in uſe, of which even the form of ſeveral is unknown to the preſent age. In an ancient MS. poem of the King of France's Library (*h*), a concert is deſcribed, in which all theſe inſtruments are named (*i*).

But nearly as many are *repreſented* in the beautiful illuminations of the ſplendid copy of the *Roman d'Alexander* in the Bodleian Library (*k*), where they are placed in the hands of Muſicians. Among theſe are the following well known Inſtruments of modern times: Flutes, Harps with ten ſtrings, Hautbois, Baſſoons, Trumpets, ſmall Kettle-Drums carried by a boy and beaten by a man, Cymbalum, Tambour de Baſque, two long ſpeaking Trumpets, two large Hand-bells, Guitars, Bagpipes of various forms and ſize, a Dulcimer in ſhape, but held againſt the breaſt and thrummed with the fingers, a Vielle, Viols, or Rebecs with three ſtrings, played with a clumſy bow (*l*), and Regals, or portable Organs. The Bodley tran-

(*b*) N° 7612.
(*i*) *Voyez le Diſcours ſur* L'Ancienneté des Chanſons, *dans le premier Tome des Poeſ. du Roi de Navarre, p.* 247.
(*k*) No. 264, large folio, on vellum.
(*l*) See pl. II. N° 4.

ſcript

ſcript of this metrical romance was finiſhed 1338, and as it is recorded in letters of gold that *che livre fu parfais de la Enluminiere au* XVIII. *davryl par* Jehan de Griſe *l'an de grace* MCCCXLIIII, it ſeems as if the illuminator had been ſix years employed in painting the embelliſhments; in which, beſides groteſque figures and muſical inſtruments in the margin, the principal incidents of the Poem are repreſented at the beginning of each book or canto, where the heads, drapery, buildings, arms, and military engines are well deſigned and coloured, for ſo early a period, and exquiſitely finiſhed (*m*). But this is only the copy of a more ancient MS.; for the Romanſe, according to Borel (*n*), was begun in 1140, by Lambert li Cors, or the Short, and continued by Alexandre de Bernai (*o*). It conſiſts of near 20,000 lines.

In the middle of the Poem we have the following Song ſet to Muſic in Gregorian Notes, written upon five red lines, and preceded by theſe Alexandrine Verſes, in which meaſure the whole work is compoſed:

" *Des meneſtreus huchier| fit li roi grant marée*
" *Tout entour le païs| adroite avironnée*
" *Caſcun aporte trompe| ou violle attemprée*
" *Nacaires* (*p*) *et tabors| de grande renommée*

(*m*) This very beautiful MS. once belonged to the father of the unfortunate earl Rivers, who was put to death by order of Richard III. 1483, as appears by the following memorandum written in an old and difficult hand, on the outſide leaf at the end:

*Cheſt livre eſt à Monſeigneur Richart de Wideville Seigneur de Rivieres, ung des compagnons de la trés noble Ordre de la Jartiere—et le dit Seigneur achetat le diſt livre l'an de grace mille* CCCCLXVI. *le premier jour de l'an à Londres et le VI. an de la coronement de noſtre victorieux Roy Edward uart du nom, & le ſecond de la coronamon de noſtre virtuenſe Royne Elizabeth.*

(*n*) *Treſor de recherches et Antiquitez Gauloiſes et Françoiſes*, Par. 1655.

(*o*) It is quoted by Lacombe, *Dict. du vieux Langage*, p. 470, as written in 1150.

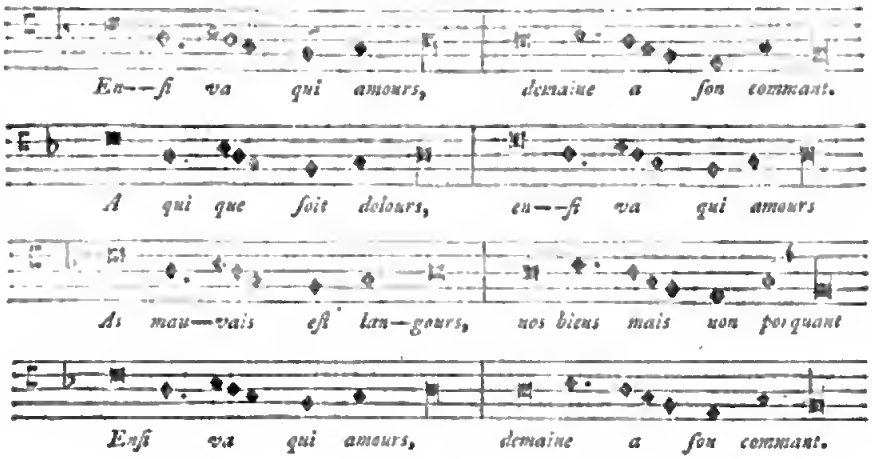
(*p*) *Nacaires* are often mentioned by the old French poets, and *nachare* by the Italian. Du Cange deſcribes *nacara* to be a kind of brazen drum uſed in cavalry, yet Chaucer names it in the company of military *wind* inſtruments:

Pipes, trompès, *nakerès*, and clariounes
That in the bataille blowen blody ſounes.
*Knight's Tale.*

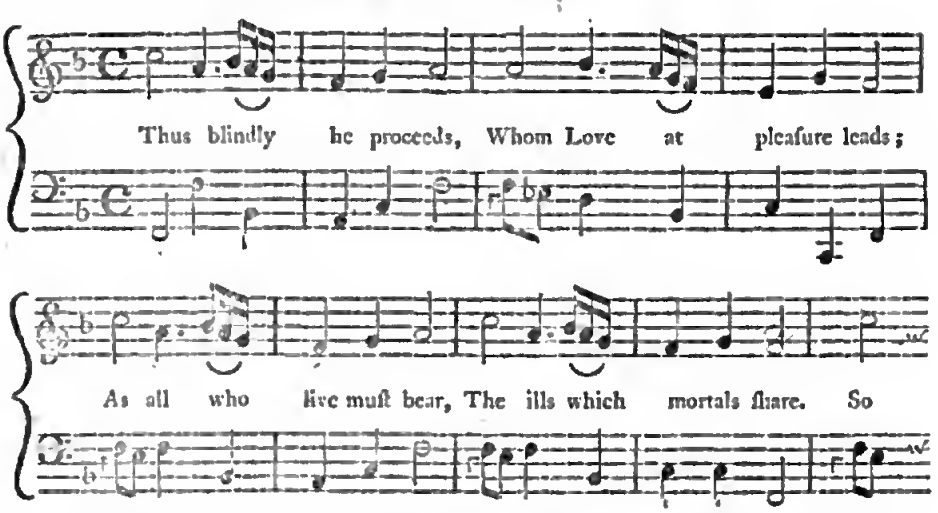
" *Vers*

" *Vers la feſte ſen vont| chantant de randonnée*
" *Laigle fu devant jeus| ki bien fu empenée* (q)."

*Chanſon du Roman d'Alexandre.*

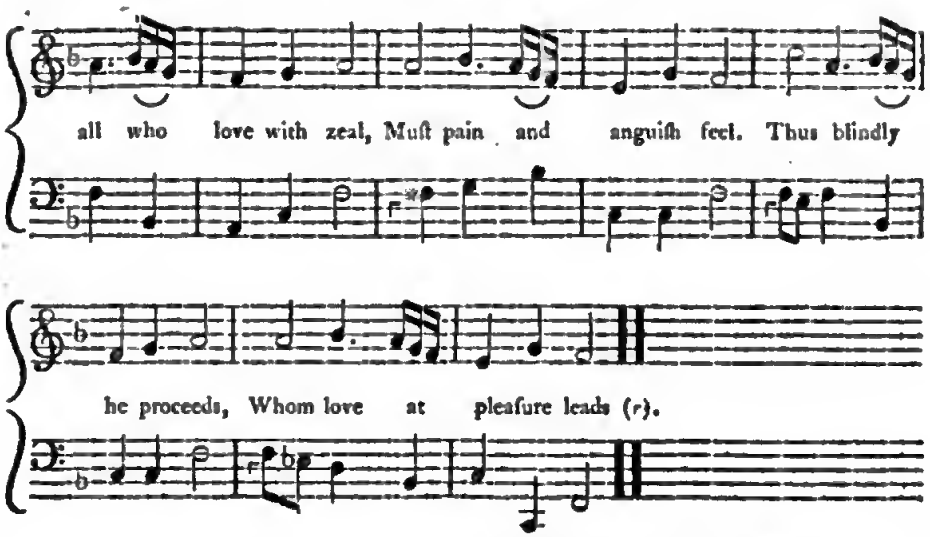



The ſame Melody in Modern Notes.




(q) Of herald minſtrels now a num'rous band
In crowds aſſemble at the king's command:
Some trumpets bring, with viols others come,
And ſome with tymbals or the noiſy drum,
Singing they approach the feaſt, with due decorum
And view the full-plum'd eagle borne before 'em.

who




The verſes of this ſong are *Alexandrine*, or of twelve ſyllables, like the narrative part of the Poem, with this differ-

(r) After unſucceſsfully applying to many learned perſons to aſſiſt me in conſtruing the difficult parts of this Song, I had ventured to *gueſs* at its meaning before I was favoured with an anſwer to a requeſt which I had made to a friend at Paris, begging he would conſult the copy of the Roman d'Alexandre in the Bibl. du Roi [N° 7190] in order to diſcover whether ſomething had not been omitted or erroneouſly tranſcribed in the Bodley MS. which there was great reaſon to ſuſpect. But though I received information that the Song could not be found in the MS. of the Royal Library at Paris; yet I ſhall inſert here the account of this copy of the celebrated Roman d'Alexandre which accompanied the information, as it will doubtleſs afford ſatisfaction to curious enquirers concerning the ancient literature of France.

"The Roman d'Alexandre is divided "into three ſeparate parts, and was written by three different authors. Each of "theſe parts has a particular title: the "firſt is called *Le Roman d'Alexandre*; the "ſecond *La Vengeance d'Alexandre*; and "the third *La Mort d'Alexandre*.

"There is ſtill in the ſame folio volume "which contains theſe three MSS. an-"other work upon *the Death of Alexander*, "which is entitled *Les Vœux du Paon*, or "the Peacock's Predictions."

The following tranſlation of the Song as it ſtands in the Bodley copy has been procured from the learned M. Bejau, keeper of the MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, which I am happy in preſenting to my readers:

*Enſi va qui amours | Demaine a ſon commant*
Ainſi va l'amour Il domine à ſon gré.
*A qui que ſoit doleurs | Enſi va qui amours*
Il attriſte qui que ce ſoit, Ainſi va l'amour
*As mauvais eſt langeurs | Nos biens mais non perquant.*
Ah la langueur eſt funeſte, Mais notre bonheur ne depend pas de nous.

ence, that one of them is likewiſe *Leonine*, in which the end rhymes to the middle:

*Enſi va qui amours demaine a ſon commant.*
*A qui que ſoit dolours, enſi va qui amours,*
*As mauvais et langours, nos biens mais non porquant,*
*Enſi va qui amours demaine a ſon commant.*

The ſame *Refrain* or burden appears in another Song which is inſerted in an ancient *Fabliau* or tale among a large collection of poems of the thirteenth century in the king of France's library (*s*). It is difficult now to diſcover which was written firſt, but the occaſion of the ſong in the Fahliau is ſo curious that I ſhall preſent the reader with a ſketch of the whole narrative in which it is introduced The title of this Fabliau is *Le Lay d' Ariſtote*, in which it is related that Alexander the Great, after his conqueſt of India, forgetting the glory he had already acquired, and his plans of future conqueſts, ſhut himſelf up continually with a beautiful female, of whom he was violently enamoured. His officers murmured at the abſence of the young hero, without daring to reproach him; but his tutor Ariſtotle, hearing of the diſcontents in the army, was leſs ceremonious, and upbraided him with the impropriety of his conduct. Alexander feeling the force of the philoſopher's remonſtrances, without loving his miſtreſs the leſs, for ſome time diſcontinued his viſits: however being at length unable to repreſs his paſſion any longer he returned; and, amidſt the tears, careſſes, and reproaches with which he was received by the beautiful object of his affection, confeſſed, in order to exculpate himſelf, that his abſence had been occaſioned by the murmurs of his officers, and the cenſures of his maſter Ariſtotle. The lady inſtantly reſolving to be revenged upon the philoſopher, made Alexander promiſe to be at his window early the next morning. At break of day ſhe went into the garden of the palace: her

(*s*) N° 28. It was firſt printed among the *Fabliaux des Poetes François des* xii, xiii, *et* xiv. *Siecles*, tom. I. p. 173. Par. 1766, and has ſince appeared among the *Fabliaux*, publiſhed in 1779. tom. I. p. 197.

deſhabille

deſhabille is elegantly deſcribed; the Song which ſhe ſings in a ſoft voice as a lure is inſerted in the tale, and is ſimple and pretty. Upon her arrival under the window of Ariſtotle, he ſhuts his books, and in ſpite of his wiſdom and reflexion, finds himſelf unable to reſiſt the deſire of approaching her: the ſeducing blandiſhments and coquetry of the fair are as well deſcribed as the awkward advances of the philoſopher. At length ſhe complains to him of the ill offices which had been practiſed in order to alienate from her the affections of Alexander. Ariſtotle boaſts of the influence he has with the prince, and promiſes to exerciſe it in her favour, upon condition that ſhe will firſt lend a favourable ear to the paſſion which he has conceived for her himſelf; but ſhe tells him that nothing will convince her of his ſincerity but his going upon all-fours, and carrying her on his back through the garden: even to this he conſents; yet ſtill that ſhe might ride more at her eaſe, ſhe inſiſts upon his fetching a ſaddle; ſhe then mounts, and laughing ſings:

*Ainſi va qui amors maine, &c.*

which is preciſely the burden of the ſong that has juſt been given from the Roman d'Alexandre.

When the young monarch had been ſufficiently amuſed by the *Equeſtrian* figure his maſter had made, he deſcends into the garden, ſays the fabuliſt, and aſks him if he has loſt his ſenſes, and forgotten all his fine precepts in favour of continence? Ariſtotle lifts up his eyes, and with the utmoſt ſhame and confuſion confeſſes that he was miſtaken—"I reproached "your majeſty," ſays he, "with that intemperance in youth, "from which my old age has not been able to protect me."

It was a common practice with the old French poets to make a particular line of an old ſong the *Refrain*, or burden, of a new; but whether that of the ſong in the Roman d'Alex-

andre alludes to the tranſaction related in the Fabliau, or whether the ſong in the Fabliau was an imitation of that in the Roman, I am unable to determine. Theſe two ſongs will at leaſt illuſtrate each other, and the reſemblance ſeems too great to have been produced by accident.

The Songs of THIBAUT, king of Navarre, are by ſome placed at the head of thoſe that have been preſerved in the *French language*, as thoſe of Guillaume IX. duke of Aquitain are in that of *Provence*. There were indeed ſongs written in both languages before theſe princes had done poetry the honour to make it their favourite amuſement; but the chief part of thoſe of higher antiquity than the time of theſe patriarchs of Provençal and French verſification are either loſt, or thought of little value.

And as the paraphraſes on the Epiſtles, which have been inſerted above, are the moſt ancient *Sacred Songs* now ſubſiſting in a vulgar tongue, to which the original Muſic has been preſerved; ſo the Provençal and French Melodies, of which a ſpecimen has already been given, are the moſt ancient that I have been able to find to *Secular Songs*. Of nearly equal antiquity, however, are the lyric compoſitions of Thibaut count of Champagne and king of Navarre.

This prince was born in 1201, and died 1254. He was cotemporary with Philip Auguſtus, and Lewis the Eighth and Ninth, which laſt prince he accompanied to the Holy War. It has been ſaid by ſeveral hiſtorians that he was much captivated by the charms of queen Blanche of Caſtile, mother of St. Lewis, to whom many of his ſongs were addreſſed; but this point of hiſtory has been diſputed with great zeal by M. l'Eveque de la Ravaliere, the editor of Thibaut's Poems, which he publiſhed in 1742, with notes, and a hiſtory of the revolutions in the French language from the time of Charlemagne to that of St. Lewis, together with an Eſſay on the Antiquity of French Songs. This learned prelate has defended the honour

of

of queen Blanche with his pen, five hundred years after her deceaſe, with as much proweſs and true chivalry as the moſt valiant champion of injured innocence could have done with his ſword and lance, had he been animated by the preſence of that princeſs, and the heroiſm of the times in which ſhe lived.

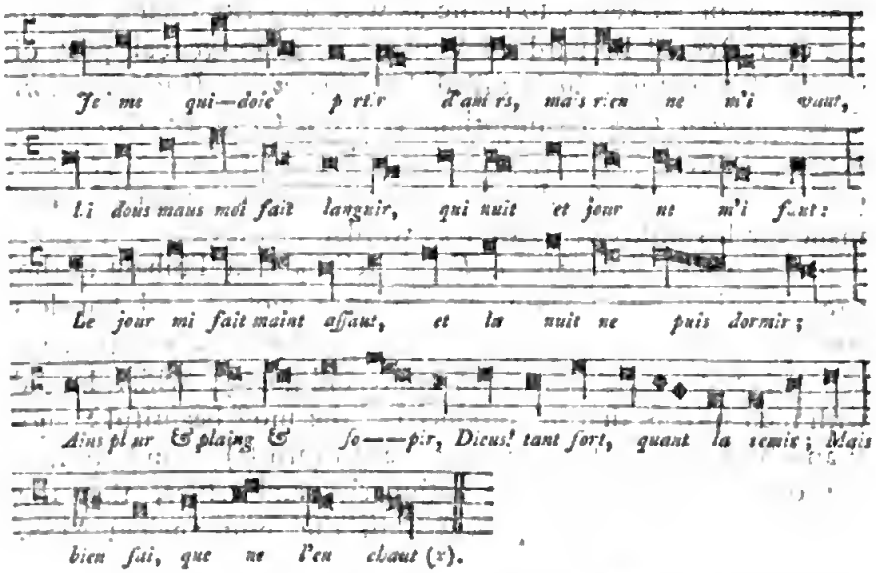
I ſhall preſent the reader with two ſpecimens of the King of Navarre's *Poetry* and *Muſic*; for it was not ſufficient for the Bards of his time to compoſe good Verſes, they were expected to ſet them to Muſic themſelves if they were to be ſung; and it appears from the lives of the Troubadours by Noſtradamus, that moſt of the Provençal poets were practical muſicians, and ſet their own ſongs. It was ſaid of William Count of Poitou, *qu'il ſut bien trouver & bien Chanter:* that is, could *ſing* or ſet verſes to muſic as well as write them; and in the character of Bernard de Ventadour, a Provençal poet of the twelfth century, he is called *Le Chanteur. Il etoit courtois & bien appris*, ſays his hiſtorian, *et ſavoit Compoſer et Chanter.* Rambaud de Vaqueiras, one of the beſt poets in the Provençal language, alſo ſpeaks of the *ſons*, or tunes, which he had made for his miſtreſs, as well as words.

*Les grandes Chroniques de France* tell us that Thibaut at the age of thirty-five, having conceived a violent and hopeleſs paſſion for queen Blanche, was adviſed by wiſe and prudent counſellors to apply himſelf to muſic and poetry, which he did with ſuch ſucceſs that he produced "the moſt beautiful Songs "and Melodies that have ever been heard (*t*);" and as it is the opinion of the French antiquaries and critics, that the tunes which have been preſerved in the moſt ancient MSS. of the ſongs of this prince are thoſe which were originally ſet to them by himſelf, they are the more curious and valuable,

(*t*) I ſhall give the paſſage in the original, from Fauchet—*Et pou ce qu'profondes penſées ingendrent melancolies, il luy fut dit d'aucuns ſages hommes, qu'il s'eſtudiaſt en beaux ſons, et doux chants d'inſtruments; & ſi fit-il. Car il fit les plus belles Chanſons, et les plus delectables et Melodieuſes, qui onques feſſent oyes en Chanſons ne en Inſtruments.* Des Anciens Poetes Françoiſ, fol. 565.

luable, not only as being the productions of ſo great a perſonage, but as genuine remains of the ſtate of melody in France at ſo early a period. And indeed when they are written in modern characters, accompanied by a baſe, and the meaſure is regulated by bars, they remind us of many French airs of the preſent century, and ſhew that vocal melody has remained nearly ſtationary in France ever ſince the beginning of the thirteenth century. The words of the firſt ſong being ſerious, the tune may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the *airs tendres* of that period.

I ſhall firſt give an exact *fac-ſimile* of this air from the Vatican copy among the queen of Sweden's Manuſcripts (*u*), to the original words; and then a free tranſlation, adapted to the original melody, written in modern characters.

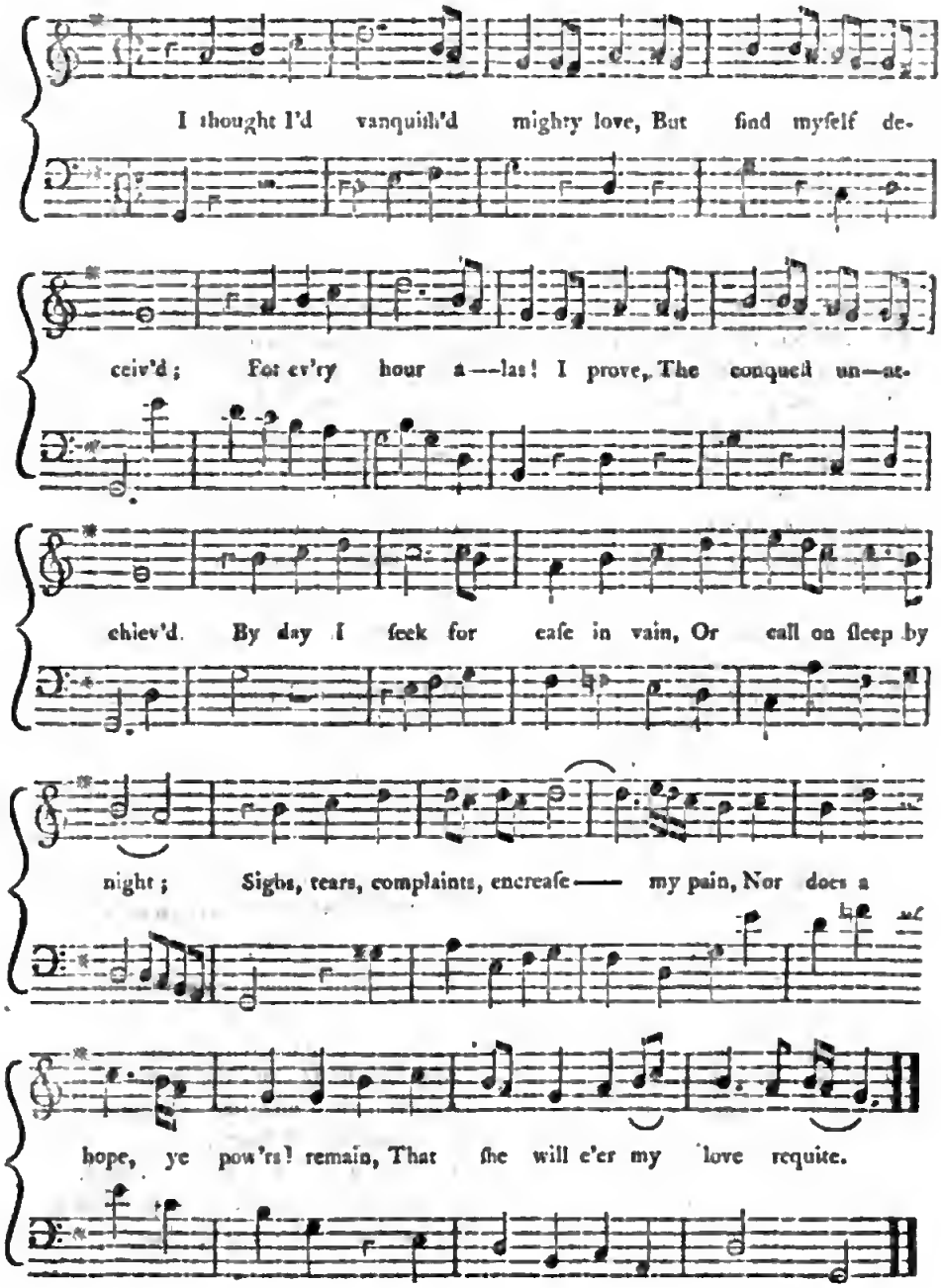



(*u*) N° 59.

(*x*) A very incorrect copy both of the words and muſic of this Song has been printed by Creſcimbeni, *Comment. dell'a Volg. Poeſia*, tom. I. p. 283; where beſides wrong notes, there has been ſuch little attention paid to the *plicæ*, or characters with double tails, which in this melody are manifeſtly ſigns of *augmentation*, that it requires great critical ſagacity in a muſical reader to regulate the meaſure. I have corrected the words by M. de la Valiere's copy, (*Poeſies du Roi de Navarre*, tom. II. *p.* 57.) which ſeems more exact than that which I had procured in the Vatican.

Song

Song from Thibaut King of Navarre, adapted to his original Melody.



*II.*

*Nus ne doit amors trair,*
*Fors ke garçons et ribaut,*
*Si ce n'eſt pour ſon plaiſir,*
*Je ne vois ni bas, ni haut,*
*Ains veuil, quel me truit bault,*
*Sans guiller, et ſans mentir ;*
*Mais ſi je puis conſievir*
*Le cherf, qui tant ſet fuir,*
*Nus n'eſt joyeux, com Thiebaux.*

*III.*

*Li cherf eſt avantureux,*
*Car il eſt plus blanc que nois,*
*Et ſi a les crins ans deux,*
*Plus biaux, que ors eſpenois ;*
*Li cherf eſt en un deſfois,*
*A l'entrer molt perilleux,*
*Car il eſt gardé de leus,*
*Ce ſont felons envieu,*
*Qui trop heent les cortois.*

*IV.*

*Fins chevaliers angoiſſeux,*
*Qui a perdu ſon harnois,*
*Ne vielle, cui art li feu,*
*Maiſon, vigne, et blé et pois,*
*Ne kachiere, qui prent ſois,*
*Ne moigne luxurieux,*
*N'eſt envers moi angoiſſeux,*
*Que je ne ſoie de ceus,*
*Qui aiment de ſur leur pois.*

*V.*

*Dame une riens vos demant,*
*Cuidiés vos, ke ne ſoit pechiés*
*D'occire ſon vrai amant ?*
*Oil voir ; bien le ſachiés,*
*Si vous plait, ſi m'ochiés ;*
*Car je le veuil et creant,*
*Et ſe mieus m'amés vivant,*
*Se le vos dis en oiant,*
*Molt en ſeroie plus liés.*

II.

The libertine alone betrays
The kind and conſtant heart,
But I would die ten thouſand ways
Ere pain to her impart.
No thought my throbbing breaſt can cheer
But her in bliſs to ſee :
Yet in her coy and wild career
Could I but catch this flying deer
How happy then would Theobald be!

III.

This lovely deer, more white than ſnow,
With locks like burniſh'd gold
Which o'er her poliſh'd ſhoulders flow,
Courageous is, and bold.
In peril oft ſhe ſtands at bay,
Where wolves with cunning fraught
Are on the watch by night and day
To ſeize the courteous as their prey
Who ſet their wicked wiles at naught.

IV.

A brave accompliſh'd knight o'ercome
And ſtript of arms and fame,
While barn and vineyard, houſe and home
Are food for fire and flame ;
Than me leſs torture feels and pain
While rigour thus I prove,
For never did I yet attain
The gift ſeraphic of a ſwain
Who could without a premium love.

V.

The ſlighteſt, ſmalleſt boon to ſhare
Is all I humbly crave,
To drive away the fiend Deſpair
And ſnatch me from the grave.
And is it then no crime to wound
A faithful lover's heart ?
To hear his ſad complaints reſound,
Then daſh him to the abyſs profound,
Nor at his cruel ſuff'rings ſtart?

VI.

*VI.*

*Dame, où nule ne ſe prent,*
*Mais ke vos veilliés itant,*
*C'un poi i vaille pities.*

VI.

Pronounce, my fair, a milder doom
Before you've kill'd me quite,
For pity then too late will come
When plung'd in endleſs night.
A little love while yet I live
Is worth a world in grave,
And 'tis œconomy to give
When by a trivial donative
A heavy future charge we ſave.

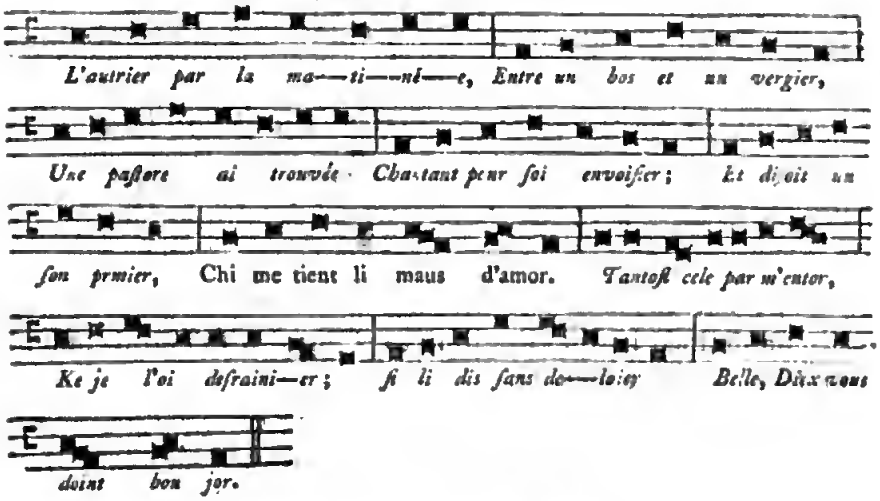
The laſt ſtanza, which is not entire in the original, has been amplified in the Engliſh, to ſupply a ſufficient number of lines, for the melody.

At the end of all the Songs by the King of Navarre, and by almoſt all the poets of nearly the ſame period, there is an imperfect ſtanza, which is called the *Envoi*, or addreſs to ſome particular perſon, for whom probably it was firſt written. To what part of the tune the *Envoi* was ſung, or if ſung at all, I have not been able to diſcover.

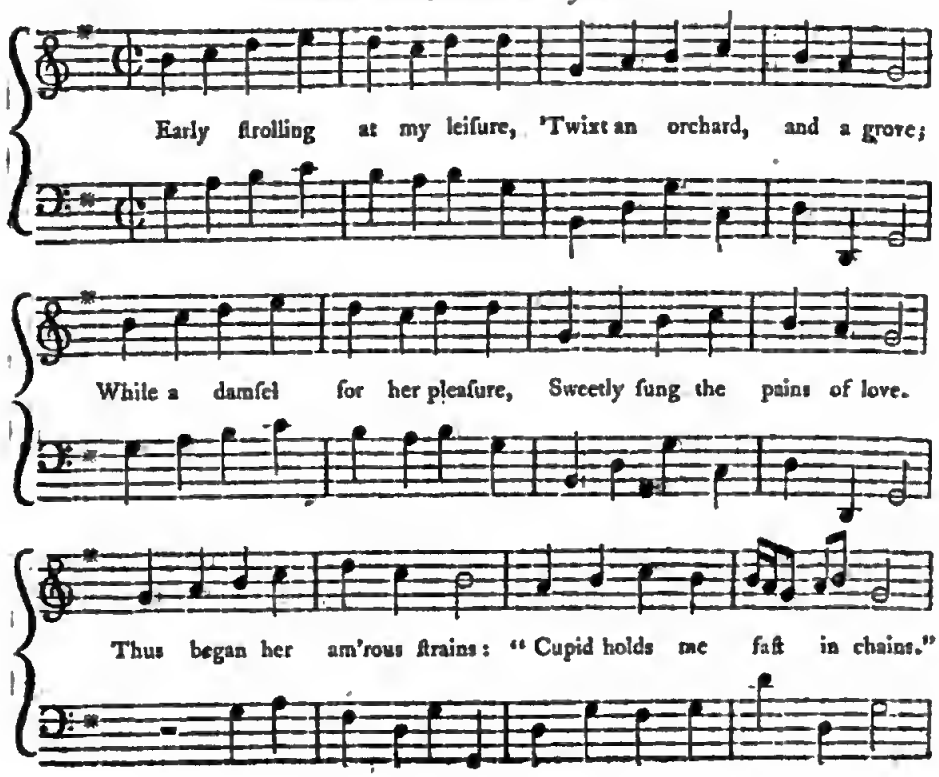
The following Song being written upon a more gay ſubject than the preceding, the tune, which is ſimple and pleaſing, ſeems of the ſame caſt as many modern light French airs in gavot time, called *Vaudevilles*. I ſhall firſt give it in the ſquare Gregorian notes, as it ſtands in all the ancient MSS. and in M. de la Valiere's copy, where neither the flats, ſharps, or bars have been marked, but all are left to the penetration and ſagacity of the performer. In France tradition may ſtill have preſerved theſe Melodies in the memory of many of the natives; but elſewhere, the following copy, unleſs explained, would be but of ſmall uſe.

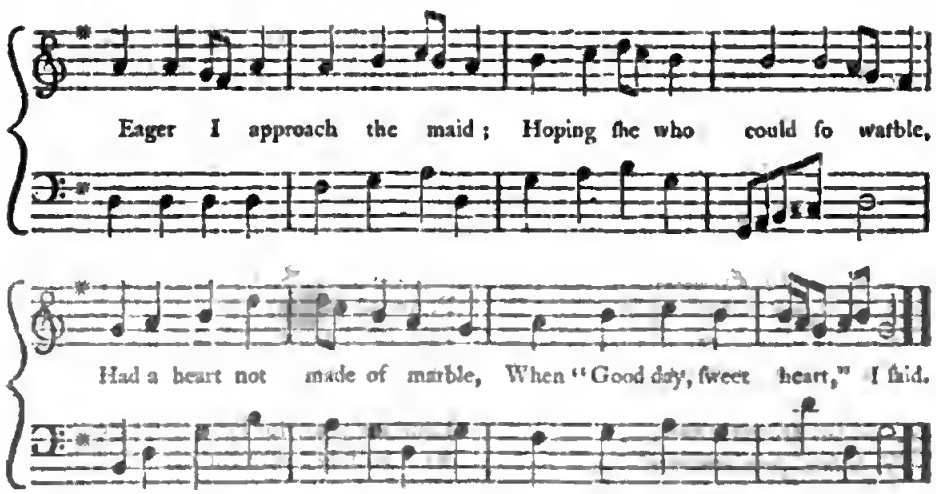
The royal Troubadour in that ſpirit of chivalry and gallantry which ſeemed to govern mankind during his reign, ſets out, *Un beau Matin*, in queſt of adventures, and relates his ſucceſs in the following Song.

*Chanſon du Roi de Navarre.*




Tranſlation, *totidem Syllabis.*






*Mon ſalu ſans demorée*
*Me rendi, & ſans targier,*
*Molt iert frece et colouriée*
*De mi plot à acointier;*
*Bele, voſtre amor vous quier,*
*S'aurés de moi riche ator*
*Elle repend,* Trecheor
Sont mais trop li chevalier;
Miex aim Perrin mon bergier
Ke riche hom menteor.

*Bele, ce ne dites mie,*
*Chevallier ſont trop vaillant:*
*Qui ſet donc avoir amie*
*Ne ſervir à ſon talant,*
*Fors chevaliers, & tel gent?*
*Mais l'amors d'un bergeron,*
*Certes, ne vaut un boton,*
*Partés vous donc en itant,*
*Et m'amés; je vous creant,*
*De moi aurés riche don.*

*Sire, par Sainte Marie,*
*Vous en parlés por noiant,*
*Mainte dame, auront trichie,*
*Cil chevalier ſoſduiant,*

She return'd my ſalutation
With a look ſo freſh and pure,
I'd have riſqu'd my ſoul's ſalvation
Her affection to ſecure.
If you'd love me, ſtrait, I ſaid,
Fine as queen you ſhould be made.
"Knights, ſhe ſaid, are full of art;
"Firſt they win a girl, then cheat her
"Sooner I wou'd wed with Peter
"Than a lord that's falſe of heart."

Muth, my dear, you are miſtaken;
Gentlemen alone can love,
Honour, ne'er by them forſaken,
All deceit muſt diſapprove.
Learn a ſtupid clown to ſlight,
Who your worth can ne'er requite;
Him to vulgar charms conſign;
If, my life, you will endeavour
To love me as well, you ever
Shall be happy, rich, and fine.

By Saint Mary, ſir, you are loſing
All the pains you take to enſnare,
Words ſo ſoft and ſo amuſing
Muſt have ruin'd many a fair;

*Trop ſont fol & mal penſant,*
*Pis valent, que Guenelon (y);*
*Je m'en vais en ma maiſon,*
*Ke Perrin eſt ki m'atent,*
*M'aime de cuer loiaument;*
*Abaiſiés votre raiſon.*

*J'entendi bien la bergiere,*
*Kîle me veut eſchaper;*
*Molt li fis longe proiere,*
*Mais ni puce rien conquaſter:*
*Lors la pris à acoler,*
*Et ele giete un grant cri:*
*Perrinet, trai, trai,*
*Deu bois prenent a huer,*
*Je la lais, ſans demourer*
*Sor mon cheval m'en parti.*

*Quant ele m'en vit aler,*
*Si mi diſt, peur rampoſner,*
Chevaliers ſont trop hardi *.

But the fame is ſpread abroad
Of the tricks, deceit, and fraud,
Practis'd by each gilded beau;
If your words were ten times ſweeter,
Still I would be true to Peter;
Therefore, pray ſir, let me go.

Here ſhe ſhew'd diſapprobation,
And a wiſh to get away,
Nor had pray'r or ſupplication
Power to prolong her ſtay.
Then, embolden'd by deſpair,
In my arms I ſeize the fair,
When with terror and affright
Loud ſhe roars for help, on Peter,
As if bear began to eat her
With a furious appetite.

Peter to the cries ſhe utters
Anſwers in the neighb'ring grove;
Num'rous threats of vengeance mutters
Furious to relieve his love:
Hearing this, I thought it beſt
Inſtant to give up the jeſt;
Swift I mount my palfry—when
Seeing I thro' fear was flying,
Loudly ſhe continued crying—
"Fie on all ſuch gentlemen!"

The ſpecimens hitherto given of muſic in France have been confined to mere *Melody*, without baſe or additional parts, in *Harmony*, as there are no remains of written diſcant, or counterpoint, applied to the melody of ſongs, earlier than the fourteenth century. There are however compoſitions of that period ſtill ſubſiſting, which prove that muſic in parts had been cultivated there, and the rules of harmony ſettled by nearly the ſame laws as thoſe by which it is at preſent governed.

(y) An archbiſhop of Sens, in the time of Charles the Bald, of ſo treacherous and infamous a character, that his name became proverbial.

* The deficient meaſure in this ſtanza, as in that of the preceding Song, has been ſupplied in the tranſlation, for the ſake of the muſic.

The

The late abbé Lebeuf, in the year 1746, gave a very ample and ſatisfactory account to the Academy of Inſcriptions at Paris of two volumes of French and Latin poems, preſerved in the library of the Carmelites of that city, "with a deſcription "of the kind of muſic to which ſome of theſe poems were "ſet."

In 1747, the count de Caylus having found in the king of France's Library, N° 7609—2, a duplicate of theſe poems, gave likewiſe an account of them to the ſame Academy, in two memoirs. The author, Guillaume de Machau, is ſtyled by the count, *Poet and Muſician*; and both theſe excellent critics agree, that he flouriſhed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and died in 1370. Among the poems, which are written upon various ſubjects, there is an infinite number of *Lais*, *Virelais*, *Ballads*, and *Rondeaux*, chiefly in old French, with a few in Latin, and ſet to muſic: ſome for a ſingle voice, and others in four parts, *Triplum*, *Tenor*, *Contratenor*, and a fourth part, without a name. In theſe full pieces, as the words are placed only under the *tenor part*, it is natural to conclude that this was the principal melody. In the muſic, which is written with great care and neatneſs, notes in a lozenge form, with *tails* to them, frequently occur; theſe, whether the heads were *full* or *open*, were at firſt called *Minims*; but when a ſtill quicker note was thought neceſſary, the white or open notes only had that title, and the black were by the French called *Noir*, and by the Engliſh *Crotchets*: a name given by the French with more propriety from the hook or curvature of the tail, to the ſtill more rapid note, which we call a *Quaver*.

The Latin poems are chiefly *motets*, and for a ſingle voice; ſome of which are written in *black* and *red* notes, with this inſtruction to the ſingers: *nigræ ſunt perfectæ, & rubræ imperfectæ*. An admonition worth remembering by thoſe who wiſh

wiſh to decipher muſic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which red notes frequently occur. It was an eaſy expedient of diminution, till the invention of printing, when the uſe of ink of different colours, on the ſame page, occaſioned the expence and trouble of *double printing*. The abbé Lebeuf obſerves, that the diſſection and accelerated motion of notes, during theſe ages, gave great offence and ſcandal to pious and ſober Chriſtians. In a *Kyrie Eleiſon* to the Gregorian chant, which is called *Tenor*, the three parts that are added to it are called *Triplum*, *Motetus*, and *Contratenor*. In the ſecond volume of theſe poems the common chants of the whole maſs, and even the *Credo*, are written in four parts (z). There are many French Ballads and Rondeaux in three parts: *Tenor*, *Triplum*, and *Contratenor*.

The fourteenth century ſeems the æra when muſic in parts, moving in different melodies, came firſt into general favour; for of the preceding age no muſic can be found of more than two parts in ſtrict counterpoint of note againſt note.

Machau calls his collection of Songs ſet to Muſic, *Remedes de Fortune*, regarding muſic as a ſpecific, or at leaſt an opiate, againſt the ills of life. In the illuminations to theſe lyric compoſitions an aſſembly of minſtrels is repreſented with thirty or forty muſical inſtruments, of which he gives the names. His Poem called *Le dit de la Harpe*, which has been already mentioned, is a moral and allegorical piece in the ſtyle of the famous *Roman de la Roſe* by Guillaume de Lorris, and Jean de Meun.

Neither the Abbé Lebeuf, nor the Count de Caylus have produced ſpecimens of Machau's muſical compoſitions; indeed the Count frankly confeſſes, that though he has ſtudied them with the utmoſt attention, and conſulted the moſt learned muſicians, he has been utterly unable to ſatisfy his curioſity

(z) This maſs is ſuppoſed to have been ſung at the coronation of Charles V. king of France, 1364.

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concerning their intrinſic worth. A correſpondent at Paris had promiſed me tranſcripts of ſome of theſe pieces, which however are not yet arrived; and the confeſſion of M. de Caylus renders my diſappointment leſs mortifying; as I could hardly hope to ſucceed in ſolving enigmas which have already defeated ſuperior ſagacity (*a*).

However, ſufficient exerciſe for patience and muſical acuteneſs may be found nearer home; for in the Britiſh Muſeum, the Pepyſian Collection, Magd. Coll. Camb., and in the Muſic School at Oxford, there are copies of muſic, in parts, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and beginning of the ſixteenth centuries, which have long ſince been thought utterly unintelligible to the generality of muſicians.

In the Muſeum (*b*), there are fragments of three muſical treatiſes (*c*), in the ſecond of theſe, which muſt have been written about the latter end of the fourteenth century, minims appear; and at the end there is an old French ſong in two parts, of which, both the words and muſic are difficult to read. Few of the words indeed have been written, and thoſe are very much obliterated. All that I can diſcover is, that they allude to one of the allegorical characters in the *Roman de la Roſe*, the principal perſonages in which are *Jalouſie*, *Bel Accueil*, *Faux Semblant*, &c (*d*). But the ligatures and want of bars render the muſic

(*a*) Indeed it was natural to expect aſſiſtance in this particular from the author of *Eſſai ſur la Muſique Ancienne et Moderne*; but though he has inſerted a dry and petulant critique, by a friend, upon the narrative which the Count de Caylus and the Abbé le Beuf have given of this old French poet-muſician, no ſpecimens either of his Melodies or Counterpoint are inſerted in that voluminous work: which ſeems ſo particularly intended to blazon the talents of French compoſers, that not a ſingle ſpecimen of muſic in parts by thoſe of any other country has had admiſſion, except the celebrated canon of *Non nobis Domine* by our William Bird; which, by being inſerted among French canons, without the author's name, may perhaps paſs in the crowd for the production of a native of France.

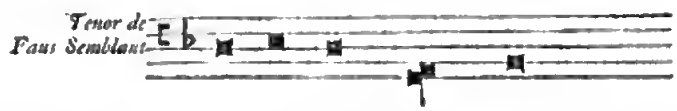
(*b*) *Bibl. R g* 12. c. vi. 5.

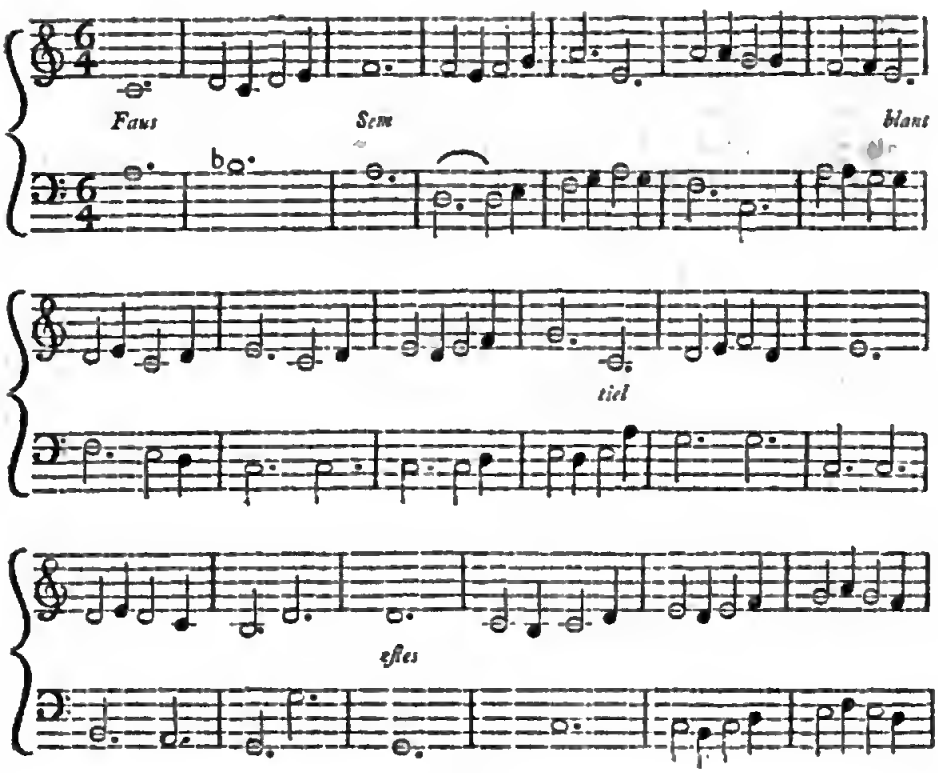
(*c*) *Tractatus Muſici* 3. *Liber quondam Monachorum S. Edmundi.*

(*d*) Maitre Guillaume de Lorris, author of the firſt part of *Le Roman de la Roſe*, flouriſhed about 1260; and Jean Clopinel, dit de Meun, continued it forty years after the death of Guillaume, during the reign of Philip le Bel, about the year 1300. It was more than fifty years after this period that

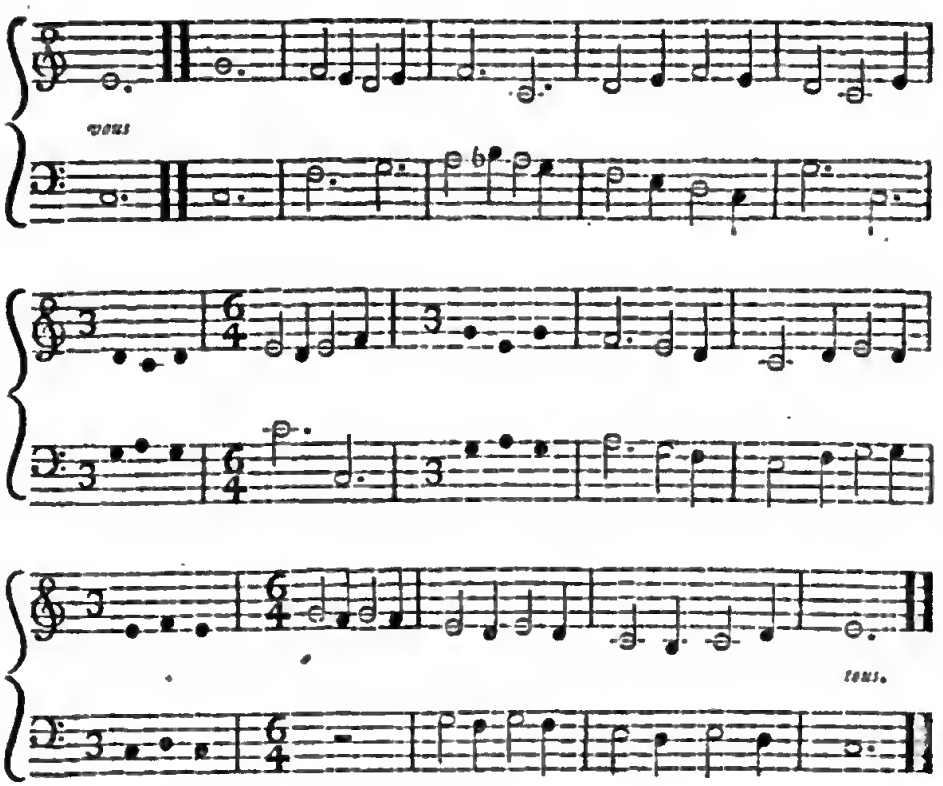
muſic ſtill more difficult to decipher. I ſhall ſave the reader however all the trouble I am able, by inſerting the notes, ſuch as I conjecture them to be, in modern characters, and dividing the meaſure by bars.

The words, contrary to the uſual practice of ancient times, are not put under the *tenor* part, which in this Song does not form the principal melody.




that our Chaucer made an Engliſh poem of it. Of this moral, ſatirical, and allegorical fable, which has been frequently printed in the original, there are four editions, of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, in his Majeſty's Library at the Queen's Palace, one of which is in proſe.




There is ſome faint attempt at Air in this Tune, and we admire a little Melody in theſe early productions, as we do the firſt dawnings of reaſon in an infant. Of the Harmony, or Baſe, I can ſay but little; as when the MS. was unintelligible and conjecture failed me, I ſupplied deficiencies by modern rules of compoſition.

As our chief enquiry in this chapter is after the firſt Melodies that were ſet to modern languages, and as we have endeavoured to gratify the reader's curioſity concerning thoſe of Provence and the northern parts of France, we ſhall now proceed to give ſome account of the ſtate of Vocal Muſic in Italy at this early period, during the formation of its language.

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From the intimate connexion and cloſe union of the arts, it is hardly poſſible to trace the progreſs of muſic in ITALY without ſpeaking of its language; which has long been univerſally allowed to be more favourable to ſinging than any one that the numerous combinations of letters in all the alphabets of modern times has produced. And if the French, Provençal, and Spaniſh dialects can be deduced from the Latin, how much more eaſy is it to trace the Italian from that ſource; which is itſelf frequently ſo near pure and claſſical Latin, that no other change or arrangement of words ſeems to have been made, than what contributed to its ſweetneſs and facility of utterance *?

That the Italian tongue is derived from the vulgar language of the ancient Romans, ſeems the opinion of the beſt critics; but to diſcover and point out by what degrees it was ſmoothed and poliſhed to the ſtate in which Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio found it in the fourteenth century, would require more time, and occupy more ſpace in this chapter than the ſubject ſeems neceſſarily to require. However, as the Italian language has been truly called by Metaſtaſio *Muſica Steſſa*, and is ſo favourable to *vocal purpoſes* as to be more muſical in itſelf, when merely *ſpoken* with purity, than any other in Europe, an enquiry into the cauſes of its mellifluence and natural melody does not ſeem foreign to a hiſtory of that art, which has been brought to ſuch perfection by the natives of Italy, that their refinements are adopted and rendered the criterion of grace and elegance in every other country where muſic is cultivated.

Muratori (*e*) has given innumerable paſſages from authors, of the eighth and ninth centuries, to prove, that after the Franks and Germans were ſettled in Italy, *articles* were uſed in the Latin language, inſtead of *pronouns* and changes of

* Howel however obſerves that he can make a ſentence that ſhall be at once Spaniſh and Latin, but that he could never do the ſame with Italian.

(*e*) Diſſert. 32.

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termination, in order to ſave the trouble of inflecting the caſes in nouns; but pretends not to ſay what this vulgar language was, or whether the clergy preached to the common people, or merchants carried on their correſpondence, in Latin or Italian.

The learned Maffei (*f*) allows the Provençal, French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages to be deſcendants from the Latin, but denies that the ancient inhabitants of Italy adopted any words from the Goths or Huns who invaded them. The genius of the German, Francic, or Teutonic language, which was ſpoken by the Lombards, was ſo diametrically oppoſite to that of the Italians, that it ſeems incredible there ſhould have been any exchange or union of dialects between them: the one being as remarkable for its numerous conſonants and harſh terminations, as the other for its open vowels and mellifluous endings. As it is the opinion of this profound critic that the Romans had always a *vulgar* dialect, leſs grammatical and elegant than that of the ſenate and of books, he ſuppoſes the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages to have been different modifications of this ruſtic, plebeian dialect. But it is as difficult to aſſign a reaſon for all theſe daughters of one common mother being ſo diſſimilar, as it is to account for the little reſemblance that is frequently found between other children of the ſame parents. And why the French language ſhould have ſo many *nazal* endings; the Spaniſh ſo many *ſibillating*, and the Italian alone have none but *vocal* terminations can only have been occaſioned by ſome particular and radical tendency in the vulgar and plebeian language of each country, from very high antiquity.

The Romans had two words for moſt purpoſes, the one elegant and uſed by writers and perſons of education, and the other vulgar and common. The word *caput*, for inſtance, was an elevated expreſſion for the head, and *teſta*, uſed by

(*f*) *Verona illuſt.* tom. I. lib. xi.

Auſonius, an ignoble expreſſion for the ſame thing. *Os*, the mouth, according to Plautus and Juvenal, was called *bucca* by the common people; whence the word *bocca* in Italian. *Equus*, a horſe, according to Horace and Perſeus, was called *caballus* and *caballinus* by the plebeians, which the Italians have ſoftened into *cavallo*. The learned author has collected a great number of proofs in confirmation of his opinion that the Romans had at all times two languages; the one elegant, grammatical, and uſed by the patricians and the learned; and the other mean, vulgar, inaccurate, and uſed only by the plebeians. That this vulgar language was more the parent of the Provençal, French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages than pure Latin, appears by the examples he has furniſhed; but the Italian was not only derived from the trivial and vulgar words in the Latin language, but from grammatical ſoleciſms and popular inaccuracies of pronunciation. It is not to be imagined that the common people of Rome at any period ſpoke ſuch correct and elegant language as their beſt authors have left us in their writings. Ever eager to convey their meaning, and to arrive at the true end of ſpeech by the ſhorteſt road, they hate the trouble of polyſyllables, and have a natural propenſity to abbreviate them. Of this the Marquis Maffei has likewiſe furniſhed innumerable examples in the Latin tongue of very high antiquity. As *ſis* for *ſi vis*; *ain* for *aiſne*; *ſire nipſe* for *ſimilis re ipſa*; and *cauneas* for *cave ne eas* (*g*). But eliſions of conſonants were ſtill more frequent: as *per hoc* was ſoftened into *però*, *ſic* into *ſi*; and by the omiſſion of the *m* final in the accuſative caſe ſingular of nouns, as *amore* for *amorem*, *fama* for *famam*, &c. innumerable words in the Latin language inſenſibly became Italian; and as it was impoſſible for the common people, ignorant of grammar, to know all the neceſſary inflexions of nouns, it was natural for them to take greater liberties with the accuſative and ablative

(*g*) *Cic. Divin.* lib. ii.

caſes

caſes than any other, and it is from theſe two caſes that the genius of the Italian language is chiefly derived.

The learned marquis goes through all the caſes of nouns and tenſes of verbs; ſhews the formation of adverbs, and the mutation of letters, in order to remove harſhneſs and facilitate utterance. And it appears that the Roman ſoldiers and common people totally loſt the terminations *um*, *ur*, and *us*, which rendered the article neceſſary to diſtinguiſh caſes, numbers, and perſons, as well as auxiliary verbs to facilitate the conjugations of other verbs. It was the opinion of Muratori, that theſe changes and corruptions were occaſioned by the Barbarians who invaded Italy; but both Maffei and Severino have proved that the Romans had introduced them long before the Goths, Franks, or Vandals had invaded them.

This language continued long to partake of its barbarous origin, remaining rude, unformed, and without rules, as long as the uſe of Latin was preſerved in courts of juſtice, public acts, and polite converſation; and it was not till the twelfth century that the Muſes honoured the vulgar language of Italy ſo far as to admit it into their concerts.

The ſuperiority of the Tuſcan dialect over all the others of Italy is aſcribed by Gravina (*k*) to the ancient democratic form of government at Florence, which, before the Medici family had uſurped the ſovereignty, furniſhed the citizens with frequent opportunities of ſpeaking in public, and encouragement for poliſhing their language "in order to bring the people "over to their opinions, by the ſweetneſs of their elo-"quence (*l*)."

(*k*) *Della Ragion Poet.*

(*l*) Of the great number of provincial dialects in Italy an idea may be formed from Quadrio's account of them, vol. i. p. 207, where it appears that books have been written and tranſlations made, many of which have been printed, in *Bergamaſca*, *Bologneſe*, *Calabreſe*, *Fiorentina ruſtica di Contado*, *Friulana*, *Genoveſe*, *Milaneſe*, *Modaneſe*, *Napolitana*, *Padovana*, *Perugina*, *Romaneſca*, *Saneſe*, *Siciliana*, and *Veneziana*. In all theſe, and more, the rev. Mr. Croſts, in his valuable collection of uncommon books, is in poſſeſſion of printed ſpecimens.

That

That every language of a learned and commercial people is greatly changed in the courſe of a few centuries, is well known. Horace complains of the want of permanence in that of the Romans; Quintilian tells us that in his time ſcarce any of the ancient language was left; and in the time of Juſtinian new inflexions and modes of ſpeech, neglect of ſyntax, abbreviations, and vulgar barbariſms, were leading to a new language. But like the provincial dialects of moſt countries this language was many ages merely colloquial, and never admitted into books.

It was the faſhion for the learned to write their familiar letters in Latin, even to women, ſo late as the time of Petrarca, when it was ſtill cuſtomary to preach in that language; but preaching was then leſs frequent than at preſent. Even ſo late as the year 1500 the biſhops and dignified clergy, after preaching in Latin to a ſelect congregation of well educated perſons, had their ſermons repeated the next day to the common people by the friars in the vulgar tongue. The ſermons of theſe early periods by St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, Bernardino da Siena, and many others that have been preſerved, are all in Latin. But it is a curious circumſtance that after this period many ſermons are found in half Latin and half Italian; for the preachers, accommodating themſelves by degrees to the vulgar, avoided the trouble of a regular tranſlation, by interlining the Latin with fragments of Italian (*m*). But this is ſtill leſs extraordinary than the barbariſm of our Engliſh ſermons, which not many years ago were almoſt half Latin. An Italian congregation, from the affinity of the two languages was likely to underſtand a conſiderable part of what was uttered in Latin, which was not the caſe with the Engliſh. The ſermons of the famous Jeremy Taylor, in the time of Charles the Firſt, are crowded with *Greek* in every page.

(*m*) *Sorgimento d'Italia, dall' Abate Saverio Bettinelli*, tom. II. p. 15.

When

When Dante wrote his *Vita Nuova*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, he ſaid that the Italian language had not ſubſiſted more than one hundred and fifty years; and that it was at firſt uſed by ſome poet for the ſake of his miſtreſs, by whom the verſes addreſſed to her in Latin began to be underſtood with great difficulty (*n*).

And Muratori (*o*) furniſhes a ſpecimen of Italian Rhymes from the Moſaic in the Cathedral of Ferrara, ſo early as 1135.

*Il mile cento trempta cinque nato*
*Fo queſto tempio a Zorzi conſecrato,*
*Fo Nicolao Scolptore,*
*E Glielmo fo l'Autore.*

Corticelli in his *Eloquenza Toſcana* aſſerts that "in Italy Lyric Verſes preceded all other poetry; and ſo general is the love for this ſpecies of verſification, that there is no nation, however barbarous, without it." And this author imagined that Lyric Poetry had its riſe in Tuſcany about the year 1184 (*p*), upon the following occaſion: the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa being hunting in Mugello, a delightful country of Tuſcany, and a ſtag paſſing precipitately by him, Ubaldino Ubaldini, a valiant Florentine knight, ſeized him by the horns and held him while the emperor ſlew him; for which bold and dexterous ſervice the emperor gave him the ſtag's head, with a permiſſion to aſſume it in his family arms. Ubaldino compoſed an inſcription to commemorate this event, which is ſtill to be ſeen engraved on marble at Florence, and though written like proſe, it conſiſts of ſhort verſes, in rhyme, with a mixture of Latin words; and is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt attempt

(*n*) — *Il primo ch' cominciò a dire come Poeta volgare, fi mſſe, perocchè volle fare intendere le ſue parole a donna, alla quale era malagevole ad intendere i verſi Latini.* Delle Opere di Dante, vol. v. p. 57. Ediz. di Ven. 1711.

(*o*) Diſſert. 32.

(*p*) Creſcembeni fixes it at the ſame period. *Pref. alla Stor. della Volg. Poeſia.*

at Lytic Poetry in Tuſcany, but he believes that the firſt ſongs in modern languages were written in Sicily: whence the art paſſed into Provence among the Troubadours, of whom the Italians learned it about the thirteenth century (*q*).

Few other veſtiges of poetry are to be found before the year 1200. Rhymes written upon the ſubject of Love by the emperor Frederic the Second, who was born in 1194, are among the moſt ancient that have been preſerved (*r*).

Though the French began to write in their own dialect much ſooner than the Italians, yet their language was brought to no perfection before the laſt century; but the writings of the Italians, of the fourteenth century, are ſtill regarded as models of perfection, with reſpect to diction, and conſtruction.

According to Creſcimbeni, the Italian written language was not wholly formed till the thirteenth century, though it was colloquially uſed much earlier. Many verſes and memorials ſtill remain of the Italian tongue during this period. But the Sicilians, ſays the ſame writer, were the firſt who committed to paper verſes in Italian, whoſe ſucceſs excited other poets in Italy, eſpecially the Tuſcans, to imitate them; and Petrarca was in doubt whether the Sicilians imitated the Provençals, or the Provençals the Sicilians in their poetical compoſitions. But as both theſe countries were long under the ſame ſovereigns, the inhabitants would naturally cultivate and encourage the ſame arts and language (*s*). If the Sicilians were the firſt poets in a vulgar tongue, they were at leaſt very negligent in preſerving ſufficient examples of their ancient

(*q*) Creſcembeni has inſerted this early eſſay of Italian Verſification in the firſt volume of his *Comment. Intorno all' Iſt. della Volg. Poeſ.* lib. 1. p. 12.

(*r*) Ib. tom. III. lib. 1.

(*s*) The Counts of Barcelona were Sovereigns of Provençe from 1102 to 1245, from which time it was poſſeſſed by the Kings of Sicily, till 1480. This accounts for the Spaniſh words which frequently occur in the Provençal language, as well as for the great number of words of that dialect to be found in the Italian tongue.

poetry

poetry to aſcertain its title to priority. Indeed Muratori (*t*) ſays that the moſt ancient Sonnets in the Italian language were written by the Sicilians; but he neither gives ſpecimens, nor names the authors of them.

Creſcimbeni (*u*) however confeſſes, as Bembo, Redi, and many Italian writers of eminence had done before, that the Provençals were regarded by his countrymen as the fathers of their poetry (*x*); and that Dante, Cino da Piſtoia, Guido Cavalcante, Petrarca, and Bocaccio, allowed them to have formed their own language, and produced an infinite number of poems, long before the Italians could boaſt of either. Indeed by a compariſon of the moſt ancient Italian poems now ſubſiſting with thoſe of Provence, it appears that they imitated the forms and ſtructure of the poetical compoſitions of the ancient Troubadours, who furniſhed them likewiſe with their poetical terms of art which are the ſame in both languages (*y*).

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all the nations of Europe began to cultivate their language and poetry; but the fruits of none have retained their taſte and ſweetneſs, except the Italian. Latin, at this time, was but rarely uſed for common purpoſes, and in the two following centuries it was almoſt wholly confined within monaſtic walls (*z*).

With reſpect to the muſic of the middle ages in Italy, Muratori (*a*) aſſerts, with ſeeming truth, that it did not wholly periſh: and mentions from the Hiſtory of Malaſpina (*b*) a chorus of women ſinging through the ſtreets accompanied

(*t*) *Diſſert.* 40. *& della Perf. Poeſ.* tom. I. p. 7.

(*u*) *Introd. alle Vite de' Poeti Provenzali*, p. 2.

(*x*) *Come di padri della ſua Poeſia.*

(*y*) The Provençal poets had no *verſi ſciolti*, or blank verſe, like the Italians; all their poetry was in rhyme, ſo that it ſeems as if the Italians in their blank verſe had imitated the Latins, and in rhyming the Provençals.

(*z*) As the Latin language was in uſe, and generally underſtood longer in Italy, its native country, than elſewhere; it ſeems to account naturally for the cultivation of the *vulgar tongue* there, at a later period than in ſome other parts of Europe.

(*a*) Diſſert. 24.

(*b*) Lib. iv.

with Cymbals, Drums, Flutes, Viols, and other muſical inſtruments, in the year 1268, when Prince Conrad was marching againſt Charles the Firſt, King of Sicily. He likewiſe gives an account (*b*) of the continuation of the Pagan cuſtom of hiring women, *præficæ*, to ſing and weep over the dead at their funerals, till the fourteenth century (*c*); at which time, and afterwards, it was cuſtomary among the Lombards to have an epithalamium ſung at the weddings of all perſons who could afford it.

Innumerable bands of tumblers, buffoons, rope-dancers, muſicians, players on inſtruments, and actors were then retained in the courts of princes, who, by their gambols, farces, ſports, and ſongs, diverted the company (*d*). Theſe were called in Tuſcany *Giullari* and *Giocolari*, and, by thoſe who mentioned them in Latin, *Joculares* and *Joculatores*. Theſe fabricators of amuſement never departed without being well rewarded. But what appears the moſt extraordinary and different from our preſent cuſtoms is, that the coſtly and gorgeous robes which it was uſual for princes to receive from other great perſonages who viſited their courts at feaſts, or upon their marriage, as marks of their friendſhip and reſpect, were beſtowed on theſe people. Benvenuto Aliprando, an old ruſtic poet in his Chronicle (*e*) deſcribes a marriage at the *great court* of Mantua, in the year 1340, while under the dominion of the Gonzaga family. "At that time," ſays he, "the different princes and nobles of Italy, whoſe names he "mentions, preſented the Gonzaghi with a variety of rich "and precious veſtments, which were called *robe*, robes, "and which were afterwards given to muſicians and buffoons," as the old poet informs us in the following lines:

(*b*) Differt. 23.

(*c*) See the word *computatrix* in Du Cange: "In their dirges they uſed to "enumerate the virtues and celebrate the "nobility, riches, beauty, and fortune of "the deceaſed; hence *computatrices*, com-"puters, counters, enumerators of the "qualities and perfections of the perſon "whoſe funeral they attended." The practice is ſtill continued in Ireland, and, according to Le Brun, among the Turks.

(*d*) Differt. 29.

(*e*) Lib. ii. cap. 53.

*Tutte*

*Tutte le robe ſopra nominate*
*Furon in tutto trent' otto e trecento,*
*A buffoni e ſonatori donate (f).*

The family of Gonzaga in return reciprocally exerciſed munificence towards the nobles who viſited them, as the ſame old poet informs us in the following rude verſes:

*Otto giorno la corte ſi durare*
*Tornì eri, gioſtri, bagordi facia,*
*Ballar, cantar', e ſonar facean fare.*
*Quattro cento ſonator ſi dicia*
*Con buffoni alla corte ſi trovoe.*
*Roba e danar donar lor ſi facia.*
*Ciaſcun molto contento ſi chiamoe, &c* (g).

With what magnificence the princes of the houſe of Viſconti ſupported their court at Milan during the ſame century, is frequently deſcribed by Corio the hiſtorian (*h*); but he particularly excites our wonder by his account of the ſolemn pomp with which the nuptials of Lionel duke of Clarence, ſon of Edward the third king of England, was celebrated in 1368, with Violante the daughter of Galeazzo Viſconti, duke of Milan. This event is circumſtantially related by ſeveral other ancient hiſtorians of Italy; and Aliprando of Mantua tells us that Lionel gave five hundred ſuperb dreſſes to the minſtrels, muſicians, and buffoons who were then aſſembled at Milan; that Galeazzo preſented them with many more, and Bernabo, his brother, rewarded them munificently with money on the occaſion.

(*f*) And all theſe coſtly robes of ſtate
In all three hundred thirty-eight,
To fidlers and buffoons were given.

(*g*) Eight days theſe ſports were held, where valiant knights
In tilts and tournaments their proweſs ſhow,
And minſtrels, full four hundred, crown the rites,
While dance and ſong teach ev'ry heart to glow.
To theſe and each buffoon who here was found
Or gold was giv'n, or robes of coſtly ſort;
And all, ſo well their ſpritely arts were crown'd,
Depart contented from the ſplendid court.

(*h*) Bernardo Corio, the author of a Hiſtory of Milan, was born in that city, 1460.

The ſplendid robes and gorgeous attire of Bards and Minſtrels at all times are upon record. The flowing veſt of Orpheus in the triple capacity of Prieſt, Legiſlator, and Muſician, is ſpecified by Virgil (*i*); Arion is related by Herodotus (*k*) to have leaped into the ſea in the rich veſtments he uſually wore in public; Suidas ſpeaks of the ſaffron robe and Mileſian ſlippers worn by Antigenides (*l*); and the performers in the Tragic Chorus, which uſed to be furniſhed at the expence of ſome wealthy citizen of Athens, wore alſo a ſplendid and coſtly uniform.

In France the *Jongleurs*, and in Provence the *Troubadours*, or Minſtrels, during the middle ages, had frequent preſents of coſtly robes from their patrons. In the *Fabliau*, *Conte*, or *Tale of the red Roſe*, a female complains to a *vavaſſor*, or yeoman, of his having taken from her a robe, to give to the Minſtrels.

*Bien doit eſtre vavaſſor vis,*
*Qu'il vuet devenir meneſtrier;*
*Miez voudroi que fuſſiez rez,* (raſé)
*Sans aigue* (eau) *la teſte & le coul,*
*Que ia n'y remanſiſt chevoul,*
*S'apartient à ces Jongleours*
*Et à ces autres Chanteours,*
*Qu'ils ayent de ces Chevaliers*
*Les robes, car c'eſt lor Meſtiers* (*m*).

Fabliau de la Roſe vermeille.

The cuſtom of preſenting Muſicians with ſuperb and expenſive dreſſes during the fourteenth century, in the manner already related, ſeems to have travelled into England, and to have continued here till after the eſtabliſhment of the king's band of four-and-twenty performers: part of their preſent ſalary be-

(*i*) *Æn.* lib. vi. 645.
(*k*) *Clio.*
(*l*) *In Antigenid.*
(*m*) I would not own the wretch for kin
Who wou'd the Minſtrel trade purſue,
He'd better *dry* ſhave head and chin,
And, with the hair, cut off the ſkin,
Than herd with ſuch a worthleſs crew.
Let ſplendid knights with uſual pride
On Fidlers laviſh ſuch rewards,
But 'tis to meaner fools denied
To ſtrip themſelves for vagrant Bards.

ing

ing ſtill paid at the wardrobe office as an equivalent for the annual dreſs with which they uſed to be furniſhed at his Majeſty's expence. To this we may add, that the *Waits*, or Muſicians who attend on the Mayor and Aldermen, in moſt of our incorporate cities and towns, are furniſhed with ſplendid cloaks.

The moſt ancient proſe writings that have been preſerved in the Italian language, except books of accounts, are the Letters of Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who flouriſhed about 1250, and who was likewiſe a Poet, and celebrated both by Dante and Petrarca (*n*). But DANTE himſelf has long been regarded by the Italians as the great founder of their language and verſification; and indeed he ſeems to have been as much the father of Epic Poetry in the Italian language, as Shakſpeare is of the Engliſh Drama, for by preceding every other Poet of eminence in his country, his licences either of language or imagery became laws; and there is a certain boldneſs in his ſentiments as well as diction, which very much reſembles that of our Dramatic Bard. His penetration into the ſecret receſſes of the human heart, his happineſs in ſupplying the defects of hiſtorical narration, his purſuit of the human paſſions and affections through all their ſecret windings and doublings, and his invention of infernal tortures adequate to every ſpecies of crime, as well as the chief part of the poetical language in which he has deſcribed them, help to fortify the parallel; and if to ſuch excellencies as are in common with both theſe writers we add the ſimplicity of his expreſſion, and that he is ſublime in imagery and ideas more than in words, that he is utterly free from the *concetti* of which many of his countrymen have been accuſed, and that he has neither borrowed from Homer like Virgil, nor from Virgil as Taſſo has done, though he modeſtly calls him his maſter (*o*); that neither chi-

(*n*) *Vide Supra*, *p.* 103.

(*o*) *Tu ſe' lo mio maeſtro——*
Inf. Cant. 1. 85.
But it ſeems only to have been in point of *ſtyle* and *expreſſion*:
*Tu ſei ſolo colui, da cu' io tolſi*
*Lo* BELLO STILE *che m'a fatto onore.*

valry, romance, nor Gothic manners have furniſhed him with the incidents or machinery of his poem, as was afterwards the caſe with Pulci, Boiado, Arioſto, and Taſſo, he will appear juſtly entitled to the praiſe and admiration which have long been beſtowed upon him by his countrymen.

This great poet, like our own Milton, had the misfortune to live at a period when his countrymen, divided into implacable factions, were mutually meditating the deſtruction of each other, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs were partizans of the Papal power, and the Ghibellines of the Imperial; and Dante by joining the latter, who were unfortunate, was driven from Florence, the place of his nativity, and obliged to end his days in exile and miſery. He tells us himſelf that he began his *Commedia* at the age of thirty-five, before his misfortunes, and finiſhed it in baniſhment (*p*).

Franco

(*p*) Why a Poem on ſuch grave ſubjects as *Hell*, *Purgatory*, and *Heaven*, ſhould be called *Commedia*, has never yet been ſatisfactorily accounted for by the critics. If Dante had not given it that title himſelf in the body of the work, where, *Inf.* 16. 127, he ſwears by the notes of his Comedy

——*e per le note*
*Di queſta* COMEDIA *letter ti giuro*,

and if Boccaccio in his life had not continued it, we might have ſuppoſed ſuch an appellation to have been a fantaſtic conceit of ſome later editor; but we are ſure that the word *Commedia* in the time of Dante did not imply the ſame kind of compoſition as at preſent; for there were no plays, called *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, written or exhibited in Italy for a long time after the death of Dante. It would indeed fill many pages if I were to quote the different reaſons that have been aſſigned by the learned in Italy for this appellation; but if we may believe the venerable author himſelf, it was in pure humility that he entitled his poem *Commedia*; for in his Latin Eſſay on the Italian Language, *de Vulgari Eloquio*, lib. ii. cap. 4. he divides eloquence into three ſtyles or claſſes, the *great*, the *leſs*, and the *plaintive*: or the *Tragic*, *Comic*, and *Elegiac*. Whence we may diſcover his reaſon for calling his Poem a Comedy. However, in dedicating the third Cantele or Book to Can Grande della Scala, he ſays: *Io chiamo l'Opera mia* Commedia, *perchè ſcritta in umile modo, e per aver uſato il parlar volgare, in cui comunicano i lor ſinſi anche le donnicciuole.* "I call my work a *Comedy*, "on account of its being written in a "ſimple and humble ſtyle, and in the "vulgar tongue, in which even unlettered "women expreſs their thoughts." Very few of the learned in Dante's time condeſcended to uſe any other language than Latin; and it was his firſt idea to write his Poem in that language.

As Dante in humility calls his own Poem a *Comedy*, ſo for a different reaſon, he makes Virgil ſtyle his Eneid a *Tragedy*:

*Euripilo ebbe nome, e coſì'l canta*
*L'alta mia* TRAGEDIA *in alcun loco.*
Inf. 20. 112.

Chaucer, in his definition of *Tragedy*, uſes the word in a vague ſenſe, merely to imply a melancholy ſtory:

Tra-

Franco Sacchetti (*q*), one of the moſt ancient writers of Italy, tells us (*r*) that the firſt part of Dante's work, which was written before his exile, was not only read by his countrymen during his life-time, but known by heart, and ſung through the ſtreets by the common people. And in one of this author's novels it is ſaid, that a certain ballad-ſinger called Maneſcalco, and a country fellow, ſo provoked Dante as he was paſſing by, with their vulgar and corrupt manner of pronouncing the words, that he could not refrain from ſeverely chaſtiſing them for their ignorance. We may eaſily imagine that the muſic of ſuch ſingers was not more refined than their pronunciation, and that the melody to which they ſung the *terze rime* of Dante was equally ſimple and ruſtic with that to which the Gondolieri of Venice ſtill ſing the *ottave rime* or ſtanzas of Taſſo, and which is little more than a ſpecies of canto fermo. However, it is diſcoverable in many parts of Dante's writings, that he was not inſenſible to the power of ſuch muſic and muſical talents as his age afforded.

Scochetto was the cotemporary and friend of Dante, and not only a Poet but an able Muſician, as is concluded from the title of an ancient MS. of a *Ballatella*, which informs us that the *words* were by Dante, and the *tune* by Scochetti: *Pa-*

*Tragedie* is to ſayn a certain ſtorie
As oldè bookis makin us memorie,
Of him that ſtood in gret proſperitee,
And is yfallen out of high degree
In to miſerie, and endeth wretchedly.
And they been verſified communly
Of ſix feet, which men clipen *examitron*:
In proſe eke bin endited many on,
And eke in metre, in many a ſondry wiſe.
v. 139 9.

Thus a ballad in Dr. Percy's Collection (Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry) is called *The Lady Iſabella's* TRAGEDY. Chaucer's monk calls each of his little tales *Tragedies*:

— *Tragedies* firſt I wol telle
Of which I have a hundred in my celle.

The monk, to give a ſpecimen of his learning, not content with telling the company in plain Engliſh, that tragedies are compoſed of verſes of *ſix feet*, adds the technical Greek term, *Exametron*: now the iambic verſe of tragedy was called *Trimetron*; *Hexameter* being always confined to *Heroic*, *Epic*, verſe. It ſeems therefore, as Chaucer makes no mention of *Dialogue* in deſcribing ſuch *Tragedies* as the monk is about to relate, which are merely ſorrowful tales, that by *Exametron*, he meant the *Heroic* verſe uſed in Epic or narrative Poetry, when grave and tragic ſtories were told in the learned languages.

(*q*) This author was born 1310, and died 1390.

(*r*) *Novella* 114 & 115 *della prima parte*.

*role*

*role di Dante, e Suono di Scochetti* (*s*). And it is ſaid by the commentators of Dante that his friend Caſella, whom he meets in purgatory, was an excellent Muſician.

Dante was born in 1265, and died 1321. In the Vatican Library (*t*) a Ballatella, or Madrigal, of Lemmo da Piſtoja, who flouriſhed about the year 1300, is preſerved; upon which there is the following memorandum: *Lemmo da Piſtoja; e Caſella diede il Suono.* Implying that the words by Lemmo, were ſet to Muſic by Caſella; which agrees very well with the time when Dante feigns to have met him in Purgatory. The Poet tells us that he began to write his Inferno in 1300, when he was thirty five years of age (*u*).

There is ſomething in the deſcription of this imaginary rencontre ſo ſimple and affectionate, that I cannot help wiſhing to convey an idea of it to my Engliſh reader. Dante, after viſiting the infernal regions with Virgil, is conducted by the ſame poet into purgatory; where, ſoon after his arrival, he ſaw a veſſel approach the ſhore laden with departed ſouls, under the conduct of an angel, who brought them thither to be cleanſed from their ſins, and rendered fit for Paradiſe: as ſoon as they were diſembarked, ſays the poet, "they began like beings "landed on a foreign ſhore, to look around them:

On me when firſt theſe ſpirits fix their eyes,
They all regard me with a wild ſurpriſe,
Almoſt forgetting that their ſins require
The purging remedy of penal fire:
When one of theſe advanc'd with eagee pace,
And open arms, as me he would embracee;
At ſight of which I found myſelf impell'd
To imitate each geſture I beheld.
But vain, alas! was ev'ry effort made,
My diſappointed arms embrace a ſhade:
Thrice did vacuity my graſp elude,
Yet ſtill the friendly phantom I purſued.

*Così al viſo mio s'affiſar quelle*
*Anime fortunate tutte quante,*
*Quaſi obbliando d'ire a farſi belle.*
*I' vidi una di lor trarreſi avante,*
*Per abbracciarmi, con sì grande affetto,*
*Che moſſe me a far lo ſimigliante.*
*O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aſpetto!*
*Tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinſi,*
*E tante mi tornai con eſſe al petto.*

(*s*) *Creſcembeni, Iſt. del'a Volg. Poeſ.* p. 409.

(*t*) N° 3214, p. 149.

(*u*) *Nel Mezzo del Cammin di noſtra vita.*

*Di*

My wild aſtoniſhment with ſmiling grace
The ſpectre ſaw, and chid my fruitleſs chaſe.

The voice and form now known, my fear ſuſpend,
O ſtay, cried I, one moment with thy friend!
No ſuit of thine is vain, the viſion ſaid,
I lov'd thee living, and I love thee, dead.

But whence this haſte?—not long allow'd to ſtay,
Back to the world thy Dante takes his way—

Yet let this fleeting hour one boon obtain,
If no new laws thy tuneful pow'rs reſtrain,
Some ſong predominant o'er grief and woe
As once thou ſung'ſt above, now ſing below;

So ſhall my ſoul, releas'd from dire diſmay,
O'ercome the horrors of this dreadful way.

Caſella kindly deign'd his voice to raiſe,
And ſung how *Love the human boſom ſways*,
In ſtrains ſo exquiſitely ſweet and clear,
The ſound ſtill vibrates on my raviſh'd ear;
The ſhadowy troops, extatic, liſtening round,
Forgot the paſt and future in the ſound.

*Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinſi:*
*Perchè l'ombra ſorriſe, e ſi ritraſſe,*
*Ed io, ſeguendo lei, oltre mi pinſi.*
*Soavemente diſſe, ch'i poſaſſe:*
*Allor conobbi chi era; e pregai,*
*Che parlarmi un poco s'arreſtaſſe.*
*Riſpoſemi: così, com'i t'amai*
*Nel mortal corpo, così t'amo ſciolta:*
*Però m'arreſto: ma tu perchè vai?*
*Caſella mio, per tornare altra volta*
*Là dove i' ſon, fo io queſto viaggio:*
*Diſs' io——*
*——Se nuova legge non ti toglie*
*Memoria, o uſo all' amoroſo canto,*
*Che mi ſolea quetar tutte mie voglie,*
*Di ciò ti piaccia conſolare alquanto*
*L'anima mia, che con la ſua perſona*
*Venendo quì è affannata tanto.*
Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona (*t*),
*Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente,*
*Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi ſuona.*
*Lo mio maeſtro, ed io, e quelle gente,*
*Ch'eran con lui, parevan sì contenti,*
*Com' a neſſun toccaſſe altro la mente.*

(*t*) This is the firſt line of one of Dante's own odes, as he tells us himſelf: *Convito*, Canzone II.

Milton has addreſſed a Sonnet to Henry Laws, on his Airs, in which he alludes to Dante's affection for Caſella:

Harry, whoſe tuneful and well-meaſur'd Song
Firſt taught our Engliſh Muſic how to ſpan
Words with juſt note and accent, not to ſcan
With Midas' ears, committing ſhort and long;
Thy worth and ſkill exempts thee from the throng,
With praiſe enough for envy to look wan:
To after age thou ſhalt be writ the man,
That with ſmooth air could'ſt humour beſt our tongue,
Thou honour'ſt verſe, and verſe muſt lend her wing
To honour thee, the prieſt of Phœbus quire,
That tune'ſt their happieſt lines in hymn or ſtory.
Dante ſhall give Fame leave to ſet thee higher
Than his Caſella, whom he woo'd to ſing
Met in the milder ſhades of purgatory.

This Sonnet, one of the beſt of twenty-three which were written by our great poet Milton, ſhews how difficult and unnatural the conſtruction of this ſpecies of poem is in the Engliſh language; whereas from the great number of ſimilar terminations in the Italian tongue, and the ſucceſs of Petrarca, it has long been the favourite meaſure of Italy for ſhort compoſitions. However, Muratori (*x*) thinks it extremely difficult to his countrymen to make a good Sonnet; and compares this kind of Poem to the bed of Procruſtes, where the legs of thoſe that were too ſhort were ſtretched, and thoſe too long were cut to the ſize of the bed. Antonio à Tempo, a Civilian at Padua, in his Treatiſe on Poetry 1332, diſtinguiſhes ſixteen different kinds of Sonnet.

Dante however regarded the *Canzone* as the moſt perfect ſpecies of lyric compoſition (*y*). For this Poem he eſtabliſhes laws which are leſs rigid than thoſe of the Sonnet. Indeed he defines poetry in general, "rhetorical fiction, *ſet to muſic.*"

(*x*) *Della Perfetta Poeſia.* (*y*) *Della volg. Eloq.* cap. 4.

Among

Among the definitions of this writer I find the word *Cantilena* uſed as a diminutive of *Canzone*. When the Song is written on a grave or tragic ſubject, ſays he, it is called *Canzone*, and when comic, by diminution, *Cantilena*. This word is now appropriated as a muſical term to diſtinguiſh the treble part, or principal melody of any compoſition, from the baſe and other inferior parts. *Canto* too, which was applied very early in the Italian poetry to different portions of a poem, was taken from *Cantus*, Lat. and *Canto*, Ital. the upper part or melody in a compoſition of many parts.

What was afterwards called *Madrigale*, Dante terms *Madriale*; the etymology of which word has been much diſputed; but it ſeems as if its firſt application was to religious poems, addreſſed to the Virgin, *alla Madre:* whence *Madriale* and *Madrigale*; but being afterwards applied to ſhort poems upon love and gallantry, by the Italians and French, the original import has been forgotten. Indeed it does not ſeem probable that the word *Madrigal* ſhould originally have implied a *Morning-Song*, as ſome have imagined, the Italians having been long in poſſeſſion of the term *Matinata*, a lover's matins under the window of his miſtreſs, as they have of *Serenata*, for an *Evening-Song*.

The moſt ancient melodies that I was able to find in Italy which had been originally ſet to Italian words, were in a collection of *Laudi Spirituali*, or ſacred ſongs, preſerved in a large MS. of the Magliabecchi Library, at Florence.

It was the opinion of Father Meneſtrier (z) that Hymns, Canticles, and Myſteries in the vulgar tongues of Europe had their origin from the pilgrims who went to the Holy Land. St. Francis d'Aſſiſe, born 1182, is mentioned by Creſcimbeni and other Italian writers among the firſt pious perſons of that country who exerciſed their genius in compoſing Hymns and Spiritual Songs called *Laudi*, in the form of Canzonets. *Le Laudi*, which were likewiſe called *Lalde*, *Lodi*,

(z) *Sur les Drames en Muſique.*

*Cantici*, or *Canticles*, are compoſitions in praiſe of God, the Virgin Mary, or the Saints and Martyrs. They reſemble Hymns as to the ſubject, but not the character and verſification: Hymns having been originally conſtructed on Greek and Roman models; but the *Laudi*, or Spiritual Songs, are entirely of Italian invention.

A ſociety for the performance of theſe religious poems was inſtituted at Florence ſo early as the year 1310, the members of which were called *Laudeſi*, and *Laudiſti*. In the fifteenth century this ſpecies of ſacred poetry was very much eſteemed and practiſed, as is manifeſt by the various collections that were made of them, one of which was printed 1485. In the next century ſeveral volumes of them were publiſhed, among which there are many poetical compoſitions on ſacred ſubjects by Politian, Bembo, Lodovico Martelli, and other eminent poets (*a*). In the laſt century though their favour was ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet beſides a large volume compoſed by Serafino Razzi, and publiſhed by the author, 1608, there were many collections of theſe Spiritual Songs printed.

Creſcimbeni tells us that the company of *Laudiſti* of St. Benedict at Florence went to Rome during the time of the grand jubilee in the year 1700, and ſung through the ſtreets in proceſſion ſeveral *Laudi* that were written by the celebrated Filicaia. In moſt of the ancient collections the Melodies were prefixed to each of theſe Songs. They were at firſt little more than Chants, and without Baſe. However, according to the commentary on Boccaccio by Sanſovino, publiſhed at Venice 1546, they were afterwards ſung in many different parts. "There are in Florence," ſays he, "ſeveral ſchools of artizans and mechanics, among which are thoſe of Orſanmichele, and Santa Maria Novella. Every Saturday after nine o'clock theſe aſſemble in the church, and there ſing five or ſix *Laudi*, in four parts, the words of which are by Lorenzo de' Medici, Pulci, and Giambellari; and at every *Laud*

(*a*) *Quadrio, Storia d'Ogni Poeſ.* vol. ii. p. 466.

"they

" they change the fingers, and to the ſound of the organ diſ-
" cover a Madonna, which finiſhes the feſtival. And theſe
" fingers, who are called *Laudeſi*, have a precentor whom they
" denominate their captain or leader."

This company ſtill ſubſiſts, and during my ſtay at Florence in 1770, I frequently heard them ſing their Hymns through the ſtreets in three parts, and likewiſe in their church, accompanied by an organ (*b*).

Of the antiquity of this inſtitution, as the MS. volume of *Laudi Spirituale* which I found in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence is an indiſputable proof, I ſhall here inſert the preface to the collection, which is an hiſtorical account of the eſtabliſhment of a company of *Laudiſti*, who ſing in the church of the humble fraternity of All Saints, at Florence; which company was ordained and eſtabliſhed by the will and authority of the Friar William, maſter general of the aforeſaid order, Nov. xi. MCCCXXXVI. to the honour and glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and the bleſſed Virgin Mary his Mother, as well as of all the holy and venerable Saints of Paradiſe. And may all thoſe who are or ſhall be of this company, enjoy the fruits of grace in this life, and after death be rewarded with divine and eternal glory, amen (*c*).

" Theſe are the Hymns which are written, publiſhed, and
" ordained by the noble and holy members of the ſaid com-
" pany of Friars of All Saints at Florence according to the
" table of contents: and firſt,

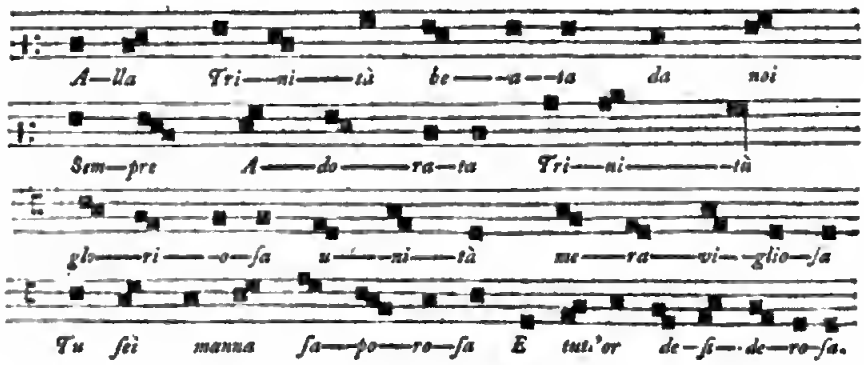
(*b*) Preſent State of Muſic in France and Italy. Art. FLORENCE.

(*c*) *In nome di Dio Amen. Queſto Libro e de la Compagnia de le Laude che ſi cantano ne la Chieſa di frati degni Santi di Firenze dell ordine degli umiliati. La quale compagnia fue ordinata e cominciata per auctoritate e volonta di miſſere Frate Guilielmo maeſtro generale del ſopradetto ordine degli umiliati, nel* M.CCC.XXXVI. *a di* xi *del meſe di Novembre ad honore e a riverenzia del noſtro Signore Idio, e de la Virgine gloriosa Maria ſua madre, e di miſſere Santo Benedetto e di miſſere Santo venerando et di Madonna Santa Lucia Virgine, e di tutti Santi e le Sancte di Paradiſo, et a fructo di gratia in q eſta vita a tutti coloro che ſ nno e ſaranno de la detta compagnia, e dopo la loro morte a beata gloria divina et vita. Amen.*

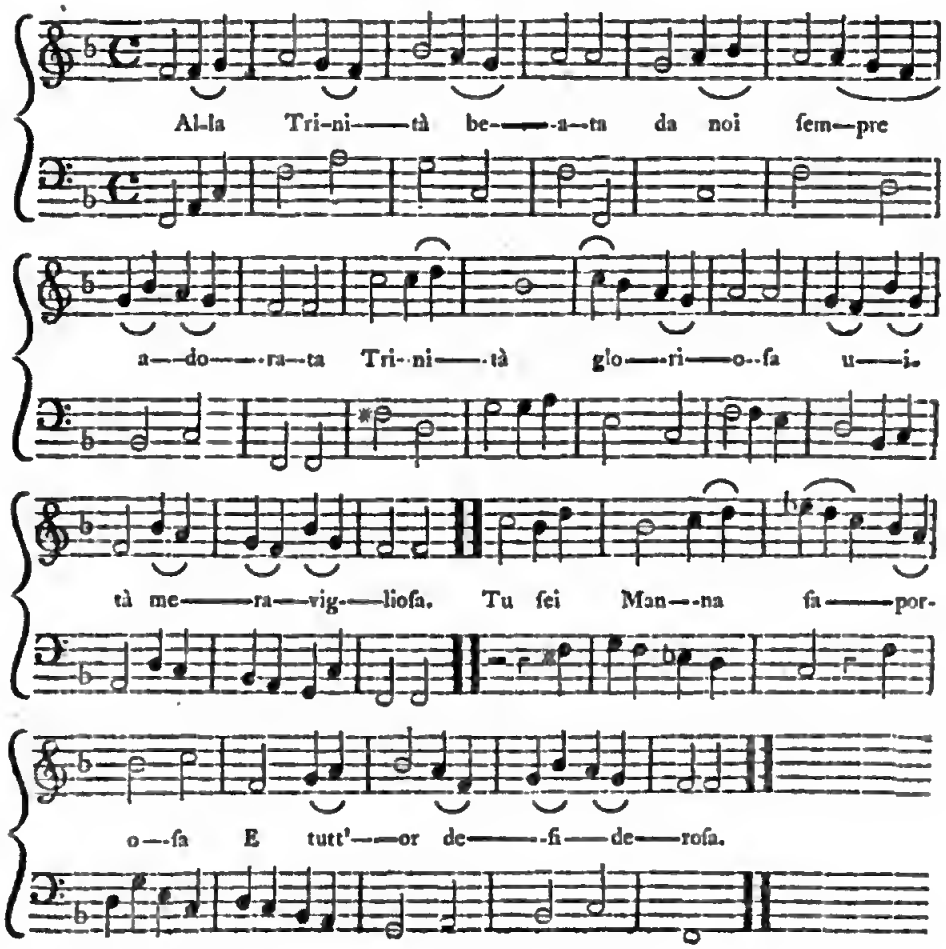
*Queſte ſonno le Laude le quagli ſonno inſcripte e publicate e ordinate per gli nobili e Santi Huomini de la predetta compagnia di Frati degni Santi di Firenze ſecundo che in queſta Tavola ſi contiene. In prima alla Trinita beata.*

*Alla*

*Alla Trinità.*




To the bleſſed Trinity.



But few memorials remain relative to Secular Muſic, during this dark and Gothic period, equally indiſputable and intereſting with the uſe that was made of it in Rome at the time when the poet PETRARCH was crowned laureat; a circumſtance not wholly unconnected with the ſubject of muſical hiſtory.

The cuſtom of crowning perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Poetry and Muſic, which was almoſt as ancient as the arts themſelves, ſubſiſted till the reign of the emperor Theodoſius, when the Capitoline games being regarded as remnants of Pagan ſuperſtition were utterly aboliſhed (*d*). Theſe arts being afterwards involved in the ruin and deſolation of Italy, and every other civilized part of Europe, by the irruptions of Barbarians, were but little cultivated or encouraged: yet, now and then a Poet ſeemed to ariſe from the aſhes of former Bards; but as few were able to read their productions, and, indeed, as few of them deſerved to be read, it removes all ſurprize at the little honour that was beſtowed upon poets in Italy for many ages after the ſubverſion of the Roman empire.

It was not till near the time of Petrarch that poetry recovered its ancient luſtre and importance, or was inveſted with its former prerogatives. However, at this period the union that had ſo long ſubſiſted between Poetry and her twin-ſiſter Muſic was ſo entirely diſſolved that ſhe ſhared none of her honours, and only performed the part of an humble attendant on the occaſion. But the time was not then very remote when Muſic triumphed in her turn, over her inſolent relation, by ſetting up a ſeparate intereſt, and delighting the public without her aid or aſſiſtance. For, in conſequence of additional characters being invented for the different duration of ſounds, a new ſpecies of inſtrumental compoſition was cultivated, which was

(*d*) See p 6.

capable

capable of affording great delight to the lovers of harmony, without the help of poetical numbers, or even the tones and articulations of the human voice in its performance. And, ſince this period, a poet has been more in need of the aſſiſtance of others to exhibit his productions than the Muſician; who, after he has finiſhed a compoſition ſuited to his own powers, executes it frequently himſelf in ſuch a manner as is ſeldom equalled by future performers.

In the year 1340, Petrarch had the honour of receiving two letters on the ſame day: one from the Roman ſenate, and the other from the univerſity of Paris, inviting him to accept the laurel crown; and having given the preference to Rome, on his arrival in that city, in 1341, during the pontificate of pope Benedict XII, he found every thing prepared for the ceremony of his coronation, by the ſenator count Orſo dell' Anguillara. The deſign was announced in the morning by the ſound of trumpets, when the people, curious to ſee a feſtival which had been interrupted for ſo many ages, aſſembled in great crowds from all quarters.

Petrarca marched to the Capitol, preceded by twelve youths, dreſſed in ſcarlet, and of the beſt families in Rome, ſinging verſes compoſed by the poet; who was attired in a robe, preſented to him by Robert the Good, king of Naples, who had taken it off his own back and deſired him to wear it on the day of his coronation. The principal citizens of Rome, habited in a green uniform, and crowned with flowers of different kinds, attended Petrarca in proceſſion. After theſe marched the ſenator, accompanied by the chief members of the Roman council. When he was ſeated, Petrarca, being ſummoned by a herald, pronounced a ſhort oration. Afterwards, when he had thrice cried out *long live the Roman people! long live the ſenator! may God preſerve their liberty* (e)!

(e) *Viva lo popolo Romano! viva lo ſenatore! Dio lo mantenga in libertade!*

he

he kneeled before the ſenator, who, after a ſhort ſpeech, took from his own head a crown of laurel, and placed it on that of Petrarca, ſaying, "The crown is the meed of virtue *(f)*." The poet, then, recited a beautiful poem upon the heroes of Rome, which is not in his works; and the people expreſſed their approbation by repeated ſhouts, and exclamations of *long live the poet! and long may the Capitol endure!* Stephen Colonna, as the poet tells us himſelf, afterwards ſpoke; and, having a great affection for Petrarca, beſtowed on him ſuch praiſe as flowed from the heart. His friends who were preſent on the occaſion ſhed tears of delight; "and though," ſays Petrarca of himſelf, "I was almoſt overcome with joy, I "was not unconſcious that theſe honours were ſuperior to my "deſert; I bluſhed at the applauſe of the people, and at the "exceſs of praiſe with which I was loaded."

At the termination of the ceremony, Petrarca was conducted, with the ſame attendants, and the ſame pomp, to the church of St. Peter, where, after returning thanks to the Supreme Being for the honour which had been beſtowed on him, he laid down his crown, in order that it might be placed among the offerings that were ſuſpended to the roof of the temple.

The ſame day, count Anguillara had letters patent drawn up *(g)*, by which the ſenators, after a very flattering preamble, declare Petrarch to have merited the title of great poet and hiſtorian; "and that, as an eſpecial mark of his poetical abi-"lities, they had placed a crown of laurel on his head, grant-"ing him, as well by the authority of king Robert, as by that "of the ſenate of Rome, full power and licence to exerciſe the "arts of poetry and hiſtory, to read, diſpute, explain ancient "books, make new, compoſe poems; and to wear at all times "a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, at his pleaſure, as well

(*f*) *Corona premia la virtù!*

(*g*) An extraordinary homage, ſays Voltaire, which the aſtoniſhment of his age beſtowed upon his uncommon genius. *Hiſt. Univ.* tom. II.

" as the poetical habit (*h*). Finally, he is declared by theſe pre-
" ſents, a Roman citizen, entitled to all the privileges annexed
" to that honourable appellation, as an acknowlegment for
" the affection which in his works, as well as in his public pro-
" feſſions, he has always manifeſted for the city and its republic."

Thus ended the pomps and vanities of this memorable day, during which Petrarca appears to be nothing leſs than a philoſopher. All the wiſdom, modeſty, and even delicacy of ſentiment with which his writings are filled, ſeem on this occaſion to have been wholly laid aſide and forgotten. To become a public ſpectacle, and exhibit his perſon for the gratification of his own vanity, and the idle curioſity of an ignorant multitude, in theſe days would rather qualify a man for Bedlam than for the ſovereignty of Parnaſſus. The blame can only be laid on his youth; or, rather, on the practice of the times, which abounded with romantic cuſtoms, derived from Gothic inſtitutions of chivalry; in compliance with which knights, nobles, kings, and emperors frequently exhibited their perſons in tilts, tournaments, and pageants, with as little concern as veteran actors by profeſſion.

I was curious to know Petrarca's own opinion, in his old age, of the tranſactions of this day; and have found, in a letter written a little before his death, the following paſſage,—which ſeems to diſarm cenſure.

" Thoſe laurels with which my brows were bound were
" too green; if I had been of a more mature age and un-
" derſtanding, I ſhould not have ſought them. Old men
" only love what is uſeful, while the young purſue every
" thing ſplendid, without any regard to intrinſic worth. This
" crown rendered me neither more learned nor more eloquent;
" it only drew upon me the envy of the malignant, and

(*h*) There was, at this time, a dreſs peculiar to Poets, as well as Muſicians. Dante, according to Villani, his cotemporary, was buried in the poetical habit. lib. ix. cap. 33.

" robbed

" robbed me of my wonted repoſe. Ever ſince that time, I " have been conſtantly under arms: every tongue, every pen " has been pointed againſt me; my friends are become my " enemies; and I now ſuffer for my audacity and pre- " ſumption."

Yet, however childiſh and frivolous ſuch a pageant might now be thought, the want of appetite for it in the preſent age is, perhaps, more the effect of ſatiety, than of ſuperior wiſdom and good taſte; and the eagerneſs with which the Romans in Petrarca's time feaſted on ſuch gew-gaws may be aſcribed to long faſting, and privation of every elegance and refinement in the polite arts. The ſame love of novelty which repreſſes our curioſity after common ſpectacles, impelled the Roman citizens to regard Petrarca as a divinity, and the honours beſtowed on him as effuſions of juſtice and diſcernment. If we compare his productions with thoſe of his cotemporaries (*i*), we ſhall find the ſuperiority greater than in thoſe of any other poet, Shakſpeare excepted, who has been the favourite of our own country. The elegant and captivating author of his Memoirs (*k*) juſtly regards him as " the greateſt genius " which Italy, ſo fertile in men of ſuperior talents, has pro- " duced; and as a writer to whom literature in general, and " the Tuſcan language and poetry in particular, have the greateſt " obligations. He diſſipated the clouds of barbariſm," continues this admirable biographer, " which covered all Europe, " and may be ſaid to have dug up and re-animated the good " authors who had long lain buried and forgotten. He has pu- " rified and enriched the Italian tongue, and furniſhed its poetry " with ſuch ſweetneſs, harmony, and grace, as preclude all envy " at the perfection of Greek and Latin compoſitions." He may have been ſometimes too much admired by his country-

(*i*) Among whom Dante can hardly be numbered, as Petrarca was but ſeventeen years old when that poet died.

(*k*) *Memoire pour la Vie de François Petrarque.* Tom. I. Dedic. ii.

men, and, like other great models, too frequently imitated; yet, when literary zeal has ſuch an object of admiration, its exceſs only becomes reprehenſible.

It ſeems from ſeveral paſſages in Petrarca's Sonnets and Canzone that Laura had cultivated Muſic, or at leaſt that her ſinging had helped to rivet his chains. In the twentieth Canzone or Ode, indeed, he uſes the word *notè*, notes, figuratively, for words, lines, or verſes.

*Continuando L'Amoroſe* notè.

But in Sonnet 104 he diſtinguiſhes ſong from ſpeech:

*E LANGELICO CANTO, e le parole*
*Del dolce ſpirto.*

Sonnet 124, written on the ſubject of Laura weeping at the news of ſome calamity which had happened in her family, is full of alluſion to muſic.

| *Sonetto.* | Sonnet. |
|---|---|
| *I vidi in terra angelici coſtumi,* | I ſaw on earth angelic virtues beam |
| *E celeſti belezze al mondo ſole,* | And blaze with ſuch celeſtial charms and grace |
| *Talchè di remembrar mi gieva, e dole:* | That ſince, no other excellence I trace, |
| *Che quant'io miro, par ſogni, ombre, e fumi:* | But all appears a ſhade, a ſmoke, a dream: |
| *E vidi lagrimar que due bei lumi* | When Laura's eyes with tears began to teem, |
| *C'han fatto mille volte invidia al ſole:* | Eyes which the ſun oft envies in his race; |
| *Ed udi ſoſpirando dir parole* | When with ſuch ſighs and words ſhe wail'd her eaſe |
| *Che farian gir i monti, e ſtar i fiumi.* | As mountains ſure would move, or ſtop a ſtream: |
| *Amor, ſenno, valor, pietate, e doglia* | Then love, worth, wiſdom, grief, and pity join'd |
| *Facean piangendo un più dolce CONCENTO* | In ſuch a CONCERT, as, however ſkill'd, |
| *D'ogni altro che nel mondo udir ſi ſoglia:* | No ſons of Harmony e'er yet combin'd; |
| *Ed era'l cielo all'armonia ſ'intento,* | No Zephyr ſtir'd, each ſhuit'ring leaf was ſtill'd, |
| *Che non ſi vedea in ramo mover foglia,* | Unwilling to diſturb ſuch ſounds refin'd |
| *Tanta dolcezza avea pien l'aere, e'l vento.* | As all around the tuneful æther fill'd. |

In

In his 177th Sonnet Petrarca ſpeaks with enthuſiaſm of Laura's voice, which when ſhe ſung went to his ſoul.

*E'l cantar che nel anima ſi ſente.*

And in Sonnet the 188th he mentions with rapture her ſinging to a large company of ladies, (*dodici donne*) during a party of pleaſure; and in another place (*l*), ſpeaking of her vocal powers, he ſays:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Era poſſente* | The voice of Laura could controul |
| *Cantando d'acquetar gli ſdegni e l'ire,* | The tyrant's rage, or bend the proud; |
| *Di ſerenar la tempeſtoſa mente* | Could calm the tempeſts of the ſoul, |
| *E ſgombrar d'ogni nebbia oſcura e vile.* | And diſſipate each low'ring cloud. |

But it would be endleſs to enumerate all the paſſages in which he celebrates the ſweetneſs of her voice, I ſhall therefore only inſtance Sonnet the 135th, which turns wholly on its enchanting powers.

| *Sonnetto.* | Sonnet. |
|---|---|
| *Quando amor i begli occhi a terra inchina,* | When Laura's timid looks to earth inclioe, |
| *E i vaghi ſpirti in un ſoſpiro accoglie* | And love in ſighs the vagrant air has bound, |
| *Con le ſue mane; e poi in voce gli ſcioglie* | Then lets it free expand and float around |
| *Chiara, ſoave, angelica, divina:* | In her clear, ſweet, angelic voice divine; |
| *Sento far del mio cor dolce rapina,* | Now could I quit the world and not repine: |
| *E sì dentro cangiar penſieri, e voglie;* | I eager cry, if kill'd by ſuch a wound, |
| *Ch'i' dico: hor ſien di me l'ultime ſpoglie,* | For now the ſoul, charm'd by the ſoothing ſound, |
| *Se'l ciel sì honeſta morte mi deſtina:* | Its preſent tenure willing would reſign. |
| *Ma'l ſuon, che di dolcezza i ſenſi lega,* | But more and more attach'd to life, thoſe ſtrains |
| *Col gran deſir d'udendo eſſer beata* | With which my ſoul is ſo completely bleſt |
| *L'anima al dipartir preſta raffrena.* | Deprive it ſoon of ageocy and choice; |
| *Così mi vivo, e così avvolge, e ſpiega* | For ſtill the ſlave of ſenſe and bound in chains, |
| *Lo ſtame della vita, che m'è data,* | I find my heart by no fond wiſh impreſt, |
| *Queſta ſola fra noi del ciel Sirena.* | But ſtill to live, and hear her Siren voice. |

(*l*) *Canzone* II. P. M.

I have

I have but one circumſtance more to mention relative to Petrarca; which is, that it appears by his will, inſerted in the Venetian edition of his Poems publiſhed by Giorgio Angelieri, 1586, that he was himſelf a *practical* Muſician; and, as Swift bequeathed his firſt "*beſt* beaver-hat to the reverend John "Worral," Petrarca leaves his *good* lute to maſter Thomas Bombaſio of Ferrara, that he may play on it, not for the vanity of a fleeting life, but to the praiſe and glory of the eternal God (*m*).

With reſpect to the peculiar kind of vocal muſic which was prevalent in the time of Petrarca, as, unfortunately, none of the original Melodies to which his exquiſite Sonnets were originally ſet, are come down to the preſent period, it muſt reſt upon conjecture: if we could imagine them to have been then as much ſuperior in grace and ſmoothneſs to all other melodies, as his poetry was to that of his cotemporaries, they muſt have contributed conſiderably to the effect of theſe Sonnets on the public ear. But it has never appeared in the courſe of my enquiries that Poetry and Muſic have advanced with equal pace towards perfection, in any country. Almoſt every nation of Europe has produced *good poetry* before it could boaſt of ſuch an arrangement of muſical ſounds as conſtitutes *good melody*; and in Italy itſelf, according to a late writer (*n*), muſic was the laſt cultivated of any of the polite arts; "nor is it yet, perhaps, furniſhed with true principles, "like painting, ſculpture, and architecture, as well as elo-"quence and poetry, which are eſtabliſhed on the laws and "examples of the ancients." This author complains with Gravina and Muratori of the degeneracy and corruption of Muſic in Italy, and of its having ceaſed to imitate nature and the paſſions. For the paſſions, it were to be wiſhed that they could be more frequently excited and expreſſed in our Muſic

(*m*) *A maeſtro Tommaſo Bambaſio da Ferrara, laſcio il mio* buon liuto, *affine ch'egli lo ſuoni non per vanità del fugace ſe ulo, ma a lode e gloria dell' eterno iddio.*

(*n*) *Riſorgimento d' Italia*, Tom. II. p. 176.

than

than they are; but for copying nature, it may be aſked, what is there in nature for a Muſician to copy? Is there ſuch a thing as *natural muſic*, except that of birds? And is that pleaſing when imitated by an Agujari, or a Le Brun? All melodies but the cries of nature are productions of art: the moſt ſimple if formed upon the muſical ſcale or gamut are artificial, for this ſcale is unknown to all people in a ſtate of nature.

In an account of Petrarca's coronation, firſt publiſhed at Padua, 1549, under the name of Sennucio Delbene, which was eagerly read, and afterwards reprinted in ſeveral editions of his works, it is ſaid that there were two choirs of muſic; one vocal, and the other inſtrumental, employed in the proceſſion, which were conſtantly ſinging and playing by turns in *ſweet harmony*. This ſeems to imply ſome progreſs in figurative counterpoint, and ſinging and playing in *concert* (*o*). It is the earlieſt and moſt favourable account of any thing like muſic in parts that has come to my knowlege. The time-table had been conſtructed more than two centuries before, by Franco; *muſica menſurabilis* had likewiſe received great improvements from the writings of Marchetto da Padua in the preceding century; and by thoſe of John de Muris but a few years before this period, as has been already related: and, about twenty years after, it ſeems as if this artificial and complicated muſic had ſpread over great part of Europe: for in 1360, it is obſerved in the Chronicle of Frankfort "that "muſic was amplified by new fingers, and a figurative kind of "compoſition unknown before (*p*).

I know that the authenticity of Sennuccio's account has been doubted, though ſo long received as genuine by all Pe-

(*o*) *Dui cori v'erano di Muſica; l'uno di voce, l'altro di ſtromenti, che l'uno avvicendava dell' altro, sempre con dolce concento ſuonava e' cantava.*

(*p*) *Obſervatum quoque reperimus ex chronico Fra cofurtenſi, hoc anno* (1360) *Muſicam ampliatam eſſe et novos cuim cantores ſurrexiſſe, et componiſtas et figuriſtas cæpiſſe diſtos modos aſſuere.* Annal. Eccleſ. Card. Baronii. Continuatio. Per Hen. Spondanum. tom. I. 1678.

trarca's

trarca's biographers, commentators, and editors, among whom were Tomaſini, Catanuſi, Creſcembeni, Muratori, Angelieri, Menage, and Niceron. But, without diſputing this point, or relying on the authority of Sennuecio, ſufficient proofs are to be found in Petrarca's works, and elſewhere, of the practice of counterpoint, or muſic in parts, in the fourteenth century; when the improvement of the time-table had brought meaſured muſic, or *airs*, into favour (*q*). Petrarca himſelf frequently uſes the word *concento* (*r*), which the Cruſca Dictionary defines *armonia*, harmony reſulting from the conſonance of voices and inſtruments. *Concento* was long uſed in Italy for *concerto*, which was ſometimes called *conſerto*, as *concert* is written by the old Engliſh authors *conſort* (*s*).

Of the ſtate of Muſic during the ſame period much may be collected from the Decamerone of BOCCACCIO, who ſurvived Petrarca but two years. This work has always been regarded as a natural and faithful delineation of the manners and cuſtoms of Italy at the time when it was written; and though it is compoſed of novels, in which fable is blended with real hiſtory, yet the bounds of probability have been ſeldom exceeded in the exereiſe of imagination, nor truth

(*q*) *Voyez Le Beuf, Traité Hiſt. ſur le Chant Eccle. p.* 105.

(*r*) *Vide ſupra*, p. 234.

(*s*) *Vid. Petr. Sonetto*, 124. *Canz.* 42. *Conſ.rt* for *concert*, was not erroneouſly written, but a word differently derived. *Concert*, from *concertare*, *conſort*, from *conſors*, or *conſortium*. Now as *concertare* is never uſed in claſſic authors to ſignify *agreement*, *friendly* union, but always *rival* contention; and *conſors*, *conſortium*, on the contrary, are appropriated to *friendly* union, ſympathy, &c. it ſeems as if the old Engliſh writers who denominated muſical *ſymphony* a *conſort*, had propriety on their ſide. But unluckily the word is irrecoverably diſgraced by its being uſed now only in ignorance or deriſion. At preſent *Conſort* has an eſtabliſhed and unequivocal meaning appropriated to it; companion; partner; concurrence; union; and *Concert*, from *concerto*, Italian, from implying rival conteſt, ſtruggle, diſpute, quarrel, is now generally underſtood to ſignify exactly what *conſort* did mean; the *friendly* and *harmonious union* of voices and inſtruments; an aſſembly of muſical performers. Who knows but this word had its origin from the muſical games, when muſicians *contended* with each other for victory? and it muſt be allowed that ſometimes a ſtill greater portion of this rivality, contention, ſtruggle, diſpute, and quarrel, ſtill continues to actuate the champions in muſical exhibitions, than of that *agreement* and *friendly union*, which the word *concert* ſhould now imply.

violated,

violated, in the recital of real events. That the virtues and vices in which he has clothed the ſeveral characters whoſe adventures he pretends to relate, are ſuch as prevailed at the time they are ſuppoſed to have lived, can the more readily be believed, as through all the modifications and viciſſitudes of human affairs, many of them are ſtill prevalent. And in all the excurſions in which he is carried out of his own country, he has never explored ideal regions, nor been tranſported beyond the haunts of men.

With reſpect to *Muſic*, which is my excuſe for mentioning this author, whether the perſonages he aſſembles together after the plague at Florence 1348, and the ſtories they tell, are real or imaginary, the amuſements he aſſigns them in his ritual muſt have been ſuch as were uſual to the Florentines, among whom he lived at that time; and indeed the poems that are pretended to have been ſung, and the inſtruments with which they were accompanied, ſubſiſted before this period, and ſtill ſubſiſt.

In his admirable deſcription of the plague at Florence, he tells us that during the horrors of that dreadful calamity, two methods, extremely oppoſite, of preſervation from the diſeaſe were adopted by thoſe who at firſt eſcaped infection: ſome imagining that by temperance, abſtaining from ſuperfluities, and wholly ſeparating themſelves from the ſick; ſhutting out all intelligence concerning the ſufferings of others, and amuſing themſelves with *Muſic*, and every other innocent recreation which their confinement would allow, they ſhould preſerve themſelves from contagion: others, on the contrary, being of opinion that deſpiſing all regimen or reſtraint, indulging appetite, ſeeking diſſipation, laughing, *ſinging*, and ſporting from morning till night, would be the moſt efficacious medicines againſt the preſent evils (*t*).

(*t*) —— *Con ſuoni e con quelli piaceri, che haver potevano, ſi dimoravano. Altri in contraria opinione tratti affermavano il bere aſſai, e il godere, e l'andar* cantando *--o, e ſollazzando, e il ſodisfare d'ogni coſa allo appetito, che ſi poteſſe, e di cio che avveniva ridersi e baſſarſi, eſſere medicina certiſſima a tanto male;—&c.*

Decam. Giornata prima.

Muſic, therefore, we find, was not ſilenced even in the midſt of horror and deſpair: the Florentines thinking with Euripides, who, in his Medea, complains that the exquiſite pleaſure ariſing from this charming art is uſually laviſhed on the happy, at convivial feſtivities; whereas it ſhould be adminiſtered to the afflicted and miſerable, as a balm and cordial to mitigate the ills of life.

The rites deriv'd from ancient days
With thoughtleſs reverence we praiſe,
The rites that taught us to combine
The joys of muſic and of wine,
And bad the feaſt, and ſong, and bowl,
O'erfill the ſaturated ſoul;
But ne'er the Flute or Lyre apply'd
To cheer deſpair, or ſoften pride,
Nor call'd them to the gloomy cells
Where Want repines, and Vengeance ſwells,
Where Hate ſits muſing to betray
And Murder meditates his prey.
To dens of guilt and ſhades of care
Ye ſons of Melody repair,
Nor deign the feſtive dome to cloy
With ſuperfluities of joy.
Ah, little needs the Minſtrel's pow'r
To ſpeed the light convivial hour;
The board with varied plenty crown'd
May ſpare the luxuries of ſound (*u*).

(*u*) I am obliged to a learned friend for this elegant tranſlation, of which the following is the original, from the Medea of Euripides, v. 190.

Σκαιος δε λεγων κ'ουδεν τι σοφος
Τους προσθε βροτους, ουκ αν ἁμαρτοις,
Ὁιτινες ὑμνους ἐπι μεν θαλιαις,
Επι τ' ἐλαπεναις, και παρα δειπνοις
Ευροντο, βιου τερπνας ἀκοας.
Στυγεους δε βροτων ουδεις λυπας
Ευρετο μουσῃ και πολυχορδοις
Ωδαις παυειν, ἐξ ων θανατοι
Δειναι τε τυχαι σφαλλουσι δομους.
Και τοι ταδε μεν κερδος ἀκνεισθαι
Μολπαισι βροτους· ἐνα δ' ἐυδειπνοι
Δαιτες, τι ματην τεινουσι βοαν;
Το παρον γαρ ἐχει τερψιν ἀφ' αυτου,
Δαιτος πληρωμα βροτοισιν.

The

The company however which Boccace aſſembles together, after the plague had ſwept away all their relations and friends, were better entitled to ſuch amuſements as innocence could furniſh, than thoſe who could inhumanly detach themſelves from their fellow-creatures, when their dreadful ſufferings called aloud for aſſiſtance. And this author tells us that all the ladies and gentlemen of his party could dance and ſing, and that ſome of them were not only well ſkilled in ſong, but able to perform extremely well on ſeveral muſical inſtruments (*x*).

At the end of every *Deca*, or ten Novels, which he tells us were related by the Company, each Day, he has given a Canzon, or Ode, which was ſung by one of the party, and generally accompanied by ſome inſtrument; and as this ſpecies of Lyric Poetry was invented by the Troubadours of Provence, who had generally Muſicians to accompany them that were called *Violars*, we may ſuppoſe the muſic of theſe ſongs, and the performance to have been equally ſimple with thoſe of the Provençal Bards, and little ſuperior to the *tunes* now uſed by the *Improviſatori* of Italy. For we have no proofs that Melody had as yet been much diverſified by its inventors, or embelliſhed by the performers, who were retained as ſervants of the poet.

Boccaccio tells us at the end of his *prima giornata*, or firſt day, that "after ſupper the *inſtruments were called in*, when "the Queen, for the day, ordained that there ſhould be a *dance*; "and after one had been led off by Lauretta, Emilia *ſung a* "*ſong*, in which ſhe was accompanied by Dion, a gentleman "of the party, on the *Lute* (*y*)." There is nothing new or extraordinary in this quotation, for the human voice has never

(*x*) — *Et levate le tavole, conciò foſſe coſa che tutte le donne* carolar *faceſſero, et ſimilemente i giovani, et parte di loro ottimamente ci* ſonare *et* cantare—*&c.*
Decam. Gior. prima.

(*y*) — *Doppo la qual cena fatti venir gli ſtormenti comandò la Reina che una danza foſſe preſa, et quella menandola Lauretta, Emilia* cantaſſe *una* canzone *dal* Leuto *di Dioneo aiutata.* Ib.

been ſilent in civilized ſtates, when men have been aſſembled together, in order to amuſe themſelves; and indeed in the moſt ſavage countries, the voice of joy is generally accompanied by inſtruments. However in Italy, whence all the liberal arts have travelled to the reſt of Europe, it is curious to know in what rank muſic was held at this early period, and what uſe was made of it in polite aſſemblies, by the inhabitants. And here a writer, juſtly celebrated for the exactneſs with which he has deſcribed the cuſtoms of his cotemporaries in all ſituations, tells us, that in an aſſembly of perſons of birth and education, who paſſed ten days together during ſummer in a conſtant ſucceſſion of innocent amuſements, each evening was cloſed by *Dance* and *Song*; in which the whole company, conſiſting of ſeven ladies and three gentlemen, of different characters and acquirements, were able to perform their parts.

In the muſical recreations of the firſt day, the two circumſtances which are here moſt worthy of obſervation are the *accompaniments* of the voice by an inſtrument; and that this inſtrument was the Lute. Of what the accompaniment conſiſted, whether it only fortified the voice-part by playing the ſame melody, or more elaborately furniſhed a baſe and a different treble, ariſing out of its harmony, is not eaſy to determine.

On the ſecond day we find that one of the company leading off a *Carol*, a ſong was ſung by another, which was anſwered in a kind of chorus by the reſt (z).

At

(z) — *Menando Emilia la Carola, la ſeguente Canzone da Pampinea, riſpondendo ſalire, fu Cantata, &c.*—

Boccaccio. Giornata Seconda, Nov. x.

It may, perhaps, be neceſſary to obſerve that the word *Carola* in Boccaccio is ſynonymous with *Ballata*, which the Cruſca Dictionary defines, *Canzone, che ſi Canta Ballando*: a Song which is ſung during a Dance.

This is the ſenſe in which the word *Karole* is conſtantly uſed by Chaucer.

Theſe folke, of which I tell you ſo,
Upon a *Karole* wentin tho,
A ladie karoled hem, that hight
Gladneſs the bliſsful and the light,
Well coud ſhe ſing and luſtily
None half ſo well and ſemely

Lothe

At the cloſe of the ſecond day Boccaccio tells us that after the Song, of which he gives the words, had been performed, many others were ſung, and many Dances danced to different *tunes (a)*, by which we may gather that beſides Carols and Ballads, the ſinging of which marked the ſteps of a Dance, there were at this time Songs without Dances, and Tunes without Songs.

Cothe make in ſong ſuch *refraining* *,
It ſate † her wonder well to ſing;
Her voice ful clere was and ful ſwete,
She was not rude, ne yet unmete,
But couthe enough for ſuch doing
As longith unto *Karolling*.
Rom. of the Roſe, 743.

The word likewiſe occurs three times in the Canterbury Tales; and in each of theſe this ſenſe of the word is confirmed.
Feſtes and inſtruments, *Caroles* and dances.
v. 1933.
What ladies fayreſt ben or beſt *dancing*
Or which of hem can *carole* beſt or ſing.
v. 2203.

Here *carole* is plainly diſtinguiſhed from *dancing*; and if it is alſo diſtinguiſhed from *ſinging*, it muſt be only becauſe it implied *more* than mere ſong: that is, *ſung accompanying dance*.
Was never mine that liſt better to *ſing*
Ne lady luſtier in *carol ing*.
Cant. Tales, v. 16811.

Here it has a meaning as diſtinct from *ſinging* as, in the other citations, it has from *dancing*.
Again, v. 759.
Tho ‡ mighteſt thou *karollis ſene*
And folke daunce, and merie ben——

In the firſt line of this couplet, when Chaucer ſpeaks of the karole being *viſible*, it can no longer be imagined that it implied only a ſong. In his *Dreme*, ſpeaking of the Ducheſs of Gaunt, he ſays:
I ſawe her daunce ſo comily
*Carol and ſing* ſo ſwetily——

Both the *Carol* and the *Ballad*, which came to us from Italy, have long loſt their original acceptation in England. The word *Carol* is now only to be met with in our elder poets, or among the provincial minſtrels at Chriſtmas. But no poet ſince the time of Spencer ſeems to have uſed it in the double acceptation of the Italian *Carola*, or the Latin *Chorcola*, whence Dr. Johnſon derives it.
And let the Graces *dance* unto the reſt
For they can do it beſt:
Whiles the maidens do their *Carol* ſing,
To which the woods ſhall anſwer, and their eccho ring. Spencer's Epithal.

Dryden ſeems to diſtinguiſh the *Carol* from the dance:
Oppos'd to her, on t'other ſide advance
The coſtly feaſt, the *Carol*, and the *Dance*,
Minſtrels and muſic, poetry and play,
And balls by night, and tournaments by day. Fables.

*Ballata*, whence the French had their word *Balade*, and the Engliſh *Ballad*, has long been detached from *Dancing*, and indeed confined to a low ſpecies of ſong, though Solomon's ſong was once called the *Ballad of Ballads*. In Shakſpeare's time however, this ſpecies of vulgar and popular poetry was wholly degraded and turned into the ſtreets:
"An' I have not *Ballads* made on you "all, and ſung to filthy tunes, may a cup "of ſack be my poiſon." Hen. IV.

(a) *Appreſſo queſta*, (canzone) *piu altre ſe ne cantarono, e piu danze ſi fecero, e ſonarono diverſi ſuoni*,— Boce. Giorn 2da.

* From *Refrain*, the burden of a ſong, or *return* to the firſt part, as in a *Rondeau*. It is imagined that the *Ritornel*, or ſymphony to a ſong, had its origin from the repetitions of particular ſtrains of a Carol, or Ballad, by inſtruments, for the dancers, after they had been ſung.
† Suited.
‡ Alſo, therefore, then, at that time.

Though.

Though Boccaccio informs us that his novelliſts finiſhed every day's amuſement by ſinging and dancing, I ſhall only deſcribe the manner in which they are introduced when ſuch expreſſions or terms of art occur as I can explain to my purpoſe. At the end of the fifth day, after a dance, the queen orders Dion, one of the gayeſt and moſt facetious of the company, to ſing, who propoſes ſeveral, at that time, well known ſongs, to which the ladies ſeem to object, on account of the licentiouſneſs of the words. He tells them he would ſing others, which he names, if he had a *Cembalo*; by which ſome have imagined is meant a *Harpſichord*, that inſtrument being now called *Cembalo* in Italian. However the harpſichord is certainly of later invention than the time of Boccaccio, who in the paſſage where the word *Cembalo*, or *Ciembalo* is uſed, probably meant only a kind of *Tambour de Baſque*, or drum in the ſhape of a ſieve, with ſmall bells and bits of tin jingling at the ſides of it: a tinkling *Cymbal*, but not the modern harpſichord, nor the *Cymbalum* of the ancients, which has been deſcribed in the firſt volume, and which conſiſted of two parts reſembling baſons, which being forcibly claſhed together marked the ſteps in Bacchanalian proceſſions, and the meaſure in ſinging the orgies; and which at preſent is in general uſe as a military inſtrument.

The two inſtruments chiefly uſed by the gentlemen and ladies in the Decamerone are the *Lute* and *Viol*; and upon this laſt, ſome of the *ladies* are ſaid to perform. This was the inſtrument which, two centuries after, became ſo general in England that there was hardly a conſiderable family which had not a complete cheſt of *viols*; by which is to be underſtood, a treble, tenor, and baſe viol, each with ſix ſtrings, fretted neck, and played with a bow, in the ſame proportion to each other as the violin, tenor, and violoncello. When the company wanted muſic merely inſtrumental,

mental, for dancing, a ſervant was called, in, with his bag-pipe (*b*).

It is, however, manifeſt from the writings of Boccaccio that there were two kinds of muſic and performers in his time, as well as at preſent. One ſpecies of muſic was a plain, ſimple, and popular melody, generally underſtood and practiſed by all perſons well educated, on whom nature had beſtowed good ears; and the other an elaborate and artificial ſpecies of muſic which profeſſors only, or perſons of equal genius and application, were able to execute. Of the firſt kind were doubtleſs the *carols*, *ballads*, and little ſongs that are mentioned at the cloſe of the ninth day, which pleaſed more from the merit of the words, than the artifice of the melody (*c*). But as Dante had his Caſella, Petrarca his Bambiſio, Boccaccio likewiſe celebrates among eminent profeſſed muſicians, the talents of Minuccio d'Arezzo, who was, he tells us, an exquiſite ſinger and player on the viol, in great favour with Peter of Roan, king of Sicily (*d*).

Though the fame of Boccaccio has been built upon his proſe productions, he was perhaps the beſt poet of his time, if we except Dante and Petrarca. He is allowed by many to have been the inventor of the *ottava rima*, or heroic ſtanza, which was afterwards adopted by Pulci, Boiardo, Berni, Arioſto, Taſſo, and all the epic poets of Italy. But if he be denied the merit of the *invention*, he was at leaſt the firſt who uſed the *ſtanza* ſucceſsfully in a work of any length. In this kind of verſe two of his poems remain, *Theſeus*, and *Philoſtratus*, on which the Italian critics, and Antonio Maria Salvini among the

(*b*) *Il Re fatto chiamar Tindaro, gli comando; che fuori trabiſſe la ſua cornamuſa; al ſuono della quale eſſo fece fare molte danze*, Decam. Gior. 6.

(*c*) *Canzonette più ſollazzevoli di parole, che di canto maeſtrevoli*,— Gior. 9.

(*d*) *— Era in quei tempi Minuccio* (D'Arezzo,) *tenuto un finiſſimo Cantatore, e Sonatore, e volentieri dal Re Pietro veduto.*— Gior. dec.

reſt,

reſt, beſtow great praiſe (*e*). And it is ſaid of our countryman, Chaucer, by his late admirable editor, "That he was to the "full as much obliged to Boccace in his *Troilus*, as in his "*Knightes Tale (f)*."

That the inſtrumental as well as vocal muſic of the middle ages, was ſo ſimple and inartificial as to require no great abilities or dexterity in the execution, ſeems deducible from the little notice that is taken of the talents of muſical performers, by writers who are very laviſh in their praiſes of muſic, ſinging, and playing, in general.

The organ being the moſt complicated inſtrument in uſe during theſe times, and capable of producing greater effects than any other, ſeems to have excited the firſt amazement at the performer's ſkill, which modern hiſtory has recorded.

Philip Villani, who flouriſhed about the year 1343, and who lived till 1405, among the lives of illuſtrious Florentines, chiefly of his own times, has given that of FRANCESCO CIECO (*g*).

"Many, ſays this writer, are the Florentines who have "rendered themſelves memorable by the art of muſic; but "all thoſe of former times have been far ſurpaſſed by Franceſ-"co Cieco, *who ſtill lives* (*h*); and who during childhood was

(*e*) Dr. Percy, in the ſecond volume of his venerable and captivating Relics of Ancient Engliſh Poetry, and Mr. Warton, in his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. i. p. 103, et ſeq. have inſerted an elegy on the death of our Edward the Firſt in 1307, which is in the *oftlave rhyme*; if this was written at the time of Edward's death, though it may prove nothing with reſpect to Italian Poetry, yet it would acquit Engliſh writers of having been obliged to the Italians for the invention of the ſtanza. Dr. Percy thinks it was written ſoon after Edward's death.

(*f*) See Eſſay on the Lang. and Verſ. of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 85.

(*g*) Philip Villani was the ſon of Matthew and nephew of John Villani, the celebrated Florentine hiſtorians. John died at Florence in 1348, of the plague, which Boccaccio has deſcribed; and Mathew, who continued his brother's hiſtory, till the year 1360, died likewiſe of the ſame diſeaſe, in 1363. The lives written by Philip, *Le Vite d'Uomini illuſtri Fiorentini*, remained in MS. till the year 1747, when they were publiſhed at Venice by the count Mazzuchelli.

(*h*) The author either wrote this life at different periods of time, or elſe meant only to ſay that Cieco ſtill lived in the memory of his ſurviving friends; for he afterwards fixes the time of his death.

"deprived

" deprived of ſight by the ſmall-pox. He was the ſon of Ja-
" copo, a Florentine painter, of great probity and ſimplicity
" of manners; and being arrived at adoleſcence, and begin-
" ning to be ſenſible of the miſery of blindneſs, in order to di-
" miniſh the horror of perpetual night, he began in a child-
" iſh manner to ſing; but advancing towards maturity, and
" becoming more and more captivated with muſic, he began
" ſeriouſly to ſtudy it, as an art, firſt by learning to ſing, and
" afterwards by applying himſelf to the practice of inſtru-
" ments, particularly the Organ, which he ſoon played,
" without ever having ſeen the keys, in ſo maſterly and
" ſweet a manner, as aſtoniſhed every hearer. Indeed his
" ſuperiority was ſoon acknowledged ſo unanimouſly, that, by
" the common conſent of all the muſicians of his time, he was
" publicly honoured at Venice with the laurel crown for his
" performance on the organ, before the king of Cyprus and the
" duke of Venice, in the manner of a poet laureat. Cieco
" died in 1390, and is buried in the church of St. Laurence."

Chriſtopher Landino, in his commentary upon Dante, after telling us (*i*) that muſic had long been cultivated in Florence, and that Franceſco Cieco, his grandfather's brother, had been indemnified for the loſs of ſight by the ſuperior perfection of his ear; gives the ſame account of his coronation as Philip Villani had done. " But, adds Landino,
" we have ſeen and heard in our own times (*k*) the celebrated
" Antonio, ſirnamed *dagl' Organi*, of whom it may be ſaid
" that, as many perſons went from Cadiz, the remoteſt part
" of Spain, to Rome, in order to ſee the hiſtorian Livy; ſo
" many moſt excellent muſicians have come from England,
" and the moſt diſtant regions of the North: croſſing the ſea,
" Alps, and Appenines, in order to hear the performance of
" Antonio."

(*i*) *Apologia, nella qua'e ſi difende Dante e Firenze da' falſi Calunniatori.*

(*k*) The firſt edit. of Landino's Comment. on Dante was publiſhed in 1481.

Among the Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum(*l*), there is a very ample Treatiſe on Muſic, in Latin, which by ſeveral internal marks appears to have been written in Italy, about the latter end of the fourteenth century. The Rubric titles of chapters and initials in this beautiful MS. are very neatly written, as are the Diagrams, in ink of different colours, but chiefly red and blue. There are ſome of them written on vellum, but the text is on a thick, ſilky paper, called *Bombyx*. If there were no other proofs of the time when this tract was tranſcribed, it would be nearly aſcertained by the numerous abbreviations, and the oblique ſtroke inſtead of the point over the letter i, which prevailed for near a century before the invention of printing.

The title of this MS. of which there is likewiſe a copy in the Vatican library (*m*), is the following: *Libellus Muſicales de ritu canendi vetuſtiſſimo et novo*, pr. *Omnium quidem artium etſi varia ſit introductio ducit.*—It conſiſts of two parts: the firſt is divided into three books, which treat, firſt, of *plain Song*; ſecond, of the *Diviſion of the Monochord*; third, of *Concords and their Species*, as well as of the *Eccleſiaſtical Tropes* or *Modes*. The ſecond part likewiſe contains three books: In the firſt, the author explains the manner in which the ancient fathers taught muſic by the mere *Letters of the Alphabet*; the ſecond treats of *Solmiſation*; and the third of the mixture of voices, vulgarly called *Counterpoint*.

Though this tract, in the Vatican library, as well as the Britiſh Muſeum, is ſaid to be anonymous, yet, by an entire and attentive peruſal, it is diſcovered from the work itſelf, to have been written by John the Carthuſian of Mantua (*n*). The author himſelf telling us (*o*) that he was born at Namur, where he

(*l*) 6525.

(*m*) N° 5904.

(*n*) *Gallia namque me genuit et fecit Cantorem, Italia vero qualemcunque ſub Victorino Feltrenſi viro tam literis Græcis quam Latinis affatim imbuto Grammaticum & Muſicum*, Mantua *tamen Italiæ civitas indignum Carthuſiæ Monachum*. Pars. 1ma. lib. 3.

(*o*) *Pars ii. lib.* 3. *cap.* 12.

learned

learned to ſing, but that it was under his excellent maſter Victorinus of Feltri, that he ſtudied Boethius, whoſe writings are the pure fountain, and acquired a real knowledge of muſic.

He mentions Marchetto di Padua as the firſt who had written upon any other genus than the Diatonic, ſince the time of Boethius; and ſpeaks of him as having flouriſhed about a century before: that is, about the latter end of the thirteenth century. But though he does not ſubſcribe to his doctrines, this paſſage will nearly point out the time when John the Carthuſian produced the treatiſe under conſideration, as the writings of Marchetto, which are preſerved in the Vatican, are dated 1274, and 1283 (*p*). Franchinus (*q*), in a muſical controverſy with Spataro, about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, cites our author, as a cenſurer of Marchetto, by the title of Joannes Carthuſinus.

Beſides the uſual information which ſtill more ancient treatiſes furniſh, there are many curious points of muſical hiſtory and erudition cleared up in this MS. particularly the characters uſed by Hubald and Odo, which though at the firſt glance they ſeem but little to differ from each other, yet, upon a careful examination, ſome ſpecific difference is obſervable in the form of each. And the Carthuſian gives a triple ſcale or gamut, expreſſed in notes on the lines and ſpaces, in the letters of the alphabet, and in the characters of Hubald and Odo, which were uſed in the Greek and Latin church before the time of Guido. But as this tract, which includes almoſt all the knowledge of the art and ſcience of muſic, which ſubſiſted at the time it was written, is in our own country, and acceſſible, I ſhall extend my deſcription of it no farther.

The next Italian theoriſt, whoſe writings have been preſerved, is PROSDOCIMO DI BELDEMANDIS. This author's commentary on the *Practica Menſurabilis Cantus*

(*p*) *Vide ſupra*, p. 162. (*q*) *apolog. Adverſus* Jo. Spatarium.

of John de Muris has been already mentioned (*r*). However, a tract upon Counterpoint (*s*), of which I procured a tranſcript from the Vatican library, deſerves particular notice here, as it was written in the year 1412, when thoſe rules for the combination of ſounds began to be eſtabliſhed, upon which, in leſs than a century, many compoſitions were produced, which ſtill ſubſiſt, and which, if performed, would ſtill afford pleaſure to the lovers of pure and ſimple harmony.

This tract, which is compriſed in about ſixteen folio pages, is drawn up with the method, clearneſs, and preciſion of an author who is maſter of his ſubject, and accuſtomed to write.

The initial ſentence is: *Scribit Ariſtotiles Secundo elenchorum cap. ultimo, facile fore inventis addere.* After declaring that he pretends not to give rules of his own invention, but to explain thoſe already eſtabliſhed, he proceeds to define Counterpoint, ſimple, and florid. After which he gives a catalogue of muſical intervals, concords, diſcords, and their octaves, with the number of ſemitones in each.

But as his rules differ but little from thoſe of John de Muris (*t*), and as we ſhall ſoon have more ample and comprehenſive treatiſes to examine, I ſhall only ſelect from this author an account of what he and the harmoniſts of early times call *Muſica Ficta.*

The eccleſiaſtical modes which were ſo rigidly confined to the Diatonic ſcale as to admit of no ſemitones but thoſe from *e* to *f*, *a* to *b* flat, and *b* natural to *c*, were ſo religiouſly obſerved, even in Secular Muſic, that the uſe of any other was regarded as heterodox and licentious; and it was not till the beginning of the preſent century that tranſpoſed keys, as they are ſtill frequently called, became general.

(*r*) P. 203.

(*s*) *Contrapunctus Magiſtri Proſdocimi de Beldemandis Patauini.* Ex. MS. Vat. 5321. fol. 8.

(*t*) See above, p. 208.

Philip

Philip de Vitry, or Vitriaco, is the firſt author who ſpeaks of this deviation from the natural ſcale, which he ſays is placing ſemitones where they ought *not* to be, and calls it *Muſica Falſa* (*u*). John Tincter ſays it is uſing ſuch intervals as are *not* to be found in the Harmonic Hand (*x*); and Franchinus, calls it *Muſica ficta, ſeu colorata*, from the *chromatic* ſemitones that are uſed in it. By other old writers it is denominated *conjuncta* and *alterata*; but Proſdocimo, who beſtows three or four pages on the ſubject, proves it to imply nothing more than muſic in which flats and ſharps are neceſſary (*y*). In the examples given by this author, the character for a ſharp, or artificial ſemitone, aſcending, differed but little from the B *quadrum* or ſquare B, ♮, which we now call a natural, and which by raiſing B-flat half a tone, was long uſed to render other ſounds a ſemitone more acute. Proſdocimo's ſharp was a Gothic ſquare B, or imperfect natural with four points in the centre, which reſembles the character for expreſſing an aſcending chromatic ſemitone in the Vatican MS. of Marchetto. But enough has been ſaid of the elements and ſtate of muſic and poetry in Italy during the period included in this chapter; it is now time to trace their progreſs in our own country.

* * * * * * * * *

Whoever reads the hiſtory of the moſt ancient inhabitants of this iſland, the CAMBRO BRITONS, will find innumerable inſtances of the reverence which they paid to their Poet-Muſicians, the Bards, both of Pagan and Chriſtian times; and ſongs of very high antiquity have been preſerved in the Welſh language, though not all the tunes to which they were

(*u*) *Aliquando per* falſam Muſicam *facimus ſemitonium uti non debet eſſe.* Cap. de Semiton.

(*x*) Ficta Muſica *eſt cantus præter regularem manus traditionem editus.*

(*y*) Ficta Muſica *eſt vocum fictio, ſive poſitio in loco ubi eſſe non videntur, ſicut ponere* mi *ubi non eſt* mi, *et* fa *ubi non eſt* fa *et ſic de ultra.*

ſung.

ſung. The Harp, with which theſe ſongs uſed to be accompanied, was in ſuch general favour in WALES, as to be regarded among the poſſeſſions neceſſary to conſtitute a gentleman (*z*). The moſt ancient Welſh poetry that is now intelligible was written about the year 1100, and ſome of the tunes that are preſerved in the late Mr. Morris's MS. which were tranſcribed from the muſic-book of William Penllin, the harper in queen Elizabeth's time, are ſuppoſed by Dr. Davies (*a*) to be coeval with the verſes to which they were ſung, when he compoſed his Grammar and Catalogue of ancient Cambro-Britiſh ſongs. Unluckily the notation, or tablature, in which theſe tunes have been written, is ſo uncommon and difficult to reduce to modern characters (*b*), that though the gravity or acuteneſs of the ſeveral notes can be aſcertained, yet their lengths, or duration, cannot be eſtabliſhed with any degree of certainty, by any rule which I have been yet able to deviſe, however, in a future chapter, when *National Muſic* becomes the principal ſubject of diſcuſſion, a farther inveſtigation of theſe characters will be attempted.

* * * * * * * * * *

The harp was no leſs in favour with the Saxons and Danes than with the Britons; and hiſtorians never fail to point out the fragments of heroic ſongs which were ſung to it for the victory obtained by Athelſtan in 938, and on the death of Edgar 975; which are recorded in the Saxon Chronicle. Nor is the Saxon poet Cœdmon, of whom venerable Bede makes ſuch honourable mention, forgotten, any more than the muſical abilities of our great Alfred, and the romantic uſe he made of them, in gaining admiſſion as a harper, or minſtrel, into the Daniſh camp.

(*z*) *Leges Walliæ.*
(*a*) *In Præf. ad Gràm. Brit.*
(*b*) See above p. 112, where a ſpecimen of this notation is given.

The

The northern annals abound with pompous accounts of the honours conferred on muſic by princes who were themſelves proficients in the art, and the Cambro-Britiſh inſtitutes, with laws and privileges in favour of its profeſſors. As the firſt muſician, or Bard, was the eighth officer in dignity at the court of the Welſh kings, and had a place in the royal hall next to the ſteward of the houſhold, ſo the reſpect and dignity with which Bards in general were treated about this time, in all the courts of Europe, were equal to thoſe which Homer tells us their predeceſſors Demodocus and Phemius enjoyed in Greece. Muſic was now a regal accompliſhment, as we find by all the ancient metrical romances and heroic narrations in the new formed languages of the times; and to ſing to the harp was neceſſary to a *perfect prince*, and *complete hero*.

Euſtace, or Wace, the author of *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, or the Metrical Hiſtory of Brutus, the pretended founder of the Britiſh nation, repreſents Gabbet, one of our kings, as the moſt able muſician of his time: one who

*De tous eſtrumens ſot maiſtrie*
*Si ſot de toute chanterie,*
*Molt ſot de lais, molt ſot de notes, &c.*

Ev'ry inſtrument could play,
And in ſweeteſt manner ſing,
Chanting forth each kind of lay,
To the ſound of pipe or ſtring.

The poet afterwards ſpecifies ſix of the inſtruments upon which the Britiſh monarch could perform, in the following rhymes:

*De vieles ſot et de rote,*
*De harpe ſot et de chorum,*
*De lire, et de pſalterium:*
*Por ce qu'il ot de chant tel ſens,*
*Diſoient la gent en ſon tems,*
*Que il eſt dieux des jongleours,*
*Et dieux de tous les chanteours, &c.*

He to *pſaltry*, *viol*, *rote*,
*Chorus*, *harp*, and *lyre* could ſing;
And ſo ſweet was ev'ry note
When he touch'd the trembling ſtring,
That with love and zeal inflam'd,
All who join'd the liſt'ning throng,
Him with ecſtacy proclaim'd
God of minſtrels, god of ſong.

But

But it is ever with Muſic as with other arts,

" The leſs the public underſtand
" The more they admire the ſlight of hand (*c*)."

The firſt Greek muſicians were Gods; the ſecond Heroes; the third Bards; the fourth Beggars! During the early times of muſic, in every country, the wonder and affections of the people have been gained by *ſurprize*; but when muſicians became numerous, and the art was regarded of eaſier aequirement, they loſt their favour, and from being ſeated at the tables of kings, and helped to the firſt cut, they were reduced to the moſt abject ſtate, and ranked among rogues and vagabonds.

The fluctuating favour of minſtrelſy in ENGLAND very much reſembles that of France, of which the reader has already had an account in the preſent chapter: I ſhall however give a ſummary of its progreſs and encouragement during the firſt dawning of our literature, avoiding every circumſtance that does not neceſſarily appertain to my ſubject; for the formation of our language has been ſo amply traced by Dr. Johnſon, in the Hiſtory of it prefixed to his Dictionary, that I have neither courage nor inclination to meddle with it; and the late judicious and diligent enquiries into the early ſtate of our poetry, by Dr. Percy, Mr. Warton, and the Editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, have left me no excuſe for entering upon *that* ground, unleſs in purſuit of my own game. But though I may ſometimes have hunted on the ſame manor as theſe excellent literary ſportſmen, and during the chace have accidentally *run into them*; yet the chief objects of our purſuits have been extremely different Indeed Muſic and Poetry, during the infancy of their cultivation, in every country, are ſo cloſely connected, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak of one without the other; yet in proportion as thoſe arts advance towards perfection, they will not only become more and more independent, but have a

(*c*) See vol. i. p. 183.

legiſlation

legiſlation and a language of their own, which will ſeverally furniſh their hiſtorians with ſufficient employment, without ſeeming to encroach upon each other.

We are certain that Britiſh Harpers were famous long before the Conqueſt, and the bounty of our firſt Norman ſovereign to his *Joculator*, or Bard, is recorded in Doomſday-book (*d*); nor ſhould that of Henry the Third be forgotten, who, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, not only gave forty ſhillings and a pipe of wine to Richard, his Harper, but another pipe of wine to Beatrice, the Harper's wife (*e*). All our moſt ancient poems, whatever was their length, were ſung to the harp on Sundays and on public feſtivals (*f*). Yet in the legendary life of St. Chriſtopher (*g*), written about the year 1200, we find mention made of the *fiddle*:

—— Criſtofre hym ſerved longe;
The kynge loved melodye of *fithele* and of ſonge (*h*).

The harp however ſeems for many ages to have been the favourite inſtrument of the inhabitants of this iſland, whether under Britiſh, Saxon, Daniſh, or Norman kings. Many diſgraceful circumſtances are blazoned of the poor Minſtrels; it is therefore but juſt to relate thoſe that redounded to their honour, and the Chronicle of Walter Heming (*i*), furniſhes an incident that well deſerves to be recorded.

Edward the Firſt, according to this hiſtorian, about the year 1271, a ſhort time before he aſcended the throne, took his

(*d*) GLOUCESTERSCIRE. Berdic, *Joculator Regis, habet* iii *Villas et ibi* v. *car. nil redd.* See Anſtis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

(*e*) *Rot. Pip. an.* 36 *Hen. III. Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato Magiſtro Ricardo Cithariſtæ Regis, xl. ſol. per. Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejuſdem Ricardi.*

(*f*) See Warton's Hiſt. Engl. Poetry, vol. i. p. 12. 18. and elſewhere.

(*g*) MS. Vernon, Bodl. Lib. f. 119.

(*h*) Skinner derives the Anglo Saxon word *fithele*, from VEDEL and *vedele*, *vele*, Dutch, *Fioline* Germ. and all from *Fidicula*, Lat.

(*i*) Cap. xxxv. p. 591. apud. v. *Hiſtor. Anglic. Scriptor.* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687. Fol.

harper with him to the Holy Land; and this muſician muſt have been a cloſe and conſtant attendant on his maſter, for when Edward was wounded with a poiſoned knife at Ptolemais; the harper, *Citharæda ſuus*, hearing the ſtruggle, ruſhed into the royal apartment, and killed the aſſaſſin (*k*).

The learned and pious Groſteſte, biſhop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, is ſaid, in ſome verſes of Robert de Brunne, who flouriſhed about the beginning of the next century, to have been very fond of the metre and muſic of the Minſtrels. The good prelate had written a poem in the Romanſe language, called *Manuel Peche*, which Robert de Brunne tranſlated into Engliſh, with a deſign, as he tells us himſelf, that it ſhould be ſung to the harp at public entertainments.

For lewed (*l*) men I undertoke
In Engliſhe tonge to make this boke,
For many beyn of ſuche manere
That talys and rymys wyle blithly here,
In gamys and feſty's at the ale
Love men to liſtene trotonale (*m*).

The following anecdote concerning the love which his author, biſhop Groſteſte had for muſic, ſeems to merit a place here, though it is related in rude rhymes.

Y ſhall you tell as I have herd
Of the byſhop Seynt Roberd,
Hys toname (*n*) is Groſteſte
Of Lyncolne, ſo leyth the geſte,
He loved moche to here the *Harpe*;
For mans witte yt makyth ſharpe.

(*k*) This ſignal ſervice from his Bard did not however incline the monarch afterwards to ſpare his brethren in Wales. See Grey's Ode, "Ruin ſeize thee, ruthleſs king!"
(*l*) Laymen, ignorant.
(*m*) Truth and all.
(*n*) Surname.

Next

Next hys chamber, beſyde his ſtudy,
Hys Harper's chamber was faſt the by.
Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He had ſolace of notes and layes,
One aſkede hem the reſon why
He hadde delyte in Mynſtrelſy?
He anſwerde hym on this manere
Why he helde the *Harpe* ſo dere.
" The virtu of the *Harpe*, thurgh ſkyle and ryght,
" Wyll deſtrye the fendys (*o*) myght;
" And to the cros by gode ſkeyl
" Ys the *Harpe* ylykened weyl.
" Thirefore, gode men, ye ſhall lere,
" When ye any *Gleman* (*p*) here,
" To worſhepe God at your power,
" And Davyd in the Sauter (*q*).
" Yn harpe and tabour and *ſymphan* (*r*) gle
" Worſhip God in trumpes and ſautre:
" In cordes, yn *organes*, and bells ringyng,
" Yn all theſe worſhip the hevene Kyng, &c."

In purſuing the hiſtory of Engliſh Minſtrels I am frequently obliged to recount circumſtances which have lately been rendered familiar to many of my readers; but theſe circumſtances are ſuch as ſeem ſo naturally to belong to my work, that thoſe who peruſe it would have cauſe to complain, ſhould they be put to the trouble of ſeeking them elſewhere. There are certain events which every writer *muſt* relate, however they may have loſt the charms of novelty by frequent repetition; for by omitting them he would be equally abſurd with that hiſtorian, who in writing the annals of Charles the Firſt, ſhould ſuppreſs the

(*o*) Fiends, the *devils*.
(*p*) Harper, minſtrel.
(*q*) Pſalter.
(*r*) Symphony.

circumſtance of that unfortunate prince's decapitation, becauſe it has been already ſo often related (*s*).

A ſingular privilege granted to itinerant muſicians of the loweſt claſs, during the time of Cheſter fair, is of this kind, and though well known is too important to be omitted.

The Midſummer fair at Cheſter, from the vicinity of that city to Ireland and Wales, has long ſupported its reputation by the amuſement it affords to the neighbouring gentry, and the profits accruing to traders, who aſſemble there from all parts of his majeſty's dominions. The inſtitution of this fair is traced up to the time of Edward the Confeſſor, when Leofric, earl of Cheſter, among other grants in favour of the abbey of St. Werburg, in that city, eſtabliſhed a fair on the feſtival to the ſaint to whom it was dedicated, and in his honour ordained that the perſons of whatever vagabonds, or even culprits, ſhould aſſemble there during that ſolemnity, ſhould be ſafe, provided they were guilty of no new offence.

Which ſpecial privilege, ſay the authors from whom I extract the following account (*t*), as in proceſs of time it drew an extraordinary confluence of looſe people thither at that ſeaſon, ſo it happened to be of ſingular advantage to Randal, one of the ſucceeding earls; who, in 1212, during the reign of king John, being ſuddenly beſieged by the Welſh in Rhydland, or Rothelan caſtle, in Flintſhire, was relieved, rather by their number and appearance than proweſs, under the conduct of Robert de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, who, with pipers and other kinds of minſtrels aſſembled them together, and marching towards the caſtle, ſo terrified the Welſh that they inſtantly fled. "In memory of which notable exploit, that famous "meeting of ſuch minſtrels hath been duly continued to every

(*s*) A French writer, M. de la Beaumelle, ſays of his *bons mots*, that though they have been often ſaid, they are ſtill good things to ſay. *Mes Penſées.*

(*t*) See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 42. 101. Sir Peter Leyceſter's Antiq. of Cheſhire, part ii. chap. 6. but chiefly Daniel King's Vale Royal of Eng. illuſtrated, part ii. p. 29.

"Mid-

" Midſummer fair, at which time the heir of Hugh de Dut-
" ton, accompanied with diverſe gentlemen, having a penon
" of his arms born before him by one of the principal Min-
" ſtrels, who alſo weareth his ſurtout, firſt rideth up to the eaſt
" gate of the city, and there cauſing proclamation to be made
" that all the Muſicians and Minſtrels within the County Pa-
" latine of Cheſter do approach and play before him. Pre-
" ſently ſo attended he rideth to St. John's Church, and hav-
" ing heard Solemn Service, proceedeth to the place for keep-
" ing of his court, where the ſteward having called every
" Minſtrel, impanelleth a jury, and giveth his charge: firſt,
" to enquire of any treaſon againſt the King or Prince (as
" Earl of Cheſter); ſecondly, whether any man of that pro-
" feſſion hath 'exerciſed his Inſtrument' without licence from
" the lord of that court, or what miſdemeanour he is guilty
" of; and thirdly, whether they have heard any language
" amongſt their fellows, tending to the diſhonour of their
" lord and patron, the heir of Dutton. Which privilege was
" anciently ſo granted by John de Lacy, Conſtable of Cheſter,
" ſon and heir to the before ſpecified Roger, unto John de
" Dutton and his heirs, by a ſpecial charter in theſe words,
" *Magiſterium omnia liccatorum et meretricum totius Ceſtriſhire,*
" And hath been thus exerciſed time out of mind."

This privilege has been confirmed to the Dutton family in a ſtatute ſo late as the 17th of George II. cap. 5. where exceptions are made in favour of him and his heirs " con-
" cerning the liberty, privilege, pre-eminence, authority, ju-
" riſdiction, or inheritance, which they, their heirs or aſ-
" ſigns now lawfully uſe, or have, or lawfully may or ought
" to uſe within the county palatine of Cheſter, and county
" of Cheſter, or either of them, by reaſon of any ancient
" charters of any kings of this land, or by reaſon of any
" preſcription or lawful uſage or title whatſoever."

Dr.

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Dr. Plot, in his Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, has minutely related the origin and effects of another ancient and curious though barbarous privilege in favour of Engliſh Minſtrels, granted by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, at his caſtle of Tutbury in the year 1381, at the inauguration of the firſt Engliſh King of the Minſtrels (*u*).

The account is long, and yet I ſhould be unwilling to abridge it, though I can but ill ſpare the room it will occupy.

" During the time of which ancient earls and dukes of Lancaſter, who were ever of the blood royal, great men in their time, and had their abode, and kept a liberal hoſpitality here, at their honour of Tutbury, there could not but be a general concourſe of people from all parts hither; for whoſe diverſion all ſorts of Muſicians were permitted likewiſe to come to pay their ſervices; amongſt whom, being numerous, ſome quarrels and diſorders now and then ariſing, it was found neceſſary, after a while, they ſhould be brought under rules, divers laws being made for the better regulating of them, and a governour appointed them by the name of a KING, who had ſeveral officers under him to ſee to the execution of thoſe laws, full power being granted them to apprehend and arreſt any ſuch Minſtrels appertaining to the ſaid honour, as ſhould refuſe to do their ſervices in due manner, and to conſtrain them to do them; as appears by the charter granted to the ſaid King of the Minſtrels, by John of Gaunt, King of Caſtile and Leon, and Duke of Lancaſter, bearing date the 22d of

(*u*) Du Cange gives ſeveral more early inſtances of Minſtrels having arrived at the honour of ſovereignty in France: particularly *Jean Charmillons Rex Juglatorum* at Troyes in Champagne, 1296. *Robert Cavaron, Roi des Meneſtriers du Royaume de France*, 1338; and others in 1357, and 1362. *Copin de Brequin Roi des Meneſtriers du Royaume de France. Computum de auxiliis pro redemptione Regis Johannis*, A. D. 1367. *Pour une COURONNE D' ARGENT quil donna le Jour de la Tiphaine au Roi des Meneſtriers.* And one about ſix years later than John of Gaunt's inſtitution is mentioned in Rymer, tom. VII. p. 555, where John Caunz, King of the Minſtrels, condeſcends to ſupplicate for leave to viſit foreign countries.

Auguſt,

Auguſt, in the 4th year of the reign of King Richard II. entituled *Carta le Roy de Minſtralae*, which being written in old French, I have here tranſlated, and annexed it to this diſcourſe, for the more univerſal notoriety of the thing, and for ſatisfaction how the power of the King of the Minſtrels, and his officers is founded; which take as follows:

" John, by the grace of God, King of Caſtile and Leon, " Duke of Lancaſter, to all them who ſhall ſee or hear theſe " our letters, greeting—Know ye, we have ordained, conſti- " tuted, and aſſigned to our well-beloved the King of the " Minſtrels in our honour of Tutbury, who is, or for the " time ſhall be, to apprehend and arreſt all the Minſtrels in " our ſaid honour and franchiſe, that refuſe to do the ſer- " vices and Minſtrelſy as appertain to them to do from an- " cient times at Tutbury aforeſaid, yearly on the days of the " Aſſumption of our Lady; giving and granting to the ſaid " King of the Minſtrels for the time being, full power and " commandment to make them reaſonably to juſtify, and to " conſtrain them to do their ſervices, and Minſtrelſies, in " manner as belongeth to them, and as it hath been there, " and of ancient times accuſtomed. In witneſs of which thing " we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patent. Given " under our privy ſeal, at our caſtle of Tutbury, the 22d " day of Auguſt, in the 4th year of the reign of the moſt " ſweet King Richard II."

" Upon this, in proceſs of time, the defaulters being many, and the amercements by the officers perhaps not ſometimes over-reaſonable, concerning which, and other matters, controverſies frequently ariſing; it was at laſt found neceſſary that a court ſhould be erected to hear plaints, and determine controverſies between party and party, before the ſteward of the honour, which is held there to this day on the morrow after the Aſſumption, being the 16th day of Auguſt; on which day they now alſo do all the ſervices mentioned in the aboveſaid grant, and have the

the bull due to them anciently from the Prior of Tutbury, now from the Earl of Devon; whereas they had it formerly on the Aſſumption of our Lady, as appears by an *Inſpeximus* of King Henry VI. relating to the cuſtoms of Tutbury, where amongſt others, this of the bull is mentioned in theſe words: *Item eſt ibidem quædam conſuetudo quod hiſtriones venientes ad matutinas in feſta Aſſumptionis beatæ Mariæ, habebunt unum* Taurum *de Priore de Tuttebury, ſi ipſum capere poſſunt citra aquam Dove propinquiorem Tuttebury; vel prior dabit eis* 40*d. proqua quidam conſuetudine dabuntur domino ad dictum feſtum annuatim* 20*d.* i. e. that there is a certain cuſtom belonging to the honour of Tutbury, that the Minſtrels who come to Matins there on the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, ſhall have a bull given them by the prior of Tutbury, if they can take him on this ſide of the river Dove, which is next Tutbury; or elſe the prior ſhall give them 40d. for the enjoyment of which cuſtom they ſhall give to the lord, at the ſaid feaſt, yearly 20d.

" Thus, I ſay, the ſervices of the Minſtrels were performed, and privileges of the Bull enjoyed anciently on the feaſt of the Aſſumption; but now they are done and had in the manner following: on the court day, or morrow of the Aſſumption, being the 16th of Auguſt, what time all the Minſtrels within the honour come firſt to the bailiff's houſe of the manor of Tutbury (who is now the earl of Devonſhire), where the ſteward for the court to be holden for the King, as Duke of Lancaſter (who is now the Duke of Ormond), or his deputy meeting them, they all go from thence to the pariſh church of Tutbury, two and two together, muſic playing before them, the King of the Minſtrels for the year paſt, walking between the ſteward and the bailiff, or their deputies; the four ſtewards or under officers of the ſaid King of the Minſtrels, each with a white wand in their hands, immediately following them, and then the reſt of the company in order.

Being

Being come to the church, the vicar reads them divine ſervice, chooſing pſalms and leſſons ſuitable to the occaſion. The Pſalms when I was there, An. 1680, being the 98th, 149th, 150th; the firſt Leſſon 2 Chron. V; and the ſecond the V^th^ chap. of the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, to the 22d verſe. For which ſervice every Minſtrel offered one penny, as a due always paid to the vicar of the church of Tutbury, upon this ſolemnity.

" Service being ended, they proceed in like manner as before from the church to the caſtle hall or court; where the ſteward, or his deputy, taketh his place, aſſiſted by the Bayliff or his deputy, the King of the Minſtrels ſitting between them; who is to overſee that every Minſtrel dwelling within the honour and making default, ſhall be preſented and amerced; which that he may the better do—An *O Yes*, is then made by one of the officers, being a minſtrel, three times, giving notice by direction from the ſteward, to all manner of Minſtrels dwelling within the honour of Tutbury, viz within the counties of Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Leiceſter, and Warwick, owing ſuit and ſervice to his Majeſty's Court of Muſick here holden as this day, that every man draw near and give his attendance upon pain and peril that may otherwiſe enſue; and that if any man will be eſſoined of ſuit or plea, he, or they, ſhould come in, and they ſhould be heard. Then all the Muſicians being called over by a court-roll, two juries are impanelled, out of twenty-four of the ſufficienteſt of them, twelve for Staffordſhire, and twelve for the other counties; whoſe names being delivered in court to the ſteward, and called over, and appearing to be full juries, the foreman of each is ſworn, and then the reſidue, as is uſual in other courts, upon the Holy Evangeliſts.—Then, to move them the better to mind their duties to the King, and their own good, the ſteward proceeds to give them their charge: firſt commending to their conſideration the original of all muſic, both wind and

ſtring muſic, the antiquity and excellency of both, ſetting forth the force of it upon the affections, by divers examples; how the uſe of it has always been allowed (as is plain from Holy Writ) in praiſing and glorifying God; and the ſkill in it always eſteemed ſo conſiderable, that it is ſtill accounted in the ſchools one of the liberal arts, and allowed in all Godly Chriſtian commonwealths; where by the way he commonly takes notice of the ſtatute, which reckons ſome Muſicians amongſt rogues and vagabonds, giving them to underſtand that ſuch ſocieties as theirs, thus legally founded and governed by laws, are by no means intended by that ſtatute, for which reaſon the Minſtrels belonging to the manor of Dutton, in the county palatine of Cheſter, are expreſsly excepted in that act. Exhorting them upon this account, to preſerve their reputation, to be very careful to make choice of ſuch men to be officers amongſt them, as fear God, are of good life and converſation, and have knowlege and ſkill in the practice of their art. Which charge being ended, the jurors proceed to the election of the ſaid officers, the King being to be choſen out of the four ſtewards of the preceding year, and one year out of Staffordſhire, and two out of Derbyſhire, three being choſen by the jurors, and the four by him that keeps the court, and the deputy ſteward, or clerk.

" The jurors departing the court for this purpoſe, leave the ſteward with his aſſociates ſtill in their places, who in the mean time make themſelves merry with a banquet, and a noiſe of muſicians playing to them, the old King ſtill ſitting between the ſteward and bailiff as before; but returning again after a competent time, they preſent firſt their chiefeſt officer by the name of their King; then the old King ariſing from his place, delivereth him a little white wand in token of his ſovereignty, and then taking a cup filled with wine, drinketh to him, wiſhing him all joy, and proſperity in his office. In the like manner do the old ſtewards to the new, and then the

the old King riſeth, and the new taketh his place, and ſo do the new ſtewards of the old, who have full power and authority by virtue of the king's ſteward's warrant, directed from the ſaid court, to levy and diſtrain in any city, town corporate, or in any place within the king's dominions, all ſuch fines and amercements as are inflicted by the ſaid juries that day upon any Minſtrel, for his or their offences, committed in the breach of any of their ancient orders, made for the good rule and government of the ſaid ſociety. For which ſaid fines and amercements ſo deſtrained or otherwiſe peaceably collected, the ſaid ſtewards are accountable at every audit; one moiety of them going to the king's majeſty, and the other the ſaid ſtewards have for their own uſe.

" The election, &c. being thus concluded, the court riſeth, and all perſons then repair to another fair room, within the caſtle, where a plentiful dinner is prepared for them, which being ended, the Minſtrels went anciently to the abbey-gate, now to a little barn by the town-ſide, in acceptance of the Bull to be turned forth to them, which was formerly done (according to the cuſtom above mentioned) by the prior of Tutbury, now by the earl of Devonſhire; which Bull, as ſoon as his horns are cut off, his ears cropt, his tail cut by the ſtumple, all his body ſmeared over with ſope, and his noſe blown full of beaten pepper; in ſhort, being made as mad as it is poſſible for him to be. After ſolemn proclamation made by the ſteward that all manner of perſons give way to the Bull, none being to come near him by forty feet, any way to hinder the Minſtrels, but to attend his or their own ſafeties, every one at his peril. He is then forthwith turned out to them (anciently by the prior) now by the lord Devonſhire, or his deputy, to be taken by them, and none other, within the county of Stafford, between the time of his being turned out to them, and the ſetting of the ſun the ſame day; which if they cannot do, but the bull eſcapes from them untaken, and

gets over the river into Derbyſhire, he remains ſtill my lord Devonſhire's Bull; but if the ſaid Minſtrels can take him, and hold him ſo long, as to cut off but ſome ſmall matter of his hair, and bring the ſame to the Mercat croſs, in token they have taken him, the ſaid bull is then brought to the Bayliff's houſe in Tutbury, and there collared and roped, and ſo brought to the bull-ring in the high ſtreet, and there baited with dogs. The firſt courſe being allotted for the King; the ſecond for the honour of the town; and the third for the King of the Minſtrels; which after it is done, the ſaid Minſtrels are to have him for their own, and may ſell or kill and divide him amongſt them, according as they ſhall think good.

"And thus this ruſtic ſport, which they call the bull-running, ſhould be annually performed by the Minſtrels only, but now-a-days they are aſſiſted by the promiſcuous multitude, that flock hither in great numbers, and are much pleaſed with it, though ſometimes, through the emulation in point of manhood, that has been long cheriſhed between the Staffordſhire and Derbyſhire men, perhaps as much miſchief may have been done in the trial between them, as in the *Jeu de Taureau*, or bull-fighting, practiſed at Valentia, Madrid, and many other places in Spain, whence perhaps this our cuſtom of bull-running might be derived, and ſet up here by John of Gaunt, who was King of Caſtile and Leon, and lord of the honour of Tutbury; for why might not we receive this ſport from the Spaniards, as well as they from the Romans, and the Romans from the Greeks? Wherein I am the more confirmed, for that the Ταυροκαθηψιῶν ἡμέρας amongſt the Theſſalians who firſt inſtituted this game, and of whom Julius Cæſar learned it, and brought it to Rome, were celebrated much about the ſame time of the year our bull-running is, viz. *pridie Idus Auguſti*, on the 12th of Auguſt; which perhaps John of Gaunt, in honour of the Aſſumption of our Lady, being but three days after, might remove to the 15th, as af-

ter-ages did (that all the ſolemnity and court might be kept on the ſame day, to avoid farther trouble) to the 16th of Auguſt." (x)

Every lover of Minſtrelſy muſt ſhudder at the name of Edward the Firſt, who ſo cruelly extirpated the patriotic Bards of Wales; but patriots are at all times, perhaps, troubleſome to kings, and this martial and political prince ſeems to have limited his perſecution of Bards to the principality of Wales, for we are told that in England a MULTITUDE of MINSTRELS attended at his court at the ſolemn ceremony of knighting his ſon (y).

However, in 1315, during the reign of Edward the Second, ſuch extenſive privileges were claimed by the Minſtrels, and ſo many diſſolute perſons aſſumed their character, that their conduct became a public grievance, which it was thought neceſſary to reform by the following expreſs regulation, which a few years after was imitated in France (z).

"Edward by the grace of God, &c. to ſheriffes, &c. "greeting. Foraſmuch as... many idle perſons, under co- "lour of MINSTRELSY, and going in meſſages and other "faigned buſineſs, have ben and yet be received in other mens "houſes to meate and drynke, and be not therewith con- "tented yf they be not largely conſydered with gyftes of the "lordes of the houſes, &c... We wylling to reſtrayne ſuche "outrageous enterpriſes and idlenes, &c. have ordeyned... "that to the houſes of prelates, earles, and barons none re- "ſort to meate and drynke, unleſſe he be a Mynſtrel, and of "theſe Mynſtrels that there come none except it be three or "four MYNSTRELS OF HONOUR at the moſt in one day, "unleſſe he be deſired of the lorde of the houſe. And to the "houſes of meaner men that none come unleſſe he be de-

(x) Plott's Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, chap. x. ſect. 69.

(y) — *Eodem die cum ſediſſet rex in menſa, novis militibus circumdatus, in-greſſi MINSTRELLORUM MULTITUDO, &c.* Vide Nic. Triveti Annale, Oxon. 1719, 8vo. p. 242.

(z) See above, p. 273.

"fired;

" fired; and that ſuch as ſhall come ſo, holde themſelves con-
" tented with meate and drynke, and with ſuch curteſie as
" the maiſter of the houſe wyl ſhewe unto them of his owne
" good wyl, without their aſkyng of any thyng. And yf
" any one do againſt this ordinaunce, at the firſte tyme he to
" loſe his MINSTRELSIE, and at the ſecond tyme to for-
" ſweare his craft, and never to be receaved for a MYNSTREL
" in any houſe... Yeven at Langley the 6th day of Auguſt,
" in the 9th yere of our raigne (*a*)"

Stowe, in giving an eſtimate of the annual expences of the earl of Lancaſter about this time, aſſigns a very conſiderable ſum for the liveries of the Minſtrels (*b*).

The ſame writer (*c*) in giving an account of a mummery exhibition for the entertainment of the young prince Richard, ſon to the Black Prince, on the Sunday before Candlemas, 1377, tells us that " **in the night, one hundred and thirty** " **citizens, diſguiſed and well horſed, in a mummery, with** " **ſound of Trumpets, Sackbuts, Cornets, Shalmes, and** " **other Minſtrels, and innumerable toreh lights of ware, rode** " **from Newgate through Cheape, over the Bridge through** " **Southwarke, and ſo to Kennington beſides Lambeth, where** " **the young prince remained with his mother, and the duke of** " **Lancaſter, his uncle, the earles of Cambridge, Hertford,** " **Warwicke, and Suffolke, with divers other lords.**"

The inſtruments juſt mentioned, if well played, were ſuitable to a public *proceſſion*, though they would be rather too powerful in a room; but a good Concert or Chorus might be made out from the vocal and inſtrumental parts mentioned in the Romanſe of the *Squire of low Degree*, written before the time of Chaucer, and conſequently about the period of Richard the Second's minority. The king of Hungary, in

(*a*) Hearne's Append. ad Lelandi Collectan. vol. vi. p. 36.

(*b*) Survey of London, edit. of 1618, p. 134. (*c*) P. 148.

order to conſole his daughter for the loſs of her paramour, ſays,

Ye ſhall have *Harpe, Sautry,* and *Songe*
And other mirthes you amonge.

And after promiſing her wine, ſweetmeats, and field ſports, returning to Muſic, he adds:

Than ſhal ye go to your evenſong
With *Tenours* and *Trebles* among—
Your quere nor *Organ* Songe ſhal want
With *Countre* notè and dyſcaunt
The other halfe on Orgayns playing
With young children ful fayn ſinging—

From theſe materials a Band and even Orcheſtra might be formed equal to the execution of almoſt every ſpecies of Compoſition where Violins are not wanted, eſpecially as he afterwards throws in a couple of wind inſtruments: "the Trumpettes and Claryowne."

So that we have now
*Treble* voices, *Counter-tenour,* and *Tenour,*
With the Harp, Pſaltry, Trumpet, Clarion, and Organ, for accompaniment.

We are now arrived at an important period of Engliſh Literature, when CHAUCER, the father of our genuine poetry, augmented our vocabulary, poliſhed our numbers, and enriched our knowlege with acquiſitions from France and Italy, that were, perhaps, more uſeful to our country than the gold to Spain, which was poured into it by the firſt diſcoverers of Mexico and Peru. Literary plunder ſeems the moſt innocent kind of depredation that can be made upon our neighbours: as they are deprived of nothing but what they can well ſpare, and which it is neither diſhonourable to loſe, nor diſgraceful to take.

It is in vain to diſſemble the wretched ſtate of our literature, arts, manufactures, and commerce, before the 16th century. So many ages had paſſed in ſubjection to the different powers which had invaded us from the continent: Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, enſlaving us by turns, had found us other employments than the care of refining our language, or cultivating the arts of peace: and when we had freed ourſelves from theſe chains, and might be ſaid to have a language and king of our own, the fatal factions into which we were divided during the ſtruggles between the houſes of York and Lancaſter ſtopped improvements in all the arts, except thoſe of vengeance, carnage, and deſolation!

This accounts for the ſlow progreſs of ſcience and of every art which is foſtered by tranquility, and matured by encouragement; and whoever looks into the hiſtory of printing in this country, will be ſurpriſed, and, if an Engliſhman, perhaps mortified, to find how few original works in our vernacular tongue iſſued from the preſs for more than fifty years after its invention: the chief part of the books that were printed by *Caxton* and *Wynken de Werde*, our firſt Typographers, being Latin, French, or Tranſlation (*d*).

If the Romances of chivalry in verſe and proſe, which concern the ſtory of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table did not come originally to us from France, but were carried thither by the fugitive Britons who took refuge in Armorica or Britany, I fear our Saxon anceſtors in after-times had them back again from their Gallic neighbours, through the medium of the French language; for from our long dependance on France, from the Norman partiality, and indeed from the faſhion of the times, which inclined all Europe to make the Romanſe, or riſing French language, the general vehicle of literature, almoſt all our early productions, particularly metrical

(*d*) See Ames's Typograph. Antiq. Lond. 1749.

ro-

Romances, were Tranſlations from the French. But there is the leſs diſgrace in this acknowledgment, as it has been the caſe with all other countries. The French themſelves began to try their force in their own language by tranſlations from the Latin, when it was juſt wearing out as a living language in their own country, as we did from French, under the like circumſtances. The Germans have but lately formed themſelves upon French models, from Tranſlation; the Spaniards are now in the act. If our firſt Literature was derived from France, our ſecond was from Italy; and our third and that of the preſent times has been drawn from ſtill purer ſources, the claſſics; from which doubtleſs the moſt enlightened and poliſhed nations of Europe are likewiſe drawing as well as ourſelves. A literary intercourſe with our neighbours will therefore be reciprocally uſeful, as long as theſe fountains are kept open and acceſſible. As I ſhould be always ready to claim any depredations that had been made upon us by the French, ſo I ſhall ever be equally ready to acknowlege our obligations to them in the infancy of our literature, particularly our Poetry and Romances: and why ſhould not every Engliſhman do it with equal alacrity? We are not at preſent in that kind of literary indigence which makes it an act of neceſſity to commit ſuch petty larcenies as theſe: we are now in circumſtances that not only enable us to be honeſt, but even generous: as works have been produced in our language, in almoſt every ſpecies of writing that the moſt learned nations of the world have been able to boaſt.

The moſt ancient of our poets perhaps that can be read with pleaſure, is CHAUCER, who, as the candid Caxton ſays, "for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue, maye well have the "name of a Laureat Poete; for to fore that he, by hys labour, "embellyſhyd, ornated, and made faire our Engliſhe, in thys "royame was had rude ſpeeche, and incongrue, as yet it ap-"piereth by olde bookes, whyche at thys day ought not to

" have place, ne be compared emong ne to his beauteuous vo-
" lumes, and aournate wrytynges, of whom he made many
" bokes, and treatyces of many a noble hiſtorye, as wel in
" metre and ryme as in proſe, and them ſo craftyly made, that
" he comprehended hys maters in ſhort, quick, and hye ſen-
" tences, eſchewing prolygyte, caſtyng away the chaf of ſu-
" perfluyte, and ſhewyng the pyked grain of ſentence, uttered
" by crafty and ſugred eloquence (*a*)."

Indeed he was ſo ſuperior to Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and all his cotemporaries, and even ſucceſſors, as low down as Spenſer, for language, clearneſs, and verſification, that his equal is not to be found; and for wit, humour, and other poetical excellencies, perhaps not till a much later period.

If we may judge of the eſtimation in which Muſic was held by our countrymen during the fourteenth century from the writings of Chaucer, it muſt have been at leaſt equal to that of any other epoch of its hiſtory*: for throughout his works, he never loſes an opportunity of deſcribing or alluding to its general uſe; and of beſtowing it as an accompliſhment upon the pilgrims, heroes, and heroines of his ſeveral tales and poems, whenever he can do it with propriety.

But as this venerable Bard was frequently an imitator and tranſlator of French and Italian writers, whoſe works have already been ſhewn to abound with paſſages relative to Muſic, both Vocal and Inſtrumental, ſome deduction ſhould perhaps be made for what he ſays of it in ſtories not of his own invention, and where the ſcene is laid in foreign countries: however, in the Prologue to his Canterbury tales, as all the characters he ſo nicely delineates and diſcriminates are Engliſh, we may ſafely regard as national, and take to ourſelves, all the virtues, vices, defects, and accompliſhments, whatever they may be, with which he has inveſted them.

(*a*) See Ames's Account of the firſt edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. 55.

* Chaucer was born 1328, and died 1400.

In

In Chaucer's deſcription of the 'Squire, a young gentleman to whom he aſſigns every courtly qualification which was thought neceſſary to a man of the world, he tells us not only that

*Singing* he was, or *floyting* (*b*) all the day,

but

He coudè ſongès *make*, and well endite,
Juſte (*c*) and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write."

And as he ridicules the affectation of the dainty and finical, or as Dryden calls her, the *mincing* Prioreſs, throughout, her chanting does not eſcape:

And ſhe was clepèd Madame Eglantine,
Full wel ſhe *ſangè* the ſervice divine,
Entuned in hire *noſe* ful ſwetèly."

The Monk too, a jolly fellow, and great ſportſman, ſeems to have a paſſion for no Muſic, but that of hounds, and his horſe's bridle:

And whan he rode, men mighte his bridel here
Ginge'ling in a whiſt'ling wind as clere,
And eke as loud as doth the chapel belle. (*d*)

But then of his Mendicant Friar, whom he calls a *Limitour*, (*e*) and whoſe arts of pleaſing were ſuch as rendered him an univerſal favourite, he ſays:

And certainly he hadde a mery note,
Wel coude he *ſinge* and *plaien on the Rote*. (*f*)

(*b*) Fluting.
(*c*) Fence.
(*d*) An ample account of this faſhionable folly, which is now configned to waggoners and carriers, is given in Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh poetry, vol. I. p. 164, and addit. to p. 208.
(*e*) A friar licenſed to beg within a certain diſtrict.
(*f*) It is the *Lyra Mendicorum* of Kircher, the *Vielle* of the French, and the Engliſh Hurdy-Gurdy. See above, p. 270.

This was not his only inſtrument, for

— In his *harping*, when that he had *ſonge*
His eyen twinkeled in his head aright
As don the Starrès in a froſty night.

The Oxford Clerk indeed was ſo fond of books and ſtudy, that he loved Ariſtotle better, and his Philoſophie,

Than robès riche, or *Fidel* (*g*), or *Sautrie*.

There is not a line in our language perhaps more comprehenſive and beautiful, than the laſt of this deſcription:

Souning in moral virtue was his ſpeech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

He however makes his *Miller* a Muſician.

A *Baggèpipe* wel couthe he blowe and ſoun,
And therewithal he brought us out of town.

The *Sompnour* and *Pardoner* are both ſingers. To the one Chaucer gives a coarſe baſe voice, while the other, juſt come from Rome, without a beard, ſings in Falſet.

A vois he had as ſmale as hath a Gote.—

And after telling us that he ſung "Come hither love to me," which was probably the beginning of a favourite ſong at that time, he adds:

This ſompnour bare to him a ſtiff *burdoun* (*h*)
Was never *trump* of half ſo great a ſoun.

(*g*) See above p. 355. *Fidle* is a Saxon word of conſiderable antiquity, the preſent German name for a Fiddle or Violin is GEIGE.

(*h*) *Burdoun* is here uſed for the *Baſe-part*, and *Bourdon*, Fr. is ſtill not only in uſe for the drone of a Bagpipe, whence the *burden* of a ſong, but for the *double Diapaſon*, or loweſt ſtop in French and German Organs

The

The poor ſcholar Nicholas, in the Miller's Tale, is a notable performer on the Pſaltry. In ſpeaking of his talents and poſſeſſions, Chaucer ſays,

And all above there lay a gay *ſautrie*, (*i*)
On which he made on nightès melodie,
So ſwetèly, that all the chambre rong:
And *Angelus ad Virginem* (*k*) he ſong.
And after that he ſong *the Kingès note*; (*l*)
Full often bleſſed was his mery throte.

The Pariſh Clerk's inſtruments, in the ſame Tale, are worthy of his profeſſion: He

Coud playen Songès on a ſmale *ribible*; (*m*)
Therto he ſong ſometime a loud *quinible*; (*n*)
And as wel coud he play on a Giterne.

In the Pardonner's Tale, we have the firſt mention of the Lute, which I have met with in any Engliſh author:

In Flanders whilom was a Campagnie
Of yongè folk, that haunteden folie,
As hazard, riot, ſtewès and tavèrnes;
Whereas with Harpès, LUTÈS, and Gitèrnes,
They dance and play, &c.

And as the mere outline of this Tale is to be found in the

(*i*) The ancient *Pſaltry* has been deſcribed vol. I. p. 519, and delineated pl. V. No 4. The modern is a kind of ſquare *Dulcimer*, played ſometimes with the naked fingers, and ſometimes with quills.

(*k*) The angel's ſalutation to the virgin, Luke ii. 28. *Ave Maria*, &c.

(*l*) The *Chant Royal* was an appellation given to Poems on lofty ſubjects in the early times of Fr. Poeſy.

(*m*) The diminutive of *Rebec*, a ſmall viol with three ſtrings.

(*n*) It ſeems as if this good Clerk had preſerved the ancient manner of ſinging by 5ths, expreſſed by the verb *Quintoier*.

*Cento*

*Cento Novelle Antiche* (*o*), we may ſuppoſe that Inſtrument to have been then in common uſe in England. (*p*)

What Chaucer ſays in the *Prioreſſes Tale* of the "Litel Scole of *Criſten Folk*" in Aſia, where

— Children lerned yere by yere
Swiche manere doctrine as men uſed there:
This is to ſay, to *ſingen* and to ride.—

Seems merely to imply, that the chants of the church were taught then in common with reading.

In the *Rime* of *Sire Thopas*, as Chaucer is manifeſtly ridiculing the marvellous tales of the ancient *Jongleours*, *Geſtours*, and *Minſtrels*, he ſpeaks of Muſic and Muſical Inſtruments in the manner of the French Fabliaux and Romances cited above; and here he tells as, in very plain terms, that the King's jeſter was originally neither a man of wit and humour (like *Yorick*) nor a Jack Pudding or Buffoon (like the King's *Fool* in Lear) but a *Diſeur*, an heroic Story-Teller, a relater of the *Geſtes*, deeds, and adventures of Knights, and illuſtrious Champions.

Do come, he ſayd, my *miniſtrales*
And *geſtours* for to *tellen tales*.—

In his *Nonnes Preeſtes Tale* of the Cock and the Fox, ſpeaking of his Hero, *Chaunticlere*, he tells us that

His vois was merrier than the mery *Orgon*, (*q*)
On Maſſe days that in the Churches gon.

Which is a proof that *Organs* were very general in our Abbeys and Cathedrals at the latter end of the fourteenth century.

(*o*) *Nov.* lxxxii.

(*p*) It is again mentioned in the Manciple's Tale, V. 17217. Edit. of 1775.

(*q*) From *Organa*, Lat. and *Orgues*, Fr. The deſcription of the cock's vocal abilities was probably intended as a ſarcaſm on the fine ſingers of the times.

Chaucer,

Chaucer, could he have found a rhyme, would probably have written *Organs* in the plural, as the French ſtill do, and as he himſelf has done in the ſecond *Nonnes Tale*, which follows; where, in the Hiſtory of St. CECILIA, we have the two following lines:

And while that *Organs* maden melodie,
To God alone thus in hire hert ſong ſhe.

It was natural to expect, in the life of this titular and pious patroneſs of Muſic, that ſome farther mention would be made of her own performance, or at leaſt protection of the art; but neither in Chaucer, nor in any of the Hiſtories or legendary accounts of this ſaint which I have been able to conſult, does any thing appear that can authoriſe the religious veneration which the votaries of Muſic have ſo long paid to her; nor is it eaſy to diſcover whence it has ariſen. Chaucer's account is almoſt literally tranſlated from the life of St. Cecilia, in the *Legenda Aurea* of *Jacobus Januenſis*. Bede in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (*r*), mentions her church at Rome, as the place where Vilbrord was ordained Pope in 696; and in his Martyrology, he tells us, that her intended ſpouſe, Valerian, and his brother Tiburtius, ſuffered martyrdom in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus. Mabillon (*s*) has proved, that the feſtival of this ſaint was celebrated in France before the time of Charlemagne, by a *Gallican* Miſſal, which he has publiſhed, and which muſt have been in uſe before the Gregorian chant was received in that country (*t*). Fortunatus of Poitiers, (*u*) the moſt ancient author who ſpeaks of her, ſays, that ſhe died, or rather ſuffered mar-

(*r*) Lib. v. cap. 2.
(*s*) *De Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 175.
(*t*) Cardinal Bona, *De divina Pſ. Imod.* ſays, that the MS. of this Maſs, which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, had belonged to the learned Patavius, and was written in the ninth century, as was diſcovered by the learned from the ſquare form of the letters, and the capitals.
(*u*) Lib. vii. cap. 4.

tyrdom

tyrdom in Sicily. Fortunatus wrote at the end of the ſixth century; but even this was at too remote a period from that in which tradition tells us the ſaint lived, as Alexander Severus reigned from 194 to 211.

There was a great Feſtival at Rome in 1599, during the pontificate of Clement VIII. for the finding the body of St. Cecilia among other relics. Cardinal Baronius, who was himſelf a witneſs of this Tranſaction, has left an ample account of it (*w*).

But to return to Chaucer: in his *Perſones Tale*, the good prieſt ſays, "Wel may that man that no good werk ne doth, ſing this new Frenſshe ſong, *J'ay tout perdu mon temps, et mon labour*."

What were the other lines of the ſong, or by whom it was written or compoſed, the commentators do not inform us, though Chaucer has introduced the ſame initial verſe in his Balade to Fortune: however it was doubtleſs well known at the time, or he would not have made ſo grave and reſpectable a character point it out to ſuch a mixed company as the pilgrims he has aſſembled together.

Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Roſe*, is only a Tranſlation of a part of the celebrated allegorical and ſatyrical Poem, called, *le Roman de la Roſe*, which was begun by William de Lorris, who, according to Fauchet, died about the year 1260, and finiſhed by Jean de Meun about 1310 (*x*). His account therefore of the Muſic which he heard in the gardens of *Mirth*, v. 763. however ample, is not applicable to England. But a paſſage occurs which is not very favourable to the Muſic of France, and for which it is difficult to account, as it is not to be found in the original; for after deſcribing a very gay dance to the Carol of *Gladneſs*, he ſays:

(*w*) *Voyez la Vie des Saints*, Tom. 3t. 3 Edit. fol. p. 369. Par. 1715.

(*x*) The original conſiſts of 22734 lines, of which John de Meun was author of only the firſt 4149. Chaucer's whole tranſlation is compriſed in 7698 verſes.

"There

There mighteſt thou ſe theſe Flutours,
Minſtrallis and eke Jugèlours
That wel to ſinging did their pain
Some ſongen *ſongès of Loraine*;
For in Loraine their Notès be
Ful ſweter than in this Contrè.

What reaſon the Bard had for his partiality to the ſongs of Lorraine, I know not; as neither the national Muſic of that Country, nor the ſuperior learning and abilities of its Muſicians at any period of time, has ever arrived at my knowledge.

In his Troilus and Creſſeide, Chaucer (*y*) adviſing the timid lover to ſend his Miſtreſs a letter, gives an excellent leſſon, both to him and the *Muſician*, againſt prolixity and repetition.

—And if thou write a godely word all ſoft,
Tho' it be gode, reherce it not too oft.

For though that the beſt Harper upon live,
Would on the beſtè ſounid jolly Harpe,
That evir was, with all his fingirs five,
Touche aie o ſtring, or aie o warble Harpe, (*z*)
Were his nailis poincted never ſo ſharpe,
It ſhuldè makin every wight to dull,
To hear his gle, and of his ſtrokis full.

It has been obſerved (*a*) that this Poem, though almoſt as long as the Eneid, was intended to be *ſung to the Harp*, as well as read:

And redde whereſo thou be, or ellis *ſonge* (*b*).

(*y*) L. 2. v. 1028.
(*z*) To keep always thrumming the ſame ſtring, or harping upon the ſame paſſage. In this ſtanza the verb rhimes to the ſubſtantive.
(*a*) Hiſt. Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 388.
(*b*) L. ult. v. 1796.

Though no Engliſh Muſic in parts is preſerved, ſo ancient as the time of Chaucer, yet by the manner in which he deſcribes a Concert of Birds, (*c*) *full ſervices* ſeem then to have been common.

> And everiche ſong in his wiſe
> The moſt ſwete, and ſolempne *ſerviſe*
> By note, that evir man I trowe
> Had herde, for ſome of 'hem *ſonge lowe*,
> Some *high*, and *all of one accorde*.—

In the third Book of his *Houſe of Fame*, Chaucer beſtows near ſixty lines in deſcribing Muſic, Muſicians, and Muſical Inſtruments (*d*): The whole paſſage is curious to a Muſical enquirer, and deſerves a comment: but it would occupy more ſpace than can be ſpared in this chapter, of which poetical concerns have perhaps already had too conſiderable a ſhare. I ſhall, therefore, only add a few words on his Songs, or *Balades*, which muſt have been originally intended for Muſic. And though many ſhort poems of this kind were aſcribed to him, which it would be difficult to prove of his writing, yet he tells us himſelf (*e*) that he had made

> Many an Hymnè, for your holy daies
> That highten *balades*, *rondils*, *virelaies*,—
>
> —And hath made many a *ley*, and many a thing.

Both Gower, his Maſter, and Lydgate, his ſcholar, ſpeak of his ſongs of various kinds; and Gower puts the following eulogium of his Love Songs into the mouth of Venus:

(*c*) Dream of Chaucer, v. 301.
(*d*) See Urry's Edit. p. 466, from v. 107 to 164.
(*e*) Legende of Gode Women, v. 422.

Of

Of *Ditees* and of *Songès* glade,
The which he for my ſakè made,
The Londe fulfilled is over all (*f*).—

And Lydgate, in the prologue to his Tranſlation of the *Fall of Princes*, has the following ſtanza on his ſongs:

This ſaied Poete my Maſter in his dayes
Made and compiled ful many a freſh Ditè,
Complaintès *Ballades*, *Roundels*, Virelaies;
Ful delectable to herin and to ſe,
For which men ſhulde of right and equitè.
Sith he of Engliſh in *making* was the beſt,
Pray em to God to yeve his ſoule good reſt.

Stowe collected many of the Ballads that went under Chaucer's name, which were printed in the edition of 1561; and John Shirley, in 1440, made a large collection of Songs, by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and others, which are ſtill extant in the Aſhmolean Collection at Oxford; (*g*) but none of the tunes to theſe are preſerved; nor have I ever been ſo fortunate as to meet with a ſingle tune to an *Engliſh Song*, or *Dance*, in all the Libraries and MSS. which I have conſulted, ſo ancient as the 14th century (*h*). *Muſical Tracts*, indeed, and Eccleſiaſtical *Chants* abound of that and a ſtill higher period; but till the beginning of the 15th century, all our ſecular Muſic has periſhed. However, if we may judge by what has eſcaped the ravages of time, of a later date, the loſs of our Muſical compo-

(*f*) *Confeſſio amant.*

(*g*) A Boke cleped the Abſtracte Brevyaire compyled of divers *balades*, *roundels*, *wirelays*, *tragedyes*, *envoys*, *complaintes*, *moralities*, &c, collected by John Shirley. Aſhmol. 59. ii. vide Tann. Biblioth. p. 668.

(*h*) Mr. Warton, Hiſt. Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 16 has given a very ample account of a MS. collection of the moſt ancient ſongs in our language, which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum. MSS. Harl. 2253, but without Muſic.

tions

ſitions of this period may be ſupported without much affliction. We may perhaps heighten that affliction conſiderably by cenſuring modern refinements, and extolling the charms of ancient *ſimplicity*; but ſimplicity in Melody, beyond a certain limit, is unworthy of the name that is beſtowed upon it, and encroaches ſo much upon the rude and ſavage boundaries of uncouthneſs and ruſticity, as to be wholly ſeparated from proportion and grace, which ſhould alone characteriſe what is truly ſimple in all the arts: for though they may be enobled by the concealment of labour and pedantry, they are always degraded by an alliance with coarſe and barbarous nature.

All our early poets, and Chaucer particularly, ſeem to have received great pleaſure from the Muſic of their time, whatever it was, and never loſe an opportunity of deſcribing its beauties and effects(*i*); but *Examples* of the melodies of our *old Songs*, our *popular tunes*, and our *counterpoint*, if we had them to exhibit, would give the Muſical reader a more perfect idea of their merit than all that the moſt minute deſcriptions can do, either in proſe or verſe. Such examples are, however, very difficult to find; and when found, ſtill more difficult to decypher.

At the Coronation of Henry V. in 1413, we hear of no other inſtruments than Harps: but one of that Prince's hiſtorians (*k*) tells us that their number in the hall was prodigious. Henry, however, though a ſucceſsful hero, and a conqueror, did not ſeem to take the advantage of his claim to praiſe; and either was ſo modeſt or ſo taſteleſs as to diſcourage and even prohibit the Poets and Muſicians from celebrating his victories, and ſinging his valiant deeds. When he entered the City of London, after the Battle of Agincourt, the gates and ſtreets were hung with tapeſtry, repreſenting the Hiſtory of ancient heroes; and chil-

(*i*) See Chaucer's Contention between *the Cuckow and the Nightingale*, and *the Flower and the Leaf*, beſides the Poems already mentioned, for paſſages concerning Muſic.

(*k*) *Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Geſt.* Hen. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon, 1727. cap. xii. p. 23.

dren

dren were placed in temporary turrets, to ſing verſes. But Henry, diſguſted at theſe vanities, commanded, by a formal edict, that for the future, no ſongs ſhould be recited by Harpers, or others, in honour of the recent victory (*l*). It ſeems, however, the buſineſs of a hero, after becoming a ſubject of praiſe, to receive it with a good grace; and Poetry and Muſic are perhaps never better employed than in expreſſions of national joy and gratitude for the ſafety of the ſtate, and defeat of its foes, by which tranquility is reſtored, and attention ſecured to the arts of peace.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that in ſpite of Henry's edicts, and prohibitions, the only Engliſh ſong of ſo early a date, that has come to my knowledge, of which the original muſic has been preſerved, is one that was written on his victory at Agincourt in 1415. It is preſerved in the Pepyſian Collection at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and has been printed in the ſecond volume of the Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry. The tranſcribers of ancient MSS. ſeem in general to have been utterly ignorant of Muſic, and ſo indifferent as to the place and form of Notes as to have made them unintelligible; and indeed, though I made a journey to Cambridge, in order to ſee the original Muſic of the ſong which had been tranſcribed for the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, it was not till after I had tried to write it many different ways that I was able to diſentangle the parts, and form it into a ſcore (*m*).

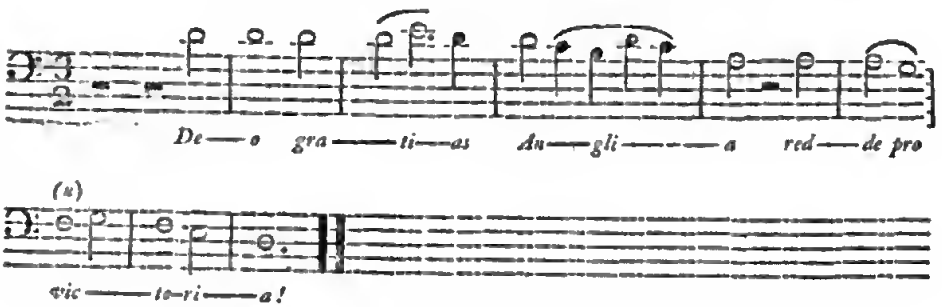
The

(*l*) "*Cantus de ſuo triumpho fieri, ſeu per Cithariſtas, vel alios quoſcunque, Cantari, penitus prohibebat.*" ib. p. 71. And *Hærnii Præfat* p. xxix. ſeq. § viii. See alſo Hollingſh. Chron. iii. p. 556. col. i. 40.

(*m*) Since my journey to Cambridge, Mr. Stafford Smith has given an accurate copy of this compoſition in his "Collection of ancient Engliſh Songs, for three and four voices in ſcore," which, if I had been ſo fortunate as to have ſeen before I viſited that Univerſity, would have ſaved me much trouble. Indeed, ſpecimens of Muſical Compoſitions at ſuch an early period, are ſo ſcarce, and this in particular ſeems ſo much to belong to my ſubject, that a Hiſtory of Engliſh Muſic would be deficient without it; and ſcrupulouſly to omit all that has previouſly been

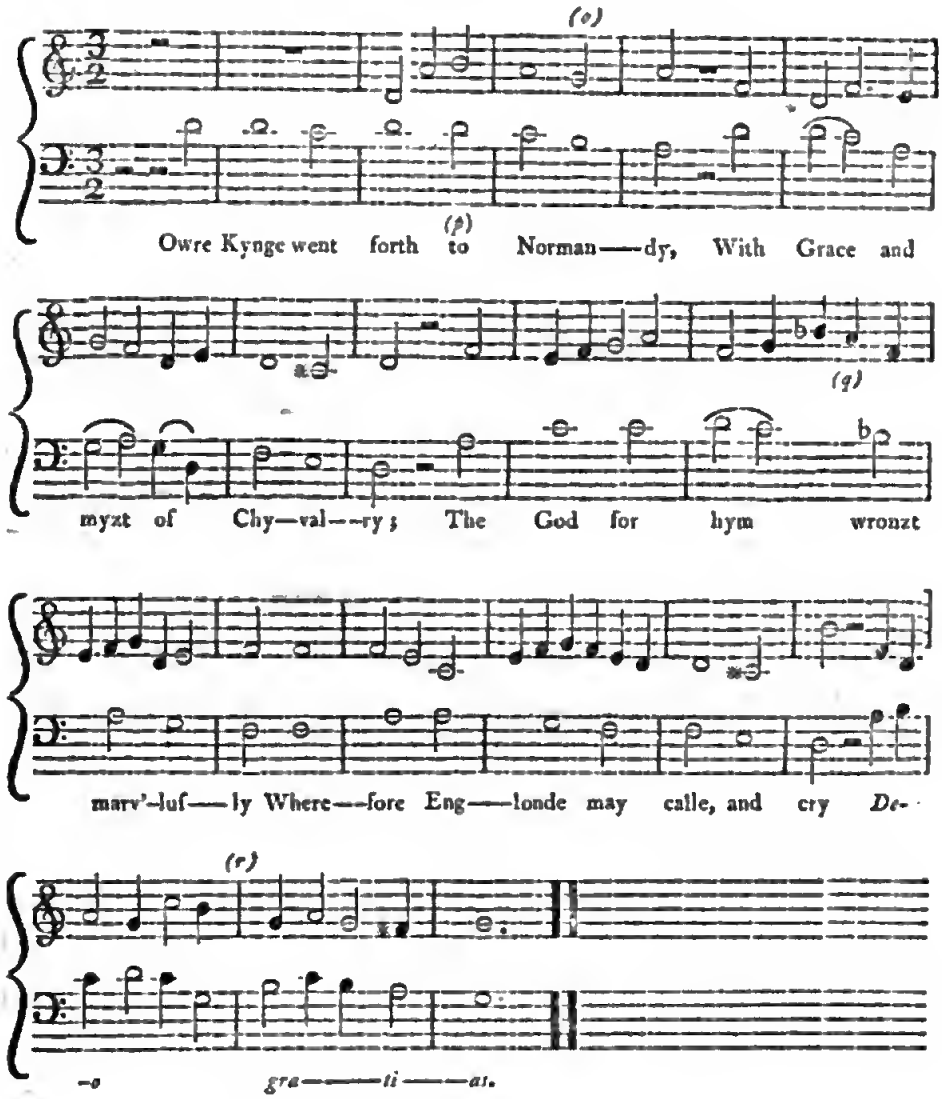
The Copy in the Pepyſian Collection is written upon Vellum in Gregorian Notes, and can be little leſs ancient than the event which it recorded. There is with it a paper which ſhews that an attempt was made in the laſt century to give it a modern dreſs; but too many liberties have been taken with the melody, and the drone baſe which has been ſet to it for the Lute is mere jargon. I ſhall therefore preſent my reader with a faithful copy of this venerable relic of our nation's proweſs and glory, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, from which we are perhaps entitled to more honour than from the poetry and Muſic with which they were then celebrated.

SONG on the Victory obtained at Agincourt, 1415.




been publiſhed by others, would be reducing my book to a mere *Supplement*. All I can promiſe is not to copy with ſervility, or without examining the original ſources of their acquiſitions with my own eyes, which will ſometimes perhaps ſee them in a different light, and occaſion a difference of opinion. The greateſt difficulty, till the end of the fifteenth century, is to *find* Examples of Compoſition, which, in the next century, will be ſo encreaſed as to perplex by their multiplicity.

(a) It would have anſwered the expectation of a modern ear better, if this and the next F had been ſharp.

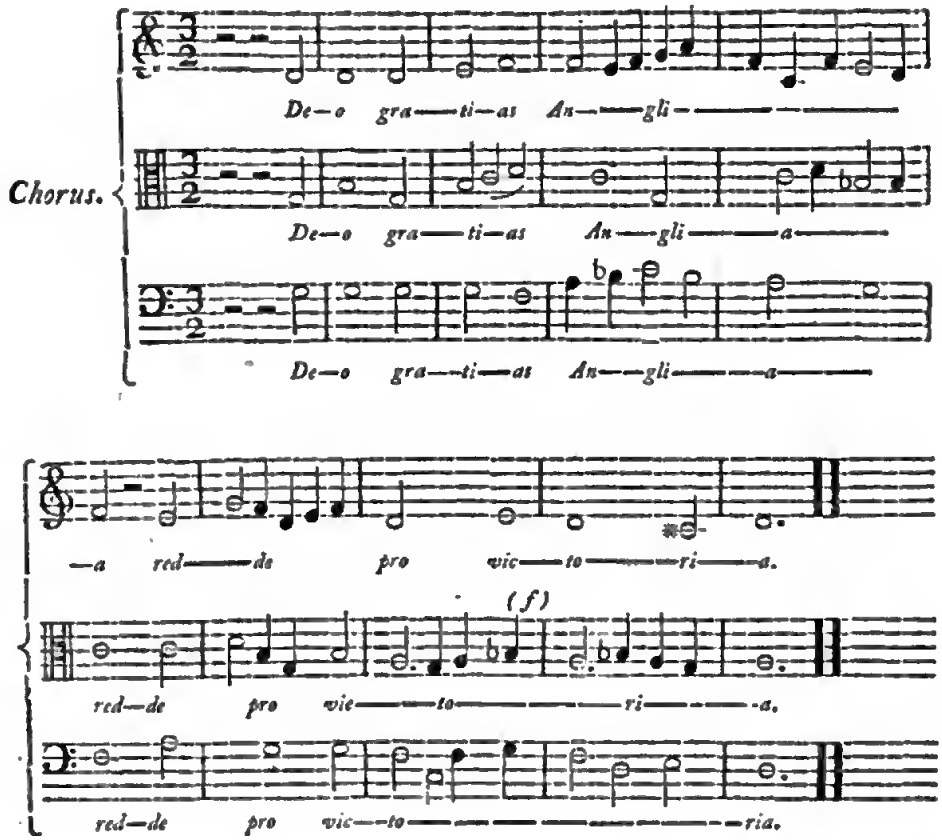



(*o*) A ſharp ſeems wanting to this G.

(*p*) I ventured to make this note d, upon a ſuppoſition, that it had been written C in the Pepys Copy, by a miſtake of the ſcribe.

(*q*) The compoſition in this place is very incorrect, there being a ſucceſſion of three fifths between the voice part and the accompaniment; but I can diſcover nothing in the manuſcript to authoriſe a change.

(*r*) I ventured to correct this paſſage, as the preſent reading in the old copy muſt have been offenſive at every period of counterpoint.




He ſette a ſege, the ſothe to ſay,
To Harflue town, with royal array,
That toune he wan, and made a fray,
That Fraunce ſhall rywe tyl domes day.
*Deo gratias, &c.*

Than for ſothe that knyzt comely,
In Agincourt feld fauzt manly,
Thorow grace of God moſt myzty,
He had bothe felde, and victory.
*Deo gratias, &c.*

(s) Though the flats are omitted in the counter-tenor part of this line, yet I have ventured to inſert them, as they ſeem as neceſſary here as in the Baſe.

Then

Then went owre kynge, with all his oſte,
Thorowe Fraunce for all the Frenſshe boſte;
He ſpared for drede of Leſte, ne moſt
Till he come to Agincourt coſte.

*Deo gratias, &c.*

Ther dukys, and earlys, lorde and barone,
Were take, and ſlayne, and that wel ſone,
And ſome were ledde into Lundone,
With joye, and merth, and grete renone.

*Deo gratias, &c.*

Now gracious God he ſave owre kynge,
His peple, and all his well wyllinge;
Gef him gode lyfe, and gode endynge,
That we with merth may ſafely ſynge.

*Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.*

The number of tracts that were written on the ſubject of Muſic, from the time of John de Muris, to the middle of the fifteenth century, is ſo conſiderable, as not only to make us believe that it was in great favour, but incline us to expect more perfection than we find in the ſpecimens of compoſition that have been preſerved.

The *Speculum Muſicæ* of John de Muris, which is only to be found in the King of France's library at Paris, is a treatiſe ſo ample, that I ſhall ſtep back a little, in order to give my readers a more ſatisfactory account of it than I was able to do when I mentioned it before, as I have procured large extracts from it, and a complete table of its contents, ſince I cloſed the article in the preceding chapter concerning this celebrated and voluminous Muſical writer; and ſhall be the more minute in my account of this ſcarce MS. as it ſeems to have been the ground work of all the Muſical Treatiſes that were produced by other writers, till the time of Franchinus Gaforius, in the latter end of the fifteenth century.

This work, which is written on vellum, in folio, contains ſix hundred pages. The firſt ſentence of the original is, "*Libro "tertio de Philoſophica Conſolatione Boetius volens reddere Cau-"ſam,*" &c. It is divided into ſeven books: the firſt of

which treats of the invention of Muſic, and of its diviſions, and contains ſeventy-ſix chapters; the ſecond, of Muſical Intervals, an hundred and twenty-three; the third, of Harmonics, or Muſical proportion, fifty-ſix; fourth, of Concords and Diſcords, fifty-one; fifth, of the ancient Tetrachords, diviſion of the Monochord, and Doctrines of Boetius, fifty-two chapters: ſixth, of the Modes and Notation of the Ancients, of the changes made in their ſyſtem by Guido, and of the Eccleſiaſtical Tones, one hundred and thirteen. Book the ſeventh, of meaſured Muſic; of Diſcant, in treating of which he has the chapter *de ineptis Diſcantoribus*, part of which has been given in the preceding chapter; of the Time-table, Moods or Diviſions of Time, of the folly of placing a tail to the ſemibreve, by which he ſeems to mean the Minim, without naming it; of perfect and imperfect Meaſures; and laſtly, a parallel between Ancient and Modern Muſic, which occupies the laſt five of the forty-five chapters into which this book is divided, the concluding ſentence of which is, "*Exempli cauſa deſcribere tibi volo quorum* "*figuræ ſunt in hoc ordine conſequentes.*

*Explicit Tractatus Muſicæ, Magiſtri Johannis de Muris.*

Notwithſtanding all the nice and ſubtle diviſions and ſubdiviſions of his ſeven books into nine hundred and ſeventeen chapters, the practical Muſician would at preſent profit but little from the ſtudy of them, as almoſt all the doctrines contained in the firſt five books are ſpeculative, and ſuch as may be found in Ptolemy, Boethius, and other ancient authors, whom almoſt all the Muſical writers of later times have copied in pure pedantry, without underſtanding themſelves what they read, and conſequently without conveying any uſeful ſcience to their readers by what they have written. It is only in the two laſt books that de Muris condeſcends to ſpeak of the *Practical Muſic*

*ſic* of his own times: in the ſixth book he treats of the Eccleſiaſtical Tones, Notation, and Chants, which John Cotton and Walter Odington had done before; and in the ſeventh he defines *Cantus Menſurabilis*, Diſcant, Moods, Characters of the different duration of Sounds, as the *Long*, *Breve*, *Semi-breve*, and their perfection and imperfection. Here he employs ſeveral chapters in refuting ſuch as have diſputed his doctrines; and laſtly, he draws a parallel between the Muſic of the Ancients and that of the Moderns, in order to aſcertain their ſeveral degrees of perfection.

It is in mere charity to the curious in Muſical Antiquities that I have beſtowed ſo much pains in examining and deſcribing this Book; which, though of difficult acceſs, and more difficult peruſal, might tempt them from the celebrity of the Author, to explore its dark regions, and impair their eyes and patience in ſearch of ſcientific treaſures, which it does not contain.

A very curious collection of Muſical Tracts was preſerved among the MSS. of the Cotton library: but unfortunately they were nearly deſtroyed by a fire which happened in 1731, while Aſhburnham Houſe was its repoſitory. Of this collection, conſiſting of ſeven treatiſes in Latin, the late Dr. Pepuſch had luckily procured copies, which are now lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum, as are the fragments of the originals (*t*).

I ſhall not be very diffuſe in my account of theſe MSS. as the chief part of the doctrines they contain, has already been conſidered in ſpeaking of the writings of Guido, Franco, Walter Odington, and others, which are ſtill more ancient. The inſertion and explanation of rules which are no longer worth adopting, and upon which ſcarce any of the Muſic was compoſed which is now ſubſiſting, would be ſwelling my volume with

(*t*) See in the Cat. Dr. Smith's Deſcription of *Tiberius*, Book IX. The compiler of theſe Tracts is unknown, but the time when they were tranſcribed is aſcertained by the Scribe himſelf, in a note at the end of the firſt tract: *Expliciunt Regulæ cum additionibus: finitæ die Veneris proximâ antePenteceſt. anno Domini milleſimo tricentiſimo viceſimo ſexto, et cætera, Amen.*

that, which if any one had patience to peruſe, could afford neither profit nor pleaſure; and for which the higheſt reward I could hope, would be the pity of my readers, for not having found in all my reſearches any thing better to give them. Unfortunately it was not yet the cuſtom for writers on Muſic to illuſtrate their rules with examples of Compoſition, either by themſelves or others; and this omiſſion has rendered almoſt every Treatiſe produced before the ſixteenth century, equally dry and unprofitable with thoſe which are come down to us of the ancient Greeks and Romans. A commentary therefore upon ſuch works, whatever idea it may impreſs of an author's erudition and patience, would be very likely to fright a reader from attempting the peruſal of more intereſting and intelligible parts of the book in which it is inſerted, upon a ſuppoſition that the ſequel will be equally dark and unintelligible.

Of ſuch muſical MSS. therefore as are in our own public libraries, and of eaſy acceſs, I ſhall give a leſs minute account than of others preſerved on the Continent, which but few may have opportunities of conſulting. However, though it is my buſineſs to ſpare no trouble myſelf, it is incumbent upon me to give my readers as little as poſſible; I ſhall therefore point out the road to ſuch tracts as are moſt ſcarce and valuable, in order that thoſe who wiſh to know more of their contents than the limits of my work will allow me to give, may themſelves be enabled to conſult the originals.

Among the tranſcripts from the Cotton MS. No. I. which is a Commentary upon Franco, by Handlo, has been already deſcribed (*u*); a conſiderable part of this tract is ſtill legible in the ancient Copy (*w*).

II. *Tractatus diverſarum Figurarum per quas dulcibus modis diſcantantur.* This is a compendium apparently of the doctrines

(*u*) P. 194.

(*w*) Tiberius, B. IX.

of

of John de Muris; but in the old copy it was called *Tractatus de Muſica, incerto authore.* Here the black Minim in the Lozenge form appears.

III. *Pr.* "*Pro aliquali Notitia de Muſica habenda*;" This Tract which is of a conſiderable length, is likewiſe anonymous The author imitates Boethius, as moſt muſical writers have done down to the good Padre Martini, in the diviſion of Muſic into *Mundane*, *Humane*, and *Inſtrumental*, as well as in ſeveral other particulars. This Author uſes the ſame kind of *literal notation* as Guido in his Micrologus, before lines were applied to the Eccleſiaſtical Characters. We find in it the ♮ and ♭ *Hexachords*; and *Harmonic hand*, with diagrams of the Mutations, ſeemingly taken from a treatiſe in the Bodleian Library, intitled *Quatuor principalia Artis Muſicæ*, of which a farther account will be given below. He compares the *Minim* to a Unit, as the beginning of meaſured time; tells us that Vitriaco was the moſt famous muſician in the whole world; and ſpeaks of the *Semiminim or Crutchetam* as a uſeleſs innovation, which he had rejected. We have here an explanation of the *Plicæ*, *Ligatures*, and ſix *Moods*, in imitation, as he ſays, of the Roman School, but little differing from thoſe of Franco (*x*). However this author confeſſes, that the five Moods of Franco, and the ſix which he exhibits in his work, are all reducible to two, the *perfect* and *imperfect*; or to thoſe as they are now called of triple and common time. The *point* is mentioned by this author as of common uſe; and the thirds and ſixths are both denominated *imperfect Concords*. The fourth he ranks among *perfect* concords; though he agrees with the preſent age in thinking that it has not a good effect when uſed by itſelf, and requires more than two parts to be admitted in compoſition. He forbids the uſe of *Diſcords*, which proves that their laws were not yet eſtabliſhed. He gives rules for *Diſcant*, or extempora-

(*x*) See p. 183.

neous

neous Harmony; for *written Harmony*,; and ſpeaks of the Organ as an Inſtrument neceſſary in the Cantus Eccleſiaſticus. The *Hocket* is deſcribed, either as a *reſt* or cutting a note ſhort, without accelerating the general meaſure. *Staccato*, *Sciolto*, ſeem to correſpond with this term more than a *reſt*; for why ſhould a reſt in an inward part offend? And it was ſeverely cenſured by grave churchmen about this time (*y*).

IV. The next Tract in the Cotton MS. is likewiſe one of three Muſical Treatiſes contained in another volume of the Britiſh Muſeum, which formerly belonged to the Monks of St. Edmonſbury (*z*). It begins *Cognita Modulatione ſecundum vium octo Troporum et ſecundum uſum et conſuetudinem fidei Catholicæ.* Of this Tract, which treats very amply of the Cantus Menſurabilis, and of the chief parts of practical Muſic then known, the Author is not named. By the eight tropes he does not mean the eight modes, or tones of the Church, but eight moods with reſpect to *time.* The author clearly explains the term *Organum* to imply the harmonical accompaniment to a chant, as it has been already often defined in this volume; *Diſcant*, *Triples*, *Quadruples*, *and Copulæ*, are treated of in the ſame manner as by former writers; but of *Diſcord* he is rather more explicit than his predeceſſors, for he ſays, that many good Compoſers of *Hymns*, *Antiphons*, and *Organic* Parts, uſe *diſcords* inſtead of concords, particularly the Muſicians of *Lombardy.*

V. Conſiſts only of fragments or detached extracts from an entire treatiſe. It begins *Sequitur de Sinemenis*, and explains the manner in which the *Synemmenon Tetrachord* is formed. Here the author ſpeaks of a croſs being put to F to obviate the falſe fifth between that ſound and B. This has been thought the firſt time that a ſharp has been uſed; but *Marchetto da Padua* two hundred years before had uſed the ſame expedient. The firſt ſharp was only a

(*y*) See above, p. 150.

(*z*) Bibl. Reg. xii. cap. vi. 5, 3.

ſquare

ſquare ♮, whence B *quadrum*; then a line was drawn on each ſide ♮ (*a*). This character, and the round ♭, were uſed for *Muſica Ficta*, which was another name for *Tranſpoſition* from the natural ſcale into ſuch keys as required ſounds different from thoſe which the three hexachords furniſhed (*b*).

VI. Is a ſhort tract in which no new doctrines appear: It begins *Eſt autem uniſonus quando duæ voces manente uno et eodem loco ſive uno et eodem ſono*; and treats in a ſummary way of Conſonances, Diſcant, and Solmization: illuſtrating the doctrines advanced by examples in Notes.

VII. The laſt Tract beginning *Cum in iſto tractatu de Signis ſive de Notis quæ ſunt et de earum proprietatibus*, &c. is chiefly confined to time, Meaſure, or the relative proportions of ſuch notes as were then in uſe. There are duplicates of this and the preceding tract in the volume already mentioned(*c*). Minims appear in this fragment; and at the end there is an old French Song in two parts: *Faus ſemblant tiel eſtes vous*, already inſerted in the preſent chapter (*d*). The words *Hæc Odyngtonus*, written at the back of this Tract in the Cotton Collection, has inclined many to believe that Walter Odington, of whom an account has already been given, was the author of it; but they mean nothing more than that the doctrine of Walter of Eveſham had been followed by the author: as *Secundum Guidonem—Johannem de Muris—Franconem*, &c. has been found to have the ſame meaning.

The moſt conſiderable Muſical Tract which I have been able to find of nearly the ſame date as the Cotton MS. is a Treatiſe

(*a*) *Preſdocimo* and *Marchetto* uſe this mark with four points in the middle, for a ſharp ♮, and the latter ſometimes this ♯.

(*b*) This was likewiſe long called *Muſica falſa, ficta, Colorata, Conjuncta, alterata*. See above, p. 160. And as the Eccleſiaſtical chants are all confined to ſuch ſounds as the different ſpecies of octave in the key of C or A natural can ſupply, it is ſtill thought licentious in the Romiſh Church to compoſe in ſuch keys as require flats and ſharps: a reſtraint that long extended to ſecular muſic.

(*c*) *Tractatus Muſici*, 3 Bibl. Reg. xiii. cap. vi. 5. 182.

(*d*) P. 306.

in

in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (*e*), entitled *Quatuor principalia Artis Muſicæ*, which has been aſcribed to ſeveral authors. As this work is written with more clearneſs and preciſion, and is of a greater length than any other that was produced in the fourteenth century, except the *Speculum Muſices* of John de Muris, I was very deſirous to diſcover by whom it was written. Anthony Wood (*f*) aſcribes it to Thomas Tewkſbury, a Franciſcan of Briſtol, to whom it is likewiſe given in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS, for no other reaſon that is eaſy to diſcover, but that the name of Tewkſbury occurs on an outſide leaf. However, there is a teſtimonial at the end of the Table of Contents, which has helped to fix the work upon an author of the name of Tewkſbury; but this is *John* of Tewkeſbury, a Friar; who ſeems only to have preſented the book called the *four principles of Muſic* to the Minor Friars of Oxford, by the Authority and conſent of *Maſter* Thomas of Kinguſbury, then *Magiſter* of all England, in the year 1388 (*g*). As no perſon of the name of Tewkeſbury appears in the liſt of Engliſh Muſicians or Muſical Writers, if we were reduced to conjecture it might be imagined from the ſimilarity of names, that *John Torkſey*, a Muſical Author of the ſame period, had been corrupted into John Tewkeſbury: but there is no occaſion for ſuch an expedient, nor for adopting the opinion of Biſhop Tanner, who aſſigns it to Dr. John Hambois, a writer on Muſic, who flouriſhed more than a century after the time when it appears from the teſtimony of the Scribe himſelf, that the Oxford MS. was finiſhed.

(*e*) Digby 90.

(*f*) Hiſt. and Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 5.

(*g*) *Ad informationem ſcire volentibus principia Artis Muſicæ, iſtum Libellum qui vocatur Quatuor principalia Muſicæ, Frater* Johannes de Teukeſbury *contulit comitatui Fratrum Minorum Oxoniæ, auctoritate et aſſenſu Fratris Thomæ de Kynguſbury Magiſtri tunc Magiſtri Angliæ. Anno Domini* 1388. This advertiſement ends, as uſual, by anathematiſing any one who ſhall ſacrilegiouſly ſteal the MS. from the ſaid Minor Friars.

There

There is however among the MSS. at Oxford, another Volume of Muſical Tracts (*h*), which has not been ſufficiently examined by any of the Catalographers who have mentioned it: for upon a careful peruſal and collation, I find in it, beſides two other Tracts, by Simon Tunſtede, or Tuſtede, a duplicate of the *Quatuor Principalia*, attributed by ſome to Thomas or John of Tewkſbury, and by others to Hambois; and as no doubt is thrown upon Tunſtede having been the author of the two firſt tracts in this volume, it ſeems as if we might venture, without heſitation or doubt, to aſſign to him this ample, and, for the time when it was written, excellent treatiſe. That Simon Tunſtede was a man of Science, and an able Muſician, as well as a Doctor of Divinity, appears at the end of MS. Digby, 90 (*i*). Pits, Bale, Tanner, and all our Biographical writers ſpeak of him as a learned Muſician, and Pits enumerates the *Quatuor Principalia* among his writings (*k*).

The title of the Tracts in the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. has occaſioned the great diverſity of opinions about the writer of the *Quatuor Principalia*; for No. 515, is entitled *De Muſica continua et diſcreta, cum Diagrammatibus, per* Simonem Tunſtede, A. D. 1351. However, in the beginning of the volume, the author propoſes to treat *De Quatuor principalibus in quibus tocius Muſica radices conſiſtunt*, &c. which exactly agrees with the other MS. and there is no difference from the beginning to the end, except in the omiſſion of a kind of prologue, or argument to the work, which is aſcribed to Tewkeſbury (*l*), beginning *Quemadmodum inter triticum*, and is omitted in that to which the name of Tunſted is prefixed (*m*).

(*h*) Bodl. 515.

(*i*) After ſaying that the book was finiſhed in 1351, we have the following paſſage: *Ille autem anno regens erat inter Minores* Oxoniæ *Fratres*, Simon de Tunſtede, *Doctor Sacræ Theologiæ, qui in Muſica pollebat, et etiam in ſeptem liberalibus artibus.*

(*k*) *De illuſt. Angl. Script.* Simon Tunſted, a Franciſcan Friar, born at Norwich, was in ſuch favour for his learning and piety, as to be unanimouſly choſen Provincial Maſter of all England. He died at Bruzard, in Suffolk, in 1369.

(*l*) Digby 90.

(*m*) Bodl. 515.

What the author calls the *Four Principals of Muſic* will beſt appear from his own manner of dividing the work. In the firſt *part* or *principal*, conſiſting of nineteen chapters, he treats of Muſic in general, its conſtituent Parts and Diviſions. II. of its Invention, Intervals, and Proportions, twenty-four chapters. III. of Plain Chant, and the Eccleſiaſtical Modes, fifty-eight chapters. IV. of Meaſured Muſic, or Time; of Diſcant, and their ſeveral diviſions. This laſt *Principal* is divided into two ſections, of which the firſt contains forty-one chapters, and the ſecond forty-nine. The whole Treatiſe fills a hundred and twenty-four folio pages: the Diagrams, which are very numerous are beautifully written, and illuminated with different coloured inks; and it ſeems to be in all reſpects the moſt ample and complete work of the kind which the fourteenth century can boaſt.

A MS. on Muſic, of nearly the ſame period, as that of Simon Tunſted, is preſerved at Oxford (*m*), conſiſting of three books. It was written by our countryman Theinred, Precentor of the Monaſtery of Dover, about the year 1371.

The firſt book treats of Muſical Proportion, *De Proportionibus Muſicorum Sonorum.* This is a very early treatiſe upon *Harmonics*, in which, when he ſpeaks of the major and minor ſemitone, and of the different portions into which they are diviſible, his doctrine is illuſtrated by many numerical Tables, and nice ſplittings of tones into commas: *de Comatis; alia Proportio ejuſdem Comatis*, &c. which prove a *Temperament* of the Scale to have been then in uſe.

The Second Book treats of Muſical Concords, *De Conſonantiis Muſicorum ſonorum.* Here, after ſpecifying the different kinds of Concords, he informs his reader that in *organiſing*, major and minor thirds, as well as ſixths, are admiſſible in ſucceſſion.

(*m*) Bodl. 842. 1. *De legitimis ordinibus Pentachordorum et Tetrachordorum*, Pr: *Quoniam Muſicorum de his Cantibus frequens eſt diſtinctio*, &c. 46 Folios, ſmall ſize. Walther in his Muſical Dictionary calls this work a Phœnix.

Book

Book III. contains Diagrams and Scales innumerable of different ſpecies of Octave, in a literal notation. No Muſical characters, or examples of practical Muſic in common notes, appear throughout the treatiſe.

The praiſes beſtowed by Pits, Bale, Tanner, and others on Theinred, whoſe name is ſometimes written Thaured, and Thinred, make it neceſſary to acquaint ſuch of my readers as may be inclined to take the trouble of examining this Tract themſelves, that, like many other Muſical writings of the middle and lower ages, it but ill rewards the drudgery of an entire and careful peruſal; for after perſeverance has vanquiſhed the abbreviations, and the barbariſm and obſcurity of the Latin, the vain ſpeculations and uſeleſs diviſions of the ſcale with which this work ſo much abounds, and which could have been but of ſmall utility to practical Muſic, at the time when it was written, are ſuch, that now, ſince the theory of Sound is ſo much better underſtood and explained by the writings of Galileo, Merſennus, Holder, Smith, and many others, our old countryman, Theinred, may henceforth remain peaceably on his ſhelf, without much loſs to the art or ſcience of Muſic.

The reign of Henry VI. though turbulent and unhappy, ſeems not to have been wholly unpropitious to Minſtrelſy; for it has been obſerved by a late diligent enquirer, that Minſtrels in the fifteenth century were often better paid than the clergy (*n*). Many of them are ſo now: but though the high ſalaries of favourite Muſicians, like the revenues of our Biſhops, are ſufficiently known and blazoned to the world, yet the number of ſubalterns in want of bread, though greater than of the clergy, is not known to the public. The clergy have almoſt always ſome ſtated annual ſtipend on which to depend, and which, though often ſmall and inſufficient for the ſupport of their fa-

(*n*) Hiſt. Eng. Poetry, vol. ii p. 105.

milies, is a reſource unknown to innumerable obſcure Muſicians. In the time of Henry the VIth, the Clergy were all *ſingle* men, and generally members of ſome fraternity, or Monaſtery, which afforded them a houſe, and a ſubſiſtence.

It has been obſerved, with ſome degree of obloquy, by Hearne (*o*), that during many years of this reign, particularly in 1430, the annual feaſt of the Fraternity of the Holie Cross, at Abingdon, a town in Berkſhire, twelve prieſts received only four pence each for ſinging a dirge: and the ſame number of Minſtrels were ſeverally rewarded with two ſhillings and four pence, beſides diet and horſe-meat. Some of theſe Minſtrels, we are told, came only from Mayden-hithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great diſtance in the ſame county (*). "In the year 1441, "eight prieſts were hired from Coventry, to aſſiſt in celebrating "a yearly Obit in the Church of the neighbouring Priory of "Maxtoke; as were ſix Minſtrels, called *Mimi* (*p*), belonging to "the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining caſtle "of Maxtoke, to ſing, harp, and play, in the hall of the Mo-"naſtery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the "Monks on that Anniverſary. Two ſhillings were given to "the Prieſts, and four to the Minſtrels, and the latter are ſaid "to have ſupped in *Camera picta*, or the painted chamber of "the Convent, with the Sub-prior (*q*), on which occaſion the "Chamberlain furniſhed eight maſſy tapers of wax (*r*). That "the gratuities allowed to prieſts, even if learned, for their

(*o*) *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* Appendix p. 598.

(*) Abingdon is however at leaſt thirty miles from Maidenhead, and beſides the time neceſſarily ſpent on the road, ſome part of this magnificent gratuity muſt have been diſſipated in horſe-hire.

(*p*) *Ex computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtock.* "*Dat Sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, Citharizantibus, et ludentibus; in aula in dicta Pictantia.* iiii.s."

(*q*) "*Mimis Cenantibus in Camera picta cum ſubpriore eodem tempore,*" the ſum obliterated.

(*r*) *Ex comp. Camerarii, ut ſupr.*

"labours,

" labours, in the ſame age of devotion, were extremely ſlender, " may be collected from other expences of this Priory (*s*). In " the ſame year, the Prior gives only ſix pence (*t*) for a ſer- " mon, to a DOCTOR PRÆDICANS, or an itinerant Doctor " in Theology of one of the Mendicant orders, who went " about preaching to the religious houſes (*u*)."

About this time two eminent Muſicians flouriſhed in England, whoſe names are come down to us with a conſiderable degree of celebrity; theſe were John Dunſtable, and Dr. John Hambois.

DUNSTABLE was the Muſician, whom the Germans, from a ſimilarity of Name, have miſtaken for St. Dunſtan, and to whom, as erroneouſly, they have aſcribed the invention of counterpoint in four parts. He was author of the Muſical Treatiſe *De Menſurabili Muſicâ*, which is cited by Franchinus (*w*), Morley (*x*), and Ravenſcrofte (*y*). But though this work is loſt, there is ſtill extant in the Bodleian library (*z*), a Geographical Tract by this Author; and, if we may believe his epitaph, which is preſerved by Weaver (*a*), he was not only a Muſician, but a Mathematician, and an eminent aſtrologer (*b*). Of his Muſical Compoſitions nothing remains but two or three fragments in Franchinus, and Morley. He is very unjuſtly accuſed by this laſt writer of ſeparating the ſyllables of the ſame word by *reſts*. But I believe Maſter Morley was ſo eager to make a wretched pun on the name of Duns-table, that he did not ſufficiently conſider the paſſages which he cenſured; the errors in which ſeem to be only thoſe of the Tranſcriber or Printer: for the laſt ſyllable of *Angelorum* belongs to the laſt

(*s*) *Ex comp. prædict.*

(*t*) Worth about five ſhillings of our preſent money.

(*u*) Hiſt. Engl. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 106.

(*w*) *Pract. Muſ.* lib. ii. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 3. under the name of *Donſtaple*.

(*x*) *Introd.* p. 178.

(*y*) *Briefe diſc.* p. 1, *et al.*

(*z*) *Vide* Tanner, p. 239. in Dunſtab.

(*a*) Funeral Monum. p. 577.

(*b*) Ib. See likewiſe Fuller's Worthies, p. 116.

note

note of the firſt Muſical phraſe, *before* the reſts, and not to the firſt note of the ſecond groupe.

The words and ſyllables in this manner fall on the right notes.

Dunſtable ſeems to have acquired a great reputation on the continent; for he is not only cited by Franchinus, but John Tinctor, a writer ſomewhat more ancient, who gives to the Engliſh the invention of the *New art of Counterpoint*, and places John *Dunſtaple* at their head (*c*). It was in a MS. Latin Tract, in the poſſeſſion of Padre Martini, that I ſaw this curious paſſage, which probably has done us ſome credit with thoſe who have believed and tranſcribed it; but he could not have been the inventor of that art concerning which ſeveral treatiſes were written before he was born. However this is but one proof more of what has been already remarked, that when a miſtake or a falſhood has once had admiſſion into a book, it is not eaſily eradicated; and this aſſertion concerning John of Dunſtable's invention of counterpoint, as if it were not ſufficiently falſe in itſelf, has been aggravated by the additional blunder of miſtaking his name for that of St, Dunſtan (*d*).

Dunſtable, whom Stow calls a *Maſter of Aſtronomie and*

(*c*) Speaking of counterpoint he ſays, *Cujus ut ita dicam novæ artis fons et origo, apud Anglos, quorum Caput* Dunſtaple *exiſtit fuiſſe perhibetur.* John Tinctor, born at Nivelle in Brabant, flouriſhed about the year 1274. He was long in the ſervice of Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples and Sicily, who reigned from 1458 to 1504, and ſtyles himſelf his Chaplain and Cantor. The title of his Book is *Tract. Muſices Explanat. Manuſ. De Tonar Natura et proprict. De notis ac Pauſis De regul. valore, imperfect. et alterat. Notar. De arte Contrap.* There will be farther occaſion to ſpeak of this able writer and Muſician in the next chapter.

(*d*) Not only M. Marpurg, but the editors of the Supplement to the *Encyclopedie*, art. *Contrepoint*, have lately copied this error unexamined.

*Muſike*,

*Muſike* (*e*), was buried in the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, 1458.

Dr. JOHN HAMBOIS is ſaid to have poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of learning in all the arts, and to have been no contemptible Mathematician, but his biographers add, that Muſic held the firſt place among all his ſtudies. It is related of him likewiſe, that he was remarkable for a fertile fancy, and a humour of a peculiar kind; and Pits, taking his ideas of Muſical compoſition from a later period, tells us, that his knowledge in Harmony, in the combination of Concords, and preparation and reſolution of Diſcords, was ſuch as no other perſon of his own age and nation poſſeſſed. To theſe talents, Hambois is allowed to have joined a great knowledge in the Latin tongue, in which he wrote a Tract, entitled, *Summum Artis Muſices*; and *Cantionum Artificialium diverſi generis*, &c. Tanner was of opinion, that his Muſical Treatiſe was the ſame as that in the Bodleian Library, Digby 90, *De Quatuor Principalibus Muſicæ*; but that has already been proved to be the property of another writer.

As Hambois has been imagined by ſome to be the firſt Muſician who was honoured with the degree of DOCTOR, this ſeems the proper place to confirm or refute that opinion, and, if poſſible, to trace the origin of an inſtitution, which is peculiar to the Univerſities of our own Country.

Anthony Wood (*f*) ſays, that the degree of Doctor in the faculty of Muſic was firſt given in the reign of Henry the ſecond; but this is fixing it at an earlier period than that in which ſuch a title can be proved to have ſubſiſted at Oxford or Cambridge, or to have been conferred on the Profeſſors of other ſciences. Spelman, a more nice and accurate ſifter of facts,

(*e*) Survey of London, edit. of 1618. Walbrook Ward.

(*f*) Hiſt. Acad. Oxon lib. i. p. 245.

believes

believes that the appellation of *Doctor* was not among the degrees granted to Graduates in England, till the reign of King John, about 1207.

It is known that this title was created on the Continent about the middle of the twelfth century, as more honourable than that of *Maſter*, which was become too common. Its original ſignification implied not only learning and ſkill, but abilities to *teach*, according to the opinion of Ariſtotle, who ſays, that the moſt certain proof of knowledge in any ſcience, is the being able to inſtruct others (*g*).

The firſt degree of this kind which was conferred in a public ſchool or academy, was at Bologna, about the year 1130, where, according to Bayle (*h*), it was an honour inſtituted in favour of Irnerius, Chancellor to the Emperor Lotharius, who was created *Doctor of Civil Law*. This ceremony ſoon after was adopted in other Univerſities, and paſſed from the Law to Theology.

Peter Lombard is the firſt *Doctor in Sacred Theology* upon record, in the Univerſity of Paris (*i*).

The preciſe time when this creation extended to the faculties of Medicine and Muſic does not appear; nor can the names be found of thoſe Profeſſors in either, to whom the title was firſt granted.

It has, however, been frequently remarked in this volume, that during the middle ages Muſic was always ranked among the ſeven liberal arts, that it was included in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and ſtudied by all thoſe who aſpired at reputation for learning throughout Europe. The *Trivium* compriſed the three ſciences of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, which teach us how to

(*g*) John de Muris begins the ſecond part of his Treatiſe upon Muſic, of which an account has been already given in this volume. p. 201. with the following paſſage:

*Princeps Philoſophorum Ariſtoteles ait in principio Mathematicæ ſuæ, omnino ſcientis, ſignum eſt poſſe docere.*

*Muſices Tract.* MS. Bodl. 300 *Sæc.*

(*h*) Dict. Art. IRNERIUS.

(*i*) Mathias, *Theatr. Hiſt. in Vita Lotharii* II.

reaſon

reaſon with accuracy and preciſion; and the *Quadrivium* comprehended Arithmetic, Muſic, Geometry, and Aſtronomy, as the four branches of the Mathematics, which ſilently contemplate whatever is capable of being numbered or meaſured. Now it is remarkable, that in our Univerſities, Muſic is the only one of theſe ſeven Sciences that confers degrees on its ſtudents; and, in other countries, though Theology, Law, and Medicine, beſtow this honour, which are *not* of the ſeven, yet Muſic, which *is*, can aſpire at no ſuch diſtinction.

However, it evidently appears that the Muſic which was regarded as a *Science* by our forefathers, was merely ſpeculative, and ſuch as concerned Harmonics, the ratio of Muſical intervals, and Philoſophy of ſound; and in this ſenſe Muſical degrees are perhaps but ſeldom conferred in our Univerſities according to the original ſpirit of the inſtitution. But the preſent ſtatutes, not wholly neglecting the gratification of the ear, are more favourable to practical Muſic, and allow Candidates for Degrees to perform Exerciſes, in which ſpecimens may be furniſhed of their ſkill in Melody, Harmony, and Compoſition, where thoſe Sounds are arranged and combined, which ſcience meaſures and fixes by calculation (*k*).

(*k*) By the Statutes of the Univerſity of Oxford, it is required of every proceeder to the degree of Bachelor in Muſic, that he employ ſeven years in the ſtudy or practice of that faculty, and at the end of that term, produce a teſtimonial of his having ſo done, under the hands of credible witneſſes; and that previous to the ſupplication of his grace towards this degree, he compoſe a Song of five Parts, and perform the ſame publicly in the Muſic-School, with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſic, firſt cauſing to be affixed on each of the doors of the great gates of the ſchools a Programma, giving three days notice of the day and hour of each performance. Of a Bachelor proceeding to the degree of Doctor, it is required that he ſhall ſtudy five years after the taking his Bachelor's degree, and produce the like proof of his having ſo done, as is requiſite in the caſe of a bachelor: and farther, ſhall compoſe a Song in Six or Eight Parts, and publicly perform the ſame "*tam Vocibus quam Inſtrumentis etiam Muſicis*," on ſome day to be appointed for that purpoſe, previouſly notifying the day and hour of performance in the manner before preſcribed. Such exerciſe to be performed in the preſence of Dr. Heyther's Profeſſor of Muſic. This being done, the candidate ſhall ſupplicate for his grace in the Convocation-houſe, which being granted by both the Savilian Profeſſors, or by ſome Maſter of Arts deputed by them for that purpoſe, he ſhall be preſented to his degree.

It is obſerved by the authors of the *Hiſtoire litteraire de la France* (*l*), that in the ſemi-barbarous ages, Muſic was in ſuch high eſtimation, that no one could omit the ſtudy of it who cultivated letters. The learned Gerbert, who arrived at the Pontificate, by the title of Sylveſter the ſecond, and many other illuſtrious perſonages, regarded it as the ſecond branch of Mathematics. But if Muſic does no honour to the Sciences at preſent, it is little indebted to them for the diſtinction of being admitted into their company during ſo many ages, as ignorant artiſts of talents and ſenſibility have perhaps contributed more to her perfection, than all the ſublime reveries and profound calculations of men of ſcience.

The firſt qualification for the degree either of Bachelor or Doctor in Muſic, was formerly, the reading and expounding certain books in Boethius, as the only writings whence knowledge in the principles of the Science could be acquired (*m*). But the candidate for Academical Degrees is no longer put to this teſt; he is now to compoſe an exerciſe for voices and inſtruments in ſix or eight parts, which he is to ſubmit to the inſpection of the Muſic Profeſſor, and to have publicly performed in the Muſic School of the Univerſity.

Wood, in his Faſti, has been able to produce no names of Muſicians that have been enrolled among the Graduates of the Univerſity of Oxford before the ſixteenth century, though we are told of ſeveral at Cambridge of an earlier period. Whether Hambois was a Member of this Univerſity, or of Oxford, does not appear, nor indeed is it preciſely known at what time he received his diploma (*n*). But Academical honours in the fa-

(*l*) Tom. vii. p. 142, and tom. ix. p. 200.

(*m*) See the ſtatutes of the univerſity.

(*n*) In Hollinſhed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1355, there is an enumeration of the moſt eminent men of learning in the reign of Edward IV. among whom the author includes John Hamboys, "an excellent Muſician," adding, that "for his notable cunning therein, he was made a Doctor of Muſic.

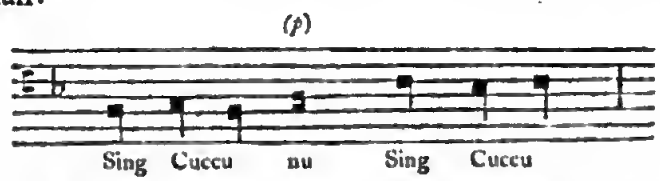
culty

culty of Muſic may be traced up to the year 1463, when Henry Habengton was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Muſic at Cambridge, and Thomas Saintwix, Doctor in Muſic, was made Maſter of King's College in the ſame Univerſity.

A curious compoſition in parts, of about this period, to words of a ſtill higher date is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (*o*), concerning which it ſeems neceſſary here to give an account.

It is a deſcriptive ſong upon the approach of Summer, ſet in a canon of four parts in the uniſon: or, as it is called, a *Rota* or round. It is written upon ſix red lines in ſquare and lozenge black notes of three kinds: Longs, Breves, and Semibreves in the following manner.

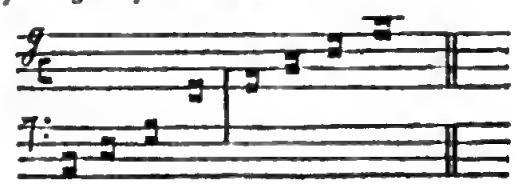
Beſides the canon of four parts in one, there are two other free parts, which come in periodically with the ſame notes in a kind of drone or burden, to each of which the author gives the name of *Pes*. Theſe are written ſeparately, each upon a diſtinct ſtaff.

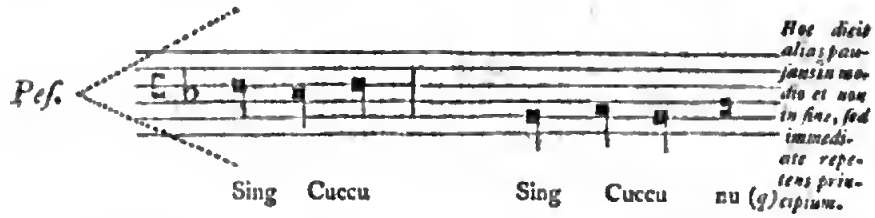



*Hoc repetit unus quociens opus eſt faciens pauſacionem in fine.*

(*o*) Bibl. Harl. 978.

(*p*) This ligature has been taken for a ſingle note, and ſometimes imagined to be G, and ſometimes B; but neither will ſuit the harmony. I have reſtored the true reading by making the ligature conſiſt of G and A, as, by a long ſtudy of ancient muſical MSS. and a cloſe inſpection into this, I can venture to affirm was the author's intention. In the MS. of Waltham Holy Croſs, John Wyldis notation of the Scale, or double Diapaſon, is the following.






Though this *Canon* and *Catch*, united, is very ingeniouſly contrived, and has not only more melody, but is in better harmony than I have hitherto found of ſo early a period; yet, in point of compoſition, though its defects may not be diſcovered by every *Ear* during the performance, it is hardly clean and pure enough to ſatisfy the *Eye*, in ſcore: as many liquors may be tolerably palatable, and yet not bear a glaſs. However, to enable the Muſical reader to judge of the ſtate of Harmony in our country about the fourteenth or fifteenth century, I ſhall preſent them with a ſolution of this ancient Canon.

(*q*) At the end of the Song in the Muſeum MS. we find theſe inſtructions for ſinging it. *Hanc rotam Cantare poſſunt quatuor ſocii, a pancioribus autem quam a tribus, vel ſaltem duobus, non debet dici. Præter eos qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem ſic; tacentibus cæteris unus inchoat cum his qui tenuet pedem, & cum venerit ad primam notam poſt crucem, inchoat alius; & ſic de cæteris. Singuli vero repauſent ad pauſaciones ſcriptas, & non alibi; ſpacio unius longæ notæ.* — This explanation and the rules for the *Pes* being in Latin, is no proof that this Muſic was originally ſet to the Words in that language, which we find under the Engliſh in the MS. as the whole volume conſiſts of Latin tracts, and Muſic to Latin words, except this Canon, and a Hymn to the Virgin in Latin and very old French.

In this Volume there are Hymns and Pſalms in Parts over each other, but being without Bars, not eaſy to compare. There are fifteen red lines equidiſtant, and three Clefs; C on the higheſt line but one, C on the eighth line from the top, and F on the fourth from the bottom. The notes are only of two ſorts: full ſquare, with tails, and lozenge without, ▀ ◆. There are likewiſe *ligatures* and *plicæ*, which add to the difficulty of the reading. The notes very much reſemble thoſe of Walter Odington's Treatiſe, Benet Coll. Cambridge, *(vide ſupra* p. 159 *et ſeq.)* and ſeem of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, except the Canon, which however I can hardly imagine to be much more modern.

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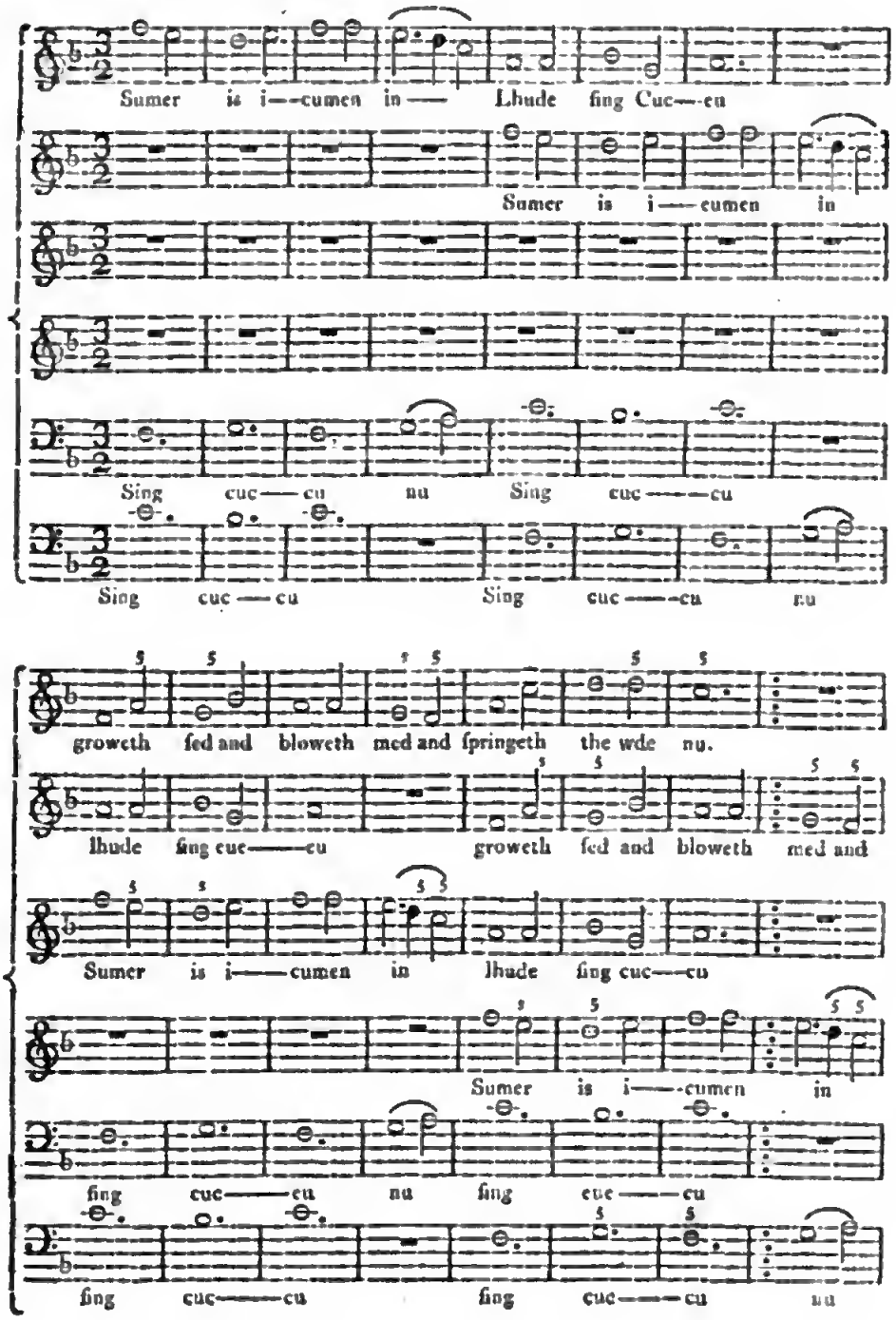
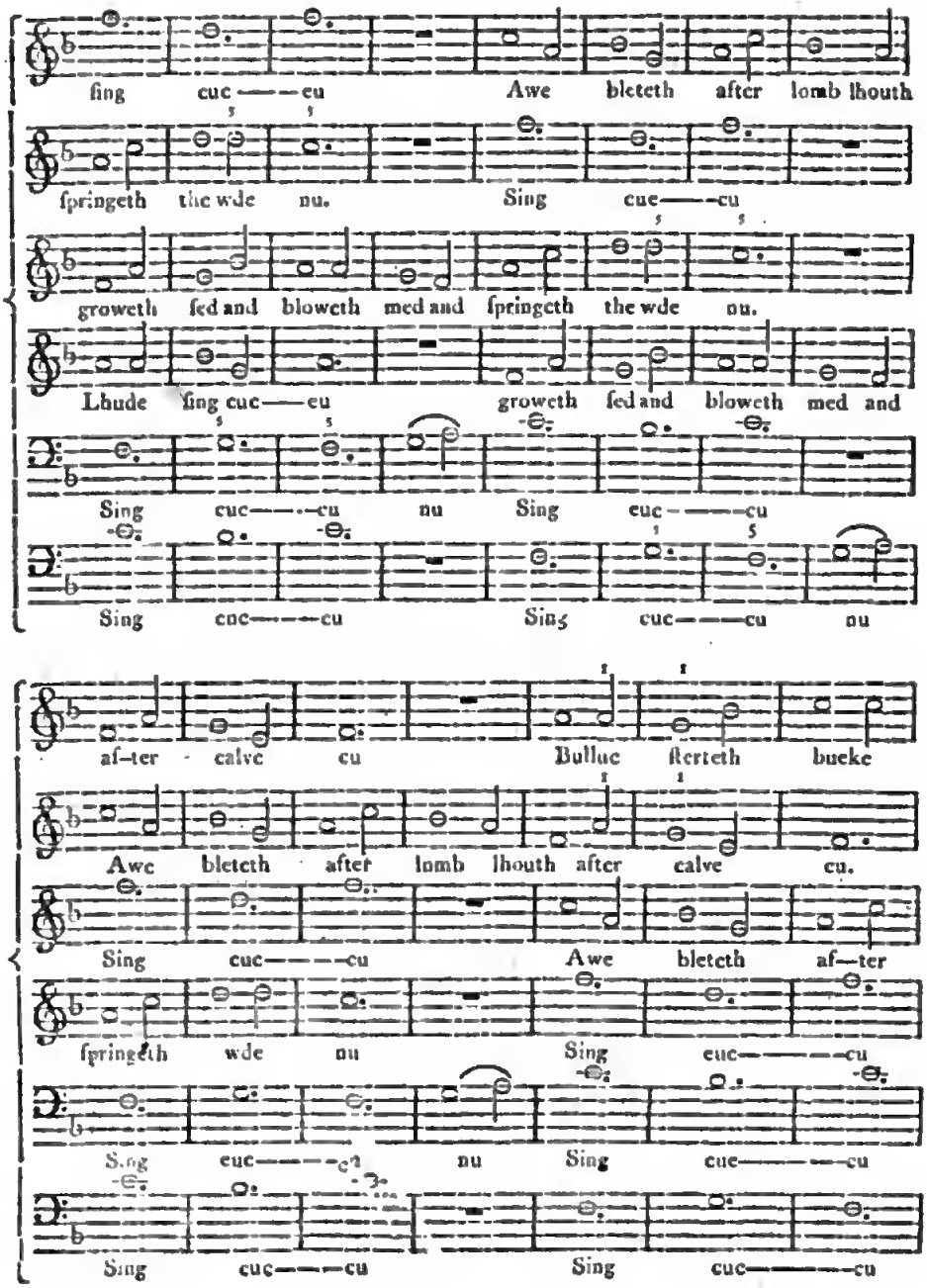
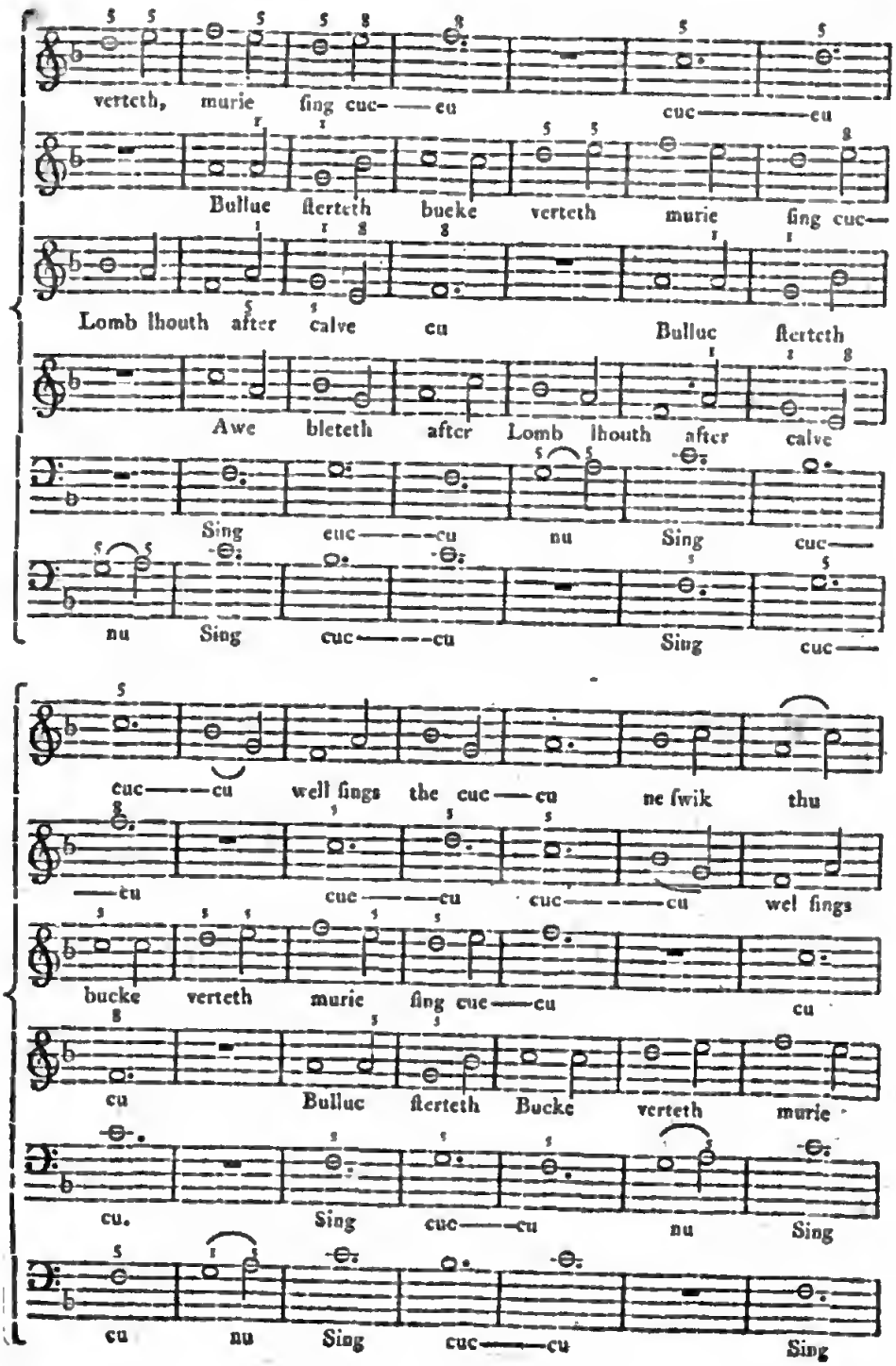
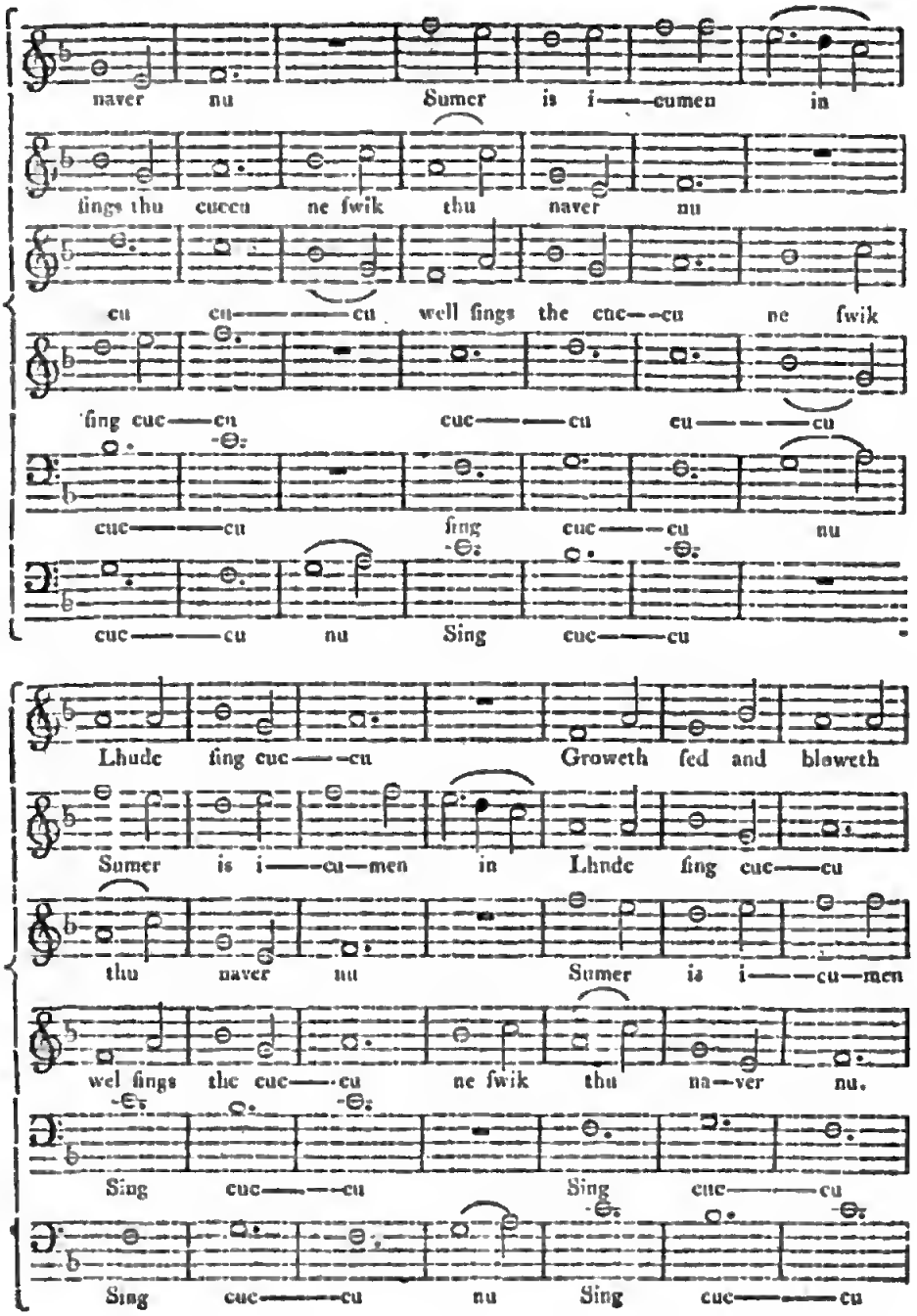
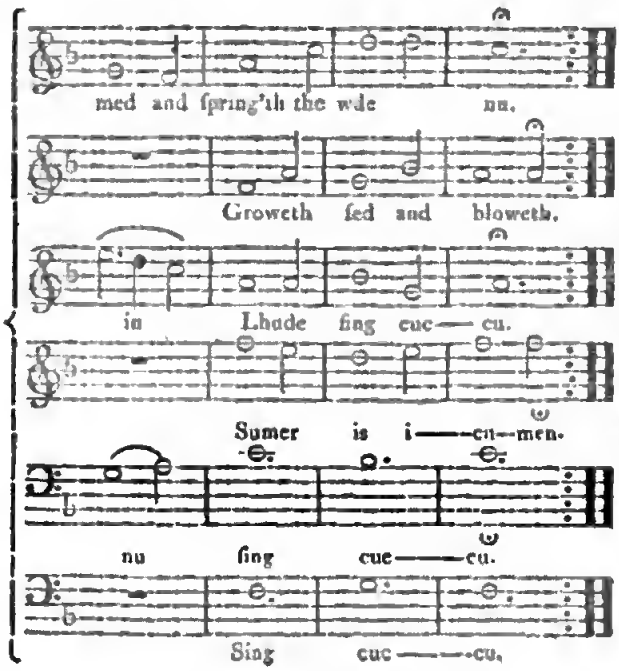
CANON, from an ancient MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.




fing cuc——cu Awe bleteth after lomb lhouth
ſpringeth the wde nu. Sing cuc——cu
groweth ſed and bloweth med and ſpringeth the wde nu.
Lhude ſing cuc——cu groweth ſed and bloweth med and
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc——cu nu
af-ter calve cu Bullue ſterteth bueke
Awe bleteth after lomb lhouth after calve cu.
Sing cuc——cu Awe bleteth af—ter
ſpringeth wde nu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc——cu


verteth, murie ſing cuc—cu
cuc—cu
Bulluc ſterteth bucke verteth murie ſing cuc—
Lomb lhouth after calve cu
Bulluc ſterteth
Awe bleteth after Lomb lhouth after calve
Sing cuc—cu nu Sing cuc—
nu Sing cuc—cu Sing cuc—
cuc—cu well ſings the cuc—cu ne ſwik thu
—cu cuc—cu cuc—cu wel ſings
bucke verteth murie ſing cuc—cu cu
cu Bulluc ſterteth Bucke verteth murie
cu. Sing cuc—cu nu Sing
cu nu Sing cuc—cu Sing


naver nu Sumer is i——cumen in
fings thu cuccu ne fwik thu naver nu
cu cu——cu well fings the cuc——cu ne fwik
fing cuc——cu cuc——cu cu——cu
cuc——cu fing cuc——cu nu
cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu
Lhude fing cuc——cu Groweth fed and bloweth
Sumer is i——cu—men in Lhude fing cuc——cu
thu naver nu Sumer is i——cu—men
wel fings the cuc——cu ne fwik thu na—ver nu.
Sing cuc——cu Sing cuc——cu
Sing cuc——cu nu Sing cuc——cu




The following ſeems to be the true import of the words.

Summer is a-coming in,
Loud ſing cuckow.
Groweth ſeed,
And bloweth mead,
And ſpringeth the wood new.
Ewe bleateth after lamb;
Loweth after calf, cow;
Bullock ſterteth (*r*),
Buckè verteth (*s*),
Merry ſing cuckow.
Well ſing'ſt thou cuckow,
Nor ceaſe thou ever, now (*t*).

The rule againſt the ſucceſſion of fifths is ſo often violated, that this compoſition ſeems a remnant of that ſpecies of *Diaphonics*, or Diſcant, which was called by the French *Quintoier*. 8ths likewiſe, and Uniſons ſo frequently occur, that it would be tireſome to point them all out. The Muſical reader, however, by comparing the *figurative references*, will ſee how frequently the well known prohibition of *perfect concords* moving in the ſame intervals, has been diſregarded.

(*r*) Leaps.
(*s*) Frequents the green fern.
(*t*) Though the word *cuckow* ſo frequently occurs in this ſong, the interval in which this bird ſings has not been imitated in the muſic; which is the more remarkable as it is obvious, and one of the few inſtances of ſuch ſounds being uſed by birds as humanity can eaſily counterfeit. Subſequent compoſers however have ſeldom failed to imitate the cuckow's melody, wherever he is mentioned. Weelkes and Bennet, in the time of queen Elizabeth, have introduced it in their madrigals; Vivaldi's and Lampe's *Cuckow* Concertos were in great favour thirty or forty years ago; and Dr. Arne's ſong of the *cuckow*, in "As You Like it," was conſtantly encored when ſung by Mrs. Clive.

Indeed, from the Northern pronunciation of the words which the Rhymes require, and the inartificial counterpoint, I am ſometimes inclined to imagine this Canon, with the difference of additional parts and a ſecond drone baſe of later times, to have been the production of the Northumbrians, who, according to Giraldus Cambrenſis, uſed a kind of *Natural* ſymphonious harmony (*r*).

The chief merit of this ancient compoſition is the airy and paſtoral correſpondence of the *Melody* with the words. As to the *Modulation*, it is ſo monotonous, that little more than two chords are uſed throughout the Canon. But being the firſt example of Counterpoint in ſix parts, as well as of *Canon*, *Fugue*, or *Catch*, that can be produced, it ſeems to form an æra in vocal harmony, and to merit the reader's attention (*s*).

After this ſpecimen of our Practical Muſic, I ſhall return to Theory, in order to give an account of a very ſcarce and curious Volume of MS. tracts, neatly written on Vellum, which before the reformation appertained to the Monaſtery of Waltham Holy-Croſs, in Eſſex, as appears by a rubric inſcription on the firſt leaf (*t*). It afterwards became the property of the venerable THOMAS TALLYS, whoſe name appears in his own hand-writing on the back of the laſt leaf. Morley ſeems to have conſulted this MS. but to whom it belonged after the death of Tallis does not appear till the reign of King William, when it was among the books of Mr. Powle, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. From him it went to Lord Somers;

(*r*) Vide ſupra, p. 108.

(*s*) Such are the antiquity, language, and verſification of the burleſque metrical Romance called *The* TOURNAMENT *of* TOTTENHAM, inſerted in the ſecond volumes of *Reliques of ancient Engliſh Poetry*, p. 15, ſecond edition, that it ſeems no very wild conjecture to imagine it poſſible that this very Canon, which requires *ſix performers*, may have been alluded to at the cloſe of the laſt Stanza.

—Miekle mirth was them among,
In every Corner of the Houſe
Was Melody delicious,
For to hear precious
Of six MENS SONG.

(*t*) *Hunc Librum vocitatum Muſicam Guidonis, ſcripſit Dominus Johannes Wylde, quondam exempti Monaſterii Sanctæ Crucis de Waltham Præcentor.* After this, in black ink, and a different hand writing, is the following uſual anathema. *Quem quidem Librum, aut hunc titulum, qui malitioſe abſtulerit aut deleverit, Anathema ſit.*

and

and then to Sir Joſeph Jekyll, at the Sale of whoſe Library by Auction, it was purchaſed by a country organiſt, who in gratitude for ſome benefits received, preſented it to the late James Weſt, Eſq. Preſident of the Royal Society, and it is now the property of the Earl of Shelburne (*u*).

The Tracts contained in this Volume, which is wholly perfect and well preſerved, are the following:

I. *Muſica Guidonis Monachi.*
II. *De Origine et Effectu Muſicæ.*
III. *Speculum Cantantium ſive Pſalterium.*
IV. *Metrologus Liber.*
V. *Regulæ Magiſtri Johan Torkſey.*
VI. *Tractatus Magiſtri Johannes de Muris, de diſtantia et Menſura vocum.*
VII. *Regulæ Magiſtri Thomæ Walſingham.*
VIII. Lionel Power of the Cordis of Muſike.
IX. Treatiſe of Muſical Proportions, and of their Naturis and Denominations. Firſt in Engliſh and then in Latyne.

The firſt is not a Treatiſe by Guido, as the title ſeems to imply, but an explanation of his Principles; it is divided into two books, and appears to have been compiled by the Præcentor of Waltham Abbey, John Wylde. Pr. *Quia juxta Sapientiſſimum Salomonem dura eſt.*—The author does not confine himſelf to the doctrines of Guido, but cites later writers. The Baſis of the Tract, however, is the Micrologus, of which, and of Guido's other writings, ſo much has already been ſaid

(*u*) By the kind intervention of the honourable Daines Barrington, I was favoured with this MS. while it was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Weſt, juſt before my departure for Italy; but returned it ere I left England, for fear of accident, though I had then made but a ſmall progreſs in it. After the deceaſe of Mr. Weſt, I was a conſiderable time ignorant to whom this curious and valuable MS. belonged; but at length had the good fortune to diſcover that it had fallen into the hands of the Earl of Shelburne, by whoſe liberal communication, ſo well known to the literary world, I have long been indulged with the uſe of it, and the opportunity I now enjoy, of conſulting it as much at my leiſure, as if it were my own property.

in the preſent volume that it is unneceſſary to enlarge much upon a work which is profeſſedly built upon his principles. The Monochord, the Scale, the Hand, the explanation of which he calls *Manual* Muſic, Eccleſiaſtical Tones, Solmiſaſation, Clefs, with a Battle between B Flat and B Natural, are the ſubjects of the firſt Book, conſiſting of XXII. Chapters.

The ſecond Book, or Diſtinction, contains XXXI. Chapters. In the firſt he ſpeaks of a Guido Minor, ſurnamed Augenſis, as a Writer on the Eccleſiaſtical Chant. He had mentioned this author in the Seventh Chapter of the firſt Book; but who he was, or when he lived, I am unable to diſcover. It ſeems however as if ſome ſuch Muſical Writer had exiſted, and that his name, by the ignorance or inattention of the Scribes of Ancient MSS. had been confounded with that of Guido d'Arezzo (*x*).

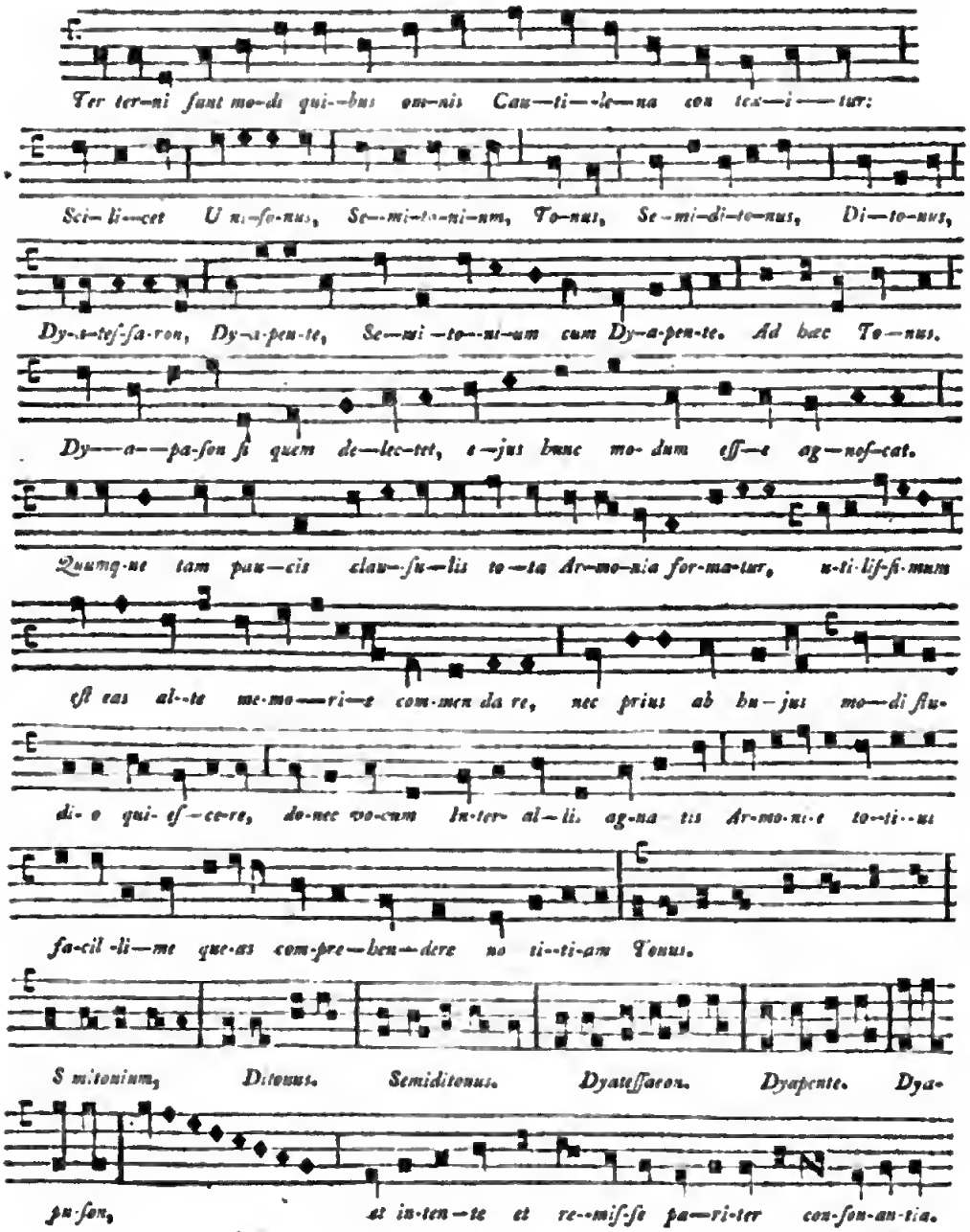
In ſeveral of the ſucceeding Chapters he treats of Intervals and their Species, offering nothing new or ſingular, except where he draws a parallel between the Tone and Semitone, and Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, which it is preſumed will excite no great curioſity in my reader.

Attention is engaged, however, in the Tenth Chapter by a *Cantilena*, as the Author calls it, of the Great Guido. It is a kind of *Solfeggio*, or exerciſe for the voice, through all the Intervals, which is only rendered valuable perhaps, by the ſuppoſition of its having been produced by the celebrated author of the Muſical Alphabet.

(*x*) See above, p. 104.

*Cantilena*

*Cantilena* Guidonis Majoris, *omnes penitus Diſſonantias quaſi Conſonantias includens.*




The

The reſt of this Treatiſe, which might have been very uſeful at the time it was written, contains only an account of the Eccleſiaſtical Tones, *Formulæ*, Finals, &c. which have been all better explained by ſucceeding writers (y). Several of the Diagrams have been omitted, as uſual, by the Scribes; in other reſpects it is ample and complete, occupying 48 folios, or 96 pages, which are wholly on the Chants of the Church, without even mentioning Secular Muſic, Cantus Menſurabilis, or Counterpoint.

Between this and the next Tract there are two or three Fragments, by different writers, of no great importance.

II. *De Origine et Effectu Muſicæ*, in four Sections. Pr. *Muſica eſt Scientia rectè canendi, ſive Scientia de Numero relato ad Sonum.* The author, after telling us that Muſic is the Science of Number applied to Sound, or an art dependent on Calculation, makes heavy complaints of the Faſhionable Singers of his Time, who corrupt and deform the Diatonic Genus, by making the Seventh of a Key a Semitone. This is a curious circumſtance, and proves that Counterpoint had made ſome progreſs, and, for the ſake of Harmony, had encroached upon the Simplicity of the Eccleſiaſtical Chants, which were confined to the Natural Scale, formed of different ſpecies of Octaves. Our author here ſpecifies the evils of which he complains, by telling us, that after the example of Singers in the Chapels of Princes, "Many now, when they aſcend to G "from D, as D E F G, make a Semitone between F and "G (z); and when they have D C D to ſing, or G F G, make "Semitones of C and F." This muſt have been at a cloſe, which could not be made grateful to the ear in Counterpoint, without a ſharp third to the Baſe; which, through mere pe-

(y) There is a fragment of this ſecond book of Wylde's Treatiſe at Oxford, Bodl. 77.

(z) The author uſes the ſyllables *ut, re, mi*, &c. but I ſhall name the ſounds which they imply by the letters of the alphabet, as they will be more generally underſtood.

dantry,

dantry, was thought ſo licentious, that though neceſſary and allowable in performance, it was not ſuffered to be expreſſed in writing. The author cites, in ſupport of his reaſoning, the *Quatuor Principalia*, which proves the Tract to have been written after the year 1351 (*a*).

It is this Author whoſe monkiſh rhymes have been quoted to prove that John de Muris was an Engliſhman (*b*). But he is too wild in his Chronology, and too abſurd in his Opinions, except thoſe relative to the mere mechanical rules of Muſic, to be of much authority. Beſides the inſtances already given, it will help to ſtamp his character, if it be added, that in enumerating the Inventors and Improvers of Muſic, after telling us that Philip de Vitriaco invented the leaſt figure, or Minim, he ſpeaks of St. Auſtin and St. Gregory, as later writers. Now Vitriaco flouriſhed in the fourteenth century, St. Auſtin in the fourth, and St. Gregory in the ſixth; but in his verſes he places Guido before theſe ſaints, whom he ſeems determined to modernize.

III *Speculum Pſallentium.* The author of this ſhort Tract, adhering ſtrictly to its title, gives no other precepts than thoſe of St. Auguſtine, St. Gregory, and St. Bernard, for ſinging the Maſs. St. Auguſtine and St. Bernard convey their admonitions in verſe.

IV. *Metrologus Liber* Pr. *In Nomine Sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis incipit Metrologus de Plana Muſica et brevis. Primo, Quid eſt Muſica? Muſica eſt peritia Modulationis.*—This Tract does not treat of *Time* or *Meaſure*, as the title ſeems to promiſe, but of the Invention of Muſic, the Gammut, Solmiſation, Clefs, Intervals, Eccleſiaſtical Modes, and of whatever Guido treats in his *Micrologus*, a name which ſeems to ſuit this Treatiſe better than *Metrologus*. However the author, fol. 66, gives a Notation of the Metrical Feet in Poetry, which is

(*a*) He afterwards quotes the *Genеal. Deor.* of Boccace, which it is probable appeared ſtill later.

(*b*) See above, p. 205.

ſome

ſome excuſe for the title he has choſen. In the ſecond part, he gives the Hiſtory of Pythagoras's Diſcovery of the Conſonances, and the Intonation of the Pſalms, in a more complete manner than I have ſeen in ſo ancient an author.

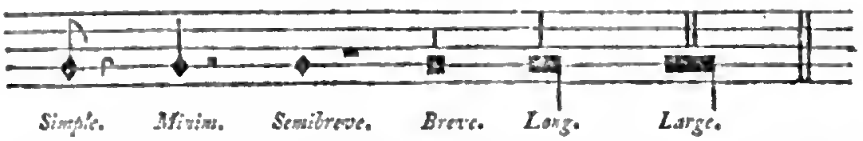
This Tract is the ſame as Bodl. 515. and was written by Simon Tunſted, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

It is followed by a whimſical attempt to prove the Analogy between Muſic and Heraldic Colours. It may be very ingenious and very true for ought that I can urge to the contrary, for being utterly unable to underſtand the author, it would ill become me to determine the degree of praiſe or blame that is due to his work (c). *Le Clavecin oculaire*, invented a few years ago, had at leaſt a more obvious deſign, and a more plauſible and promiſing method of conveying pleaſure to the eye by the Harmony of Colours, than this author appears to have.

V. *Regulæ Magiſtri* Johan. Torkeſey. If we could find any Muſic of the beginning of the fifteenth century, this Tract, which is the beſt comment upon the Ancient Time-table that I have ſeen, would greatly aſſiſt us in reading it. The author informs us, that though there are only three ſpecific ſquare characters uſed in Muſical Notation: the *Large*, the *Long*, and the *Breve*, theſe are modified into ſix ſpecies of Simple Notes. Then he proceeds to their explanation, and attributes of perfection and imperfection; and here we find that about a century after the invention of the *Minim*, a ſtill ſhorter note was introduced into Meaſured Muſic, called by ſome *Crochetum*, and by this author and a few others, the *Simple*. His Diagram, or repreſentation of theſe Six Characters, with their correſpondent reſts, is ſo ſhort and clear, that I ſhall preſent it to the reader.

(c) The Greeks indeed have the expreſſion of a *white voice*, for a voice that is clear; and of a *black voice*, for the contrary: as the Romans talk of a brown voice, *fuſca vox*, as that of Nero is called by Suetonius.

*Simple.*




I have given ſuch reſts as belong to theſe notes in their *imperfect* State, as they were then called, when uſed in *Dupla* proportion, or as we now call it, common time. In their *perfect State*, or *triple proportion*, a ſquare note was regarded as equal to three of the next ſhorter note in degree, without a point of perfection, which was at firſt only uſed to the ſemibreve and notes of leſs duration. All theſe notes being originally black, when a hook was applied to the Minim, it would have, to a modern eye, the appearance of a *Quaver*, to which the name of *Crotchet* is now improperly applied. After theſe notes were opened, it was no uncommon thing to ſee *white* Crotchets, or as we ſhould now call them Quavers 𝅘𝅥𝅮 𝅘𝅥𝅯, which were then only one degree quicker than the Minim. It is hoped, that theſe remarks will facilitate the underſtanding of the Moods and Prolations when they come to be explained, and enable the Muſical Reader to peruſe with greater pleaſure the Examples of Ancient Compoſition which may be inſerted hereafter.

Torkeſey next exhibits ſuch a table of Concords and Diſcords as may be ſeen in innumerable other books; but he afterwards gives a notation of intervals, from the Comma to the Diſdiapaſon, that is curious. Here the ſquare B, ♮, or natural, ſerves for all accidental ſemitones, aſcending, and the round ♭ for the ſame intervals, deſcending. The character of ♯ was not yet in general uſe, though its invention has been traced as high up as Marchetto da Padua's time (*a*). The Comma he calls the difference between G ſharp and A flat; the Dieſis between C ſharp and D; the

(*a*) Supra, p. 392.

Minor Semitone, between F and F ſharp; the Major Semitone between E and F.

This Tract, and all the preceding parts of the MS. are of the ſame hand-writing, and ſeem to have been tranſcribed by the Precentor Wylde, himſelf, as at the End, after theſe words, *Expliciunt Regulæ Magiſtri Johannis Torkeſey* De 6 Speciebus notarum, &c. there is this ſignature—J. W.

VI. *Regulæ Magiſtri* Johannis de Muris. This is the title of the next Tract in the MS. which, however, is not a Work of John de Muris, as the inſcription ſeems to imply, but one built upon his principles. De Muris had written ſo much on the *Cantus Menſurabilis*, that the opinion of its having been of his *Invention* was very early received; as appears by the author of this little work, which muſt have been written within leſs than a century of the time when de Muris flouriſhed, having aſcribed to him the doctrine which he propoſed to illuſtrate. He enters deeply into the Myſteries of Ligatures, and gives rules for the *Simple*, which is a note that was invented long after the time of John de Muris. But this Tract was probably not only tranſcribed but compiled by the Precentor of Waltham-Abbey, as *quod J. Wylde*, is written at the end.

VII. *Regulæ Magiſtri Thomæ Walſingham, De Figuris compoſitis & non compoſitis, et de Cantu perfecto & imperfecto, et de Modis.* This comprehenſive Title does not promiſe more than the Author has performed; as the ſimple and compound *Figures* or Notes, their *perfect* and *imperfect* powers, the *Moods* and every thing that concerned the Time or Meaſure of ſuch Muſic as then ſubſiſted, is very well explained; particularly the *Moods* and *Signs* of *Prolation*, which I do not recollect to have ſeen repreſented in any other Authors equally ancient. His Chapters on *reſts* or pauſes, on the Signs of *perfection*

*fection* and *imperfection* in the notes, and of the alteration of their value, by *poſition* or *colour*, are very inſtructive.

The ſigns of prolation at firſt were confined to four: two for perfect or triple time, and two for imperfect or common time. The Circle with a point of perfection in the center, thus ⊙, was the Sign for the *great Mode perfect*, in which all long notes were equal in duration to *three* of the next ſhorter in degree. The ſimple circle, unaccompanied by the point, was uſed for notes of a ſhorter duration, but with the ſame *triple* power. Theſe two moods may be compared with our preſent meaſures of $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$, where each note is occaſionally rendered perfect, or equal to three others, by a point, inſtead of the general augmentation implied by the Circle, which the old maſters placed at the beginning of a Movement.

The ſigns of *imperfect*, or, as we now call it, *Common Time*, were theſe ¢ . C . which differ but little from thoſe in preſent uſe for *Dupla proportion*, or an equal number of notes in a Meaſure; where each longer note is only equal to *two* of the next ſhorter kind.

Thus far theſe Modes are eaſily comprehended, and all reducible to ſuch as are in preſent uſe. But the great difficulty in the Meaſure of ſuch Ancient Muſic as was compoſed before the uſe of *Bars*, and diſuſe of *Ligatures*, *Plicæ*, and *Prolation*, is the frequent augmentation and diminution occaſioned in the length of Notes by *Poſition*, and by the frequent changes of the Signs of Prolation. Walſingham has, indeed, taken great pains to remove this difficulty by explanations, and numerous examples in Notes; and I do not remember to have ſeen ſuch light thrown on the ſubject by any other Author before Morley, when, indeed, inſtruction, except for the peruſal and performance of old Maſters, was too late, as the Time-table had undergone many changes, and Compoſers had learned to expreſs their thoughts in a new and more intelligible manner.

VIII. This is a ſhort treatiſe, written in Engliſh, which beſides the obſolete words, orthography, and ſhape of the letters, has ſeveral other internal marks of conſiderable antiquity: ſuch as a mixture of Saxon letters; an oblique ſtroke inſtead of a dot over the letter *i*; and the frequency and kind of abbreviations. Though this Eſſay will afford no information of importance to a Muſician of the preſent times, except that which will gratify ſelf-complacence, by diſcovering to him that the author knew leſs than ſubſequent improvements in the Art of Muſic have enabled him to know himſelf; yet, as it ſeems to be the moſt ancient Muſical Tract that has been written, or at leaſt preſerved, in our vernacular tongue, I ſhall give a conſiderable extract from it, not only to ſhew the ſtate of our Muſic, but our language, at the period when it was written.

" This Tretis is contynued upon the Gamme for hem that " wil be ſyngers, or makers, or techers. For the ferſt thing " of alle ye muſt kno how many cordis of diſcant ther be. " As olde men ſayen, and as men ſyng now-a-dayes, ther be " nine; but whoſo wil ſyng mannerli and muſikeli, he may " not lepe to the fyfteenth in no maner of diſcant; for it " longeth to no manny's uoys, and ſo ther be but eyght ac- " cordis after the diſcant now uſid. And whoſoever wil be a " maker, he may uſe no mo than eyght, and ſo ther be but " eyght fro uniſon unto the thyrteenth. But for the qua- " tribil ſyghte ther be nine accordis of diſcant, the uniſon, " thyrd, fyfth, ſyxth, eyghth, tenth, twelfth, thyrteenth, " and fyfteenth, of the whech nyne accordis fyve be perfyte " and fower be imperfyte. The fyve perfyte be the uniſon, " fyfth, eyghth, twelfth, and fyfteenth; the fower imper- " fyte be the thyrd, ſyxth, tenth, and thyrteenth: alſo thou " maiſt aſcende and deſcende wyth alle maner of cordis ex- " cepte two accordis perfyte of one kynde, as two uniſons, " two fyths, two eygthths, two twelfths, two fyfteenths, " wyth noue of theſe thou maiſt neyther aſcende, neyther " deſcende;

" deſcende; but thou muſt conſette theſe accordis togedir,
" and medele hem wel, as I ſhall enform the. Ferſt thou
" ſhall medele with a thyrd a fyth, wyth a ſyxth an eyghth,
" wyth an eyghth a tenth, wyth a tenth a twelfth, wyth a
" thyrteenth a fyfteenth; under the wheth nyne accordis
" three ſyghtis be conteynyd, the mene ſyght, the trebil ſyght,
" and the quatribil ſight: and others alſo of the nyne accordis
" how thou ſhalt hem ymagyne betwene the playn ſong and
" the diſcant here folloeth the enſample. Firſt to enforme a
" chylde in hys counterpoynt, he muſt ymagyne hys uniſon
" the eygth note fro the playn-ſong, benethe hys thyrd; the
" ſyxth note benethe hys fyfth; the ſowerth benethe his
" ſyxth; the thyrd note benethe his eyghth, even with the
" playne-ſong; hys tenth and thyrd note aboue, his twelfth
" the fyfth note above, his thyrteenth the ſyxth aboue, hys
" fyfteenth the eyghth note aboue the playne-ſong."

The author then proceeds to give a kind of *Regle de l'Octave*, or rule for accompanying the eight notes of a key, which he calls the *Quadreble Syghte*, and by which he means ſuch concords as the higheſt part in diſcant may ſing to each note of the key of G. By a view of theſe *accordis*, as he calls them, we ſhall be enabled to judge of the harmony of his time; and though the author expreſſes the intervals by the ſyllables of Solmiſation, by figures, and by ſquare notes, I ſhall exhibit them in characters that are moſt familiar at preſent.

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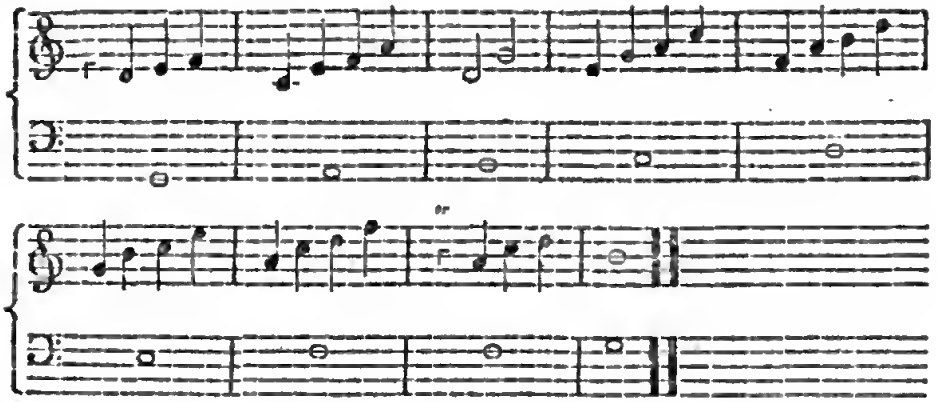
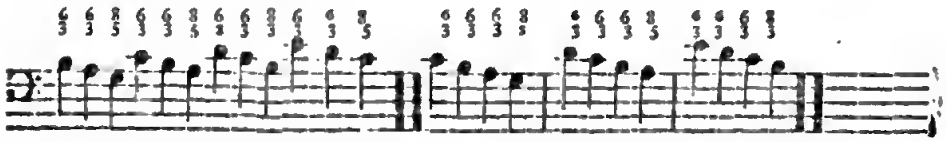


It is obſervable here that the eccleſiaſtical ſcales, formed of different ſpecies of Octave, ſtill tyrannized over harmony and modulation too much to allow a ſharp to the ſeventh of the key of G; however, there is this advantage in the F being natural, that the ſame harmony can be applied to the baſe in deſcending as well as in aſcending, which is not practicable in the modern *Regle de l'Octave*.

After giving the *Treble Syght*, as Maſter Power calls it, which is a *rempliſſage* of the harmony which a contrapuntiſt can eaſily imagine from the other part, he proceeds to tell us that " of " theſe two ſightis nedith no ferther more to ymagine. But " here folloeth enſaumplis of diverſe playn ſongis, how thou " ſhalt diſcant hem be diverſe wiſe." I ſhall give one ſpecimen more of his harmony, in order to furniſh my readers with a very early inſtance of the accompaniment to a baſe being expreſſed by figures.



This will ſerve as a ſpecimen of *Faburden*, or, as the French call it, *Fauxbourdon*, and the Italians, *Falſabordone*, which originally implied Extemporary Diſcant, in a ſucceſſion of thirds and ſixths.

The

The author terminates his treatiſe by the following words: "But who will kenne his Gamme wel, and the ymaginations "therof, and of hys accordis, as I have reherſid in this Tre-"tiſe afore, he may not faile of his Counterpoint in ſhort tyme." LYONEL POWER.

After this we have a ſhort tract, written likewiſe in Engliſh, which ſeems a ſupplement to the preceding rules forDiſcant.

"Her folwith a litil Tretis according to the firſt Tretis of "the Sight of *Deſcant* (*u*). And alſo for the Sight of Counter, "and for the Sight of the Counter-tenor, and of *Faburden*." He then repeats the rules which Power had preſcribed, after which he proceeds to inform us that "it is fayre and meri "ſinging many imperfyte cordis togeder—alſo as many fyxts "next after a eyghth—this maner of ſingyng is mery to the "ſynger and to the herer." The author concludes his precepts by the following injunction:—"two perfyte accordis "of one nature may not be ſung togeder in no degree of Def-"cant." Which is a prohibition of fifths and eighths in ſucceſſion.

This precept, with which the author terminates his Tract, ſeems to have been ſo much unknown or diſregarded by the compoſer of the canon, "*Sumer is i cumen in*," that the violation of a rule ſo earneſtly recommended hy theoriſts and religiouſly obſerved by practicians ever ſince the laws of harmony were eſtabliſhed, excites a ſuſpicion that this canon is much more ancient than has been imagined.

The reſt of this little tract furniſhes nothing new or uſeful to the Hiſtory or Science of Muſic, and therefore I ſhall proceed to the next and laſt treatiſe in the MS (*x*).

(*u*) This is the firſt time that I have obſerved the word to have been thus written

(*x*) Though the name of the author is not prefixed to this tract, yet the ſubject, language, and ſtyle, ſo much reſemble thoſe of the other, as to have the appearance of a ſequel to it: indeed he expreſsly ſays that it is written "accord-"ing to the firſt Tretis of the Sight of "Diſcant."

IX. *Her*

IX. *Her beginneth Tretiſes diverſe of Muſical Proportions, of theire Naturis and Denominations, ffirſt in Engliſh, and than in Latyne.*

As theſe are both written upon a ſubject that has been much better treated ſince, I ſhall not be diffuſe in my account or citations.

The author, whoſe name is CHILSTON, ſeems to purſue the ſubject of the preceding tracts: "Now paſſid al maner "Sightis of Deſcant, and with hem wel repleſſhid, that natural "appetide not ſaturate ſufficientli deſireth mo muſical conclu-"ſions, as now in ſpecial of *Proporcions*, and of them to have "plein informacion, of the wheeh afir myn underſtonding ye "ſhall have opin declaration."

Cicero, in writing upon Philoſophy in his own language, was obliged to retain Greek terms; ſo our author, who appears to have been the firſt that had attempted to explain the philoſophy of ſound in Engliſh, uſes a ſimilar expedient. "But "for as moche as the namys of hem (Proportions) be more "convenientli and compendiuſli ſette in Latin than in Engliſhe, "therfor the namys of hem ſhal ſtonde ſtille in Latin, and as "breueli as I can declare the naturis of hem in Engliſh."

If allowance be made for the antiquity of the language, the author's definitions are very clear, and ſuch as would be intelligible to perſons wholly ignorant of mathematics; and in explaining the difference between Geometrical, Arithmetical, and Harmonical Proportion, he would perhaps convey more ſcience to an ignorant reader, from the language in which he expreſſes himſelf being leſs learned and technical than that of more modern writers.

The laſt article in this valuable MS. is but the fragment of a Latin Tract upon Muſical Proportions; but as the author applies his calculation in the preceding tract to the Ratios of Muſical *Tones*, with reſpect to Gravity and Acuteneſs, in this he conſiders their relative length and duration, and illuſtrates his

his doctrines with red Muſical Notes in the Treble, and black in the Baſe, compoſed of ſuch meaſures as in the execution would perhaps baffle the knowledge and experience of the greateſt practical Muſicians now alive. Here we have not only double and triple Proportions, but *Quintuple*, *Seſquialterate*, *Seſquitertian*, and *Seſquioctavan:* that is, when one Minim in the Baſe is as long as a Semibreve, or two Minims, in the Treble; as three Minims; as five; as one and a half; as 16 to 12, or 12 to 9!

Whether all theſe meaſures were ever received, or attempted, in Practice, does not appear; we can only be certain, if they were, that no other effect could be produced by them than that of diſlocation and confuſion. The age, however, of which we are now ſpeaking, as well as the next, with a true Gothic ſpirit, delighted in difficult trifles; and Compoſers, after the laws of Counterpoint were ſettled, ſeemed more ambitious of pleaſing the *Eye* than the *Ear*, as there will be but too frequent occaſion to remark in the courſe of this work. Theories, Syſtems, and Hypotheſes of diſtant times remain, and are more intelligible than uſeful; but how all the Didactic and Theoretic Muſical Treatiſes which were now produced operated upon the *Practice* of the art, we are but little acquainted; for whether this period gave birth to many vocal Compoſitions in Parts, or with what ſucceſs Inſtrumental Muſic was cultivated, is as difficult to determine, as whether the preſent ſcarcity of Ancient Muſic has been occaſioned by the want of Genius and diligence in Muſicians to produce it, or the neglect of ſubſequent times in preſerving it from deſtruction.

The Minſtrel Trade, however, ſeems to have flouriſhed in theſe times, and to have been very profitable to its followers, if we may judge by the frequent uſe that was made of their talents by the Great, and the manner in which they were rewarded.

In theſe times not only the King and principal Nobility had Minſtrels in their ſervice, as part of their houſhold, but ſome of the greater monaſteries retained them for their own uſe, and

appointed them ſalaries; for it is recorded that Jeffrey, the Harper, ſo early as the reign of Henry the Second, received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hide, near Wincheſter (*y*), doubtleſs as a reward for the exerciſe of his muſical talents on public occaſions. The abbies of Conway and Shatflur, in Wales, likewiſe ſeverally maintained a Bard (*z*).

In the annual account-roll of the Auguſtine priory of Biceſter, in Oxfordſhire, for the year 1431, entries are likewiſe made of the ſums expended in fees to Minſtrels: "Given to "the Harper on St. Jerom's day, viii, d.—to another called "Hendy, at the Feaſt of St. Simon and St. Jude, xii, d. "To one of Lord Talbot's Minſtrels after Chriſtmas, xii, d.— "To the Minſtrels of Lord Strange, on Twelfth-day, xx, d. "To two of Lord Lovell's Minſtrels after St Mark's day, xvi, d. "To the Minſtrels of the Duke of Glouceſter, on the feaſt of "the Bleſſed Virgin, iii, s. iv, d." Two Minſtrels from Coventry are ſaid to have been employed at the conſecration of John, prior of this convent, 1432 (*a*).

In

(*y*) Madox, Hiſt. Exchequer, p. 251, where he is called *Galfridus Citharœdus*.

(*z*) Powel's CAMBRIA. and Hiſt. of Engl. Poetry, vol. i. p. 92. This is a cuſtom which may be ſtill ſaid to ſubſiſt in Italy, where great ſingers, after retiring from the ſtage and ſettling in any great city, or in the neighbourhood of great monaſteries, have an annual ſalary for performing there, at the celebration of particular feſtivals, or at the conſecration of nuns, when the daughters of perſons of diſtinction take the veil. This is now the caſe with Caffarelli at Naples, Manzoli at Florence, and Guarducci at Montefiaſconi, and its neighbouthood.

(*a*) I am indebted to the diligence of the Rev. Mr. Tho. Warton for theſe laſt particulars, *Hiſt. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 91. where there is a note ſo much to my purpoſe that I am tempted to inſert it here, entire. "In the Ancient Annual Rolls of Ac- "compts of Wincheſter College, there "are many articles of this ſort. The "two following, extracted from a great "number, may ſerve as a ſpecimen. "They are chiefly in the reign of Ed- "ward IV. viz. *In the year* 1481. "Et "in Sol. Miniſtrallis dom Regis venien- "tibus ad Collegium xv. die Aprilis, "eum 12d. ſolut. Miniſtrallis dom. Epiſ- "copi Wyoton venientibus ad Collegium "primo die Junii, iiii s. iiii d.—Et in "dat. Miniſtrallis dom. de Lawarr. ii s. "iiii d."—*In the year* 1483. "Sol Mi- "niſtrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iii s. "iv d."—*In the year* 1472. "Et in dat. "Miniſtrallis dom. Regis cum viii d. dat. "duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie xxd. "Et in dat. Johanni *Stulto* quondam dom. "de Warewyco, cum iiii d. dat. Thome "Revyle Taborario —Et in datis duobus "Miniſtrallis ducis Gloceſtrie, cum iiii d. "dat. uni Miniſtrallo ducis di Northum- "berland, viii d. —Et in datis duobus "citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad Col- "legium

In the reign of Edward the IV. a period at which we are now arrived, Muſic, after long living a *vagrant* life, and being *paſſed* from pariſh to pariſh, ſeems at length, by the favour of this monarch, to have acquired a ſettlement; for it appears that by his letters patent under the great ſeal of his realm of England, bearing date the 24th of April, 1469, in the ninth year of his reign, that this prince did, "for him and his heirs, "give and grant licence unto Walter Haliday, Marſhall, John "Cuff, and Robert Marſhall, Thomas Grane, Thomas Cal-"thorne, William Cliff, William Chriſtian, and William Eyney-"ſham, then MINSTRELS of the ſaid King, that they by "themſelves ſhould be in deed and name *one body and comina-*"*lity*, perpetual and capable in the law, and ſhould have per-"petual ſucceſſion; and that as well the Minſtrels of the "ſaid king, which then were, as other Minſtrels of the ſaid "king and his heirs which ſhould be afterwards, might at their "pleaſure name, chuſe, ordeine, and ſucceſſively conſtitute "from among themſelves, one Marſhall, able and fit to "remain in that office during his life, and alſo two War-"dens every year, to govern the ſaid Fraternity and Guild, "&c (*b*)."

The

"legium viiid."—*In the year* 1479. "Et "in datis Satrapis Wynton venientibus "ad Coll. feſto Epiphanie, cum xii d. "dat. Miniſtrallis dom. Epiſcopi venient. "ad Coll. infra Octavas Epiphanie iii s." "*In the year* 1477. "Et in dat. Mini-"ſtrallis dom. Principis venient. ad coll. "feſto Aſcentionis Domini, cum xx d. "dat. Miniſtrallis dom. Regis, v s."— "*In the year* 1464. "Et in dat. Mini-"ſtrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. "in menſe Julii, iiii s. iiii d."—*In the* "*year* 1467. "Et in datis quatuor Mi-"nis dom. de Arundell venient. ad Coll. "xiii die ffebr. ex curialitate dom. cuſ-"todis, ii s."—*In the year* 1466. "Et in "dat. Satrapis, (ut ſupr.) cum ii s. dat. "iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke cithe-"riſtæ eodem ffeſto, iiii s."—*In the year* "1484. "Et in dat. uni Miniſtrallo dom. "principis, et in aliis Miniſtrallis ducis "Glocestrie v die Julii, xx d."—The "Minſtrels of the biſhop, of lord Arundell, "and the duke of Glouceſter, occur very "frequently. In domo monimen. Coll. "prædict. in ciſta ex orientali latere.

"In rolls of the reign of Henry the "Sixth, the Counteſs of Weſtmoteland, "ſiſter of Cardinal Beaufort, is men-"tioned as being entertained in the col-"lege; and in her retinue were the Min-"ſtrels of her houſhold, who received gra-"tuities." *Ex Rot. Comp. Orig.*

(*b*) This *incorporation* of Minſtrels reſembles that of the flute-players among the Romans. See note (*g*) vol. i. p. 481. When the French Minſtrels, about a century before the charter was granted by Edward IV. were incorporated by charter, they had a *King* ſet over them. Marſhal,

The original charter is preſerved in Rymer's Fœdera (*c*): and in the eleventh year of Charles the Firſt, when that Monarch was petitioned to grant a new patent to the profeſſors of the Art and Science of Muſic, the form of that which had been from Edward the Fourth was made the ground-work of the new charter.

Another important muſical regulation of this reign is recorded in a book entitled *Liber Niger Domus Regis*, in which is an account of the Houſhold Eſtabliſhment of King Edward the Fourth, of the ſeveral Muſicians retained in his ſervice, as well for his private amuſement as for the Service of his Chapel.

As this ſeems the origin of thoſe Muſical Eſtabliſhments of the Chapel Royal, and King's Band, which ſtill ſubſiſt, I ſhall give the account of them and their ſeveral employments, at full length, from this ancient book, as publiſhed, with additions, by Batman.

" Minſtrelles thirteene, thereof one is Virger, which direct-
" eth them all feſtyvall dayes in their ſtatyones of blowings
" and pypyngs to ſuch offyces as the offyceres might be warn-
" ed to prepare for the King's meats and ſoupers; to be more
" redyere in all ſervices and due tyme; and all thes ſytying
" in the hall together, wherof ſome be trompets, ſome with
" the ſhalmes and ſmalle pypes, and ſome are ſtrange mene
" coming to this Court at fyve feaſtes of the year, and then
" take their wages of Houſhold, after iiij d. ob. by daye, after
" as they have byne preſente in Courte, and then to avoyd
" aftere the next morrowe aftere the feaſte, beſydes theire

(*Mareſcallus*, from the German, Marſchalk, i. e. *Equitum Magiſter*) was however a title of great dignity, and, in ſome caſes, of extenſive power: as Earl Marſhal of England, Marſhal of the King's Houſe, Marſhal of the Juſtices in Eyre, &c. Field Marſhal is ſtill a title of great honour.

(*c*) Tom. xi. *pro Fraternitate Miniſtrallorum Regis.*

*Rex omnibus ad Quos*, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod ex Querelosa Inſinuatione, Dilectorum nobis, Walteri Haliday, *Mareſcalli*, *Johannis Cliff*, &c. Several of the Muſicians ſpecified in this charter had been in the ſervice of Henry the Sixth, as appears by a precept, which is likewiſe preſerved in Rymer, and has for title *De Miniſtrallis propter Solatium Regis providendis.*

" other

" other rewards yearly in the King's Exchequer, and clothinge " with the Houſhold, wintere and ſomere for eiche of them " xxs. And they take nightelye amongeſte them all iiij ga- " lanes ale; and for wintere ſeaſone thre candles waxe, vj " candles pich, iiij tale ſheids *; lodging ſuffytyente by the " Herbengere for them and theire horſes nighteley to the " Courte. Aulſo hauing into Courte ij ſervants to bear their " trompets, pypes, and other inſtruments, and torche for win- " tere nightes, whilſt they blow to ſuppore of the chaundry; " and alway two of thes perſones to contynewe ſtylle in Courte " at wages by the cheque rolle whiles they be preſente iiij ob. " dayly, to warne the King's ridynge houſhold when he go- " eth to horſbacke as oft as it ſhall require, and that his " houſhold meny may followe the more redyere aſtere by the " blowinge of their trompets. Yf any of thes two Minſtrelles " be lete bloode in Courte, he taketh two loves, ij meſſe of " greate meate, one galone ale. They part not at no tyme " with the rewards given to the Houſhold. Alſo when it " pleaſethe the King to have ij Minſtrelles continuinge at " Courte, they will not in no wiſe that thes Minſtrelles be ſo " famylliere to aſke rewards.

" A WAYTE, that nightelye from Mychelmas to Shreve " Thorſdaye pipethe watche withen this Courte fower tymes; " in the ſomere nightes iij tymes, and makethe Bon Gayte at " every chambere doare and offyce, as well for feare of " pyckercs and pillers †. He eateth in the halle with myn- " ſtrielles, and takethe lyverey at nighte a loffe, a galone of " alle, and for ſomere nightes ij candles pich, a buſhel of " coles; and for wintere nights halfe a loafe of bread, a ga- " lon of ale, iiij candles piche, a buſhel coles; daylye whilſte " he is preſente in Courte for his wages in cheque roale allow- " ed iiij d. ob. or elſe iij. d. by the diſcretſhon of the ſteuarde

* Fire-wood, cleft and cut into billets.

† *Bon Gayte*, good watch, from the French. *Bon guet chaſſe malaventure* Prov.

" and

" and treſſorere, and that, aftere his cominge and diſeruinge;
" alſo cloathinge with the houſhold yeomen or Mynſtrelles
" lyke to the wages that he takethe; and he be ſyke he tak-
" eth twoe loves, ij meſſe of great meate, one gallon ale.
" Alſo he partethe with the houſholde of general gyfts, and
" hathe his beddinge carried by the comptrollers aſſygment;
" and under this yeoman to be a groome watere. Yf he can
" excuſe the yeoman in his abſence, then he takethe rewarde,
" clotheinge, meat, and all other things lyke to other Grooms
" of Houſhold. Alſo this Yeoman-Waighte, at the making
" of Knightes of the Bathe, for his attendance upon them by
" nighte-tyme, in watchinge in the Chappelle, hathe to his
" fee all the watchinge-clothing that the Knight ſhall wear
" uppon him *.

" CILDREN OF THE CHAPELLE viij, founden by the
" King's priuie Cofferes for all that longeth to their apperelle by
" the hands and overſyghte of the Deane, or by the Maſter of
" Songe aſſigned to teache them, which Maſtere is appointed
" by the Deane, choſen one of the nomber of the felowſhipe
" of chappelle after rehearſed, and to drawe them to other
" Schooles after the form of Sacotte, as well as in Songe in
" Orgaines and other. Thes Children eate in the Hall dayly
" at the Chappell board, nexte the Yeomane of Ueſtery; tak-
" ing amongeſte them for lyverye daylye for brekefaſte and
" all nighte, two loves, one meſſe of greate meate, ij galones
" ale; and for wintere ſeaſone iiij candles piche, iij talſheids,
" and lyttere for their pallets of the Serjante Uſher, and carry-
" adge of the King's coſte for the competente beddynge by
" the overſyghte of the Comptrollere. And amongeſte them
" all to have one ſervante into the court to truſſe and bear
" their harneſſe and lyverye in Court. And that day the King's
" Chappelle remoueth every of thes Children then preſent re-

* Here we have another inſtance of coſtly Robes being beſtowed on Muſicians. See above p. 316 *et ſeq.*

" ceaueth iiij d. at the Grene Clothe of the Comptyng-houſe " for horſhire dayly, as long as they be jurneinge. And when " any of theſe Children comene to xviij years of age, and " their uoyces change, ne cannot be preferred in this Chapelle, " the nombere being full, then yf they will aſſente the " King aſſynethe them to a College of Oxeford or Cambridge " of his foundatione, there to be at fyndyng and ſtudye bothe " ſuffytyently, tylle the King may otherwiſe aduance them."

And now, finding that the preſent Chapter is extended to a greater number of pages than I had imagined my materials would ſupply, in order to terminate that, and all which I ſhall ſay concerning treatiſes that were written on the ſubject of Muſic previous to printing, or at leaſt to the invention of Types to repreſent Muſical Characters, I ſhall cloſe this period with an account of two inedited MS. Tracts, written in Engliſh, that have been carefully examined in Libraries of our Univerſities, with the deſign of communicating their contents to my readers, and which indeed ſhould have been mentioned ſooner.

I. At the end of the Volume of Muſical MSS. in Benet College Library, Cambridge (*d*), which contains the Treatiſe by Walter Odington (*e*), there is a fragment of an old Engliſh Tract, which by the writing, Saxon letters, and abbreviations, ſeems to have been tranſcribed about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

" Here begineth a ſhorte Tretyſe of the Rule of DISCANT. " It is to witt that ther are accordaunce withouten noumber, " but ther are ix in uſe, whych ix be theſe: the Uniſon, the " thyrde, the ffyfte, the ſixte, the eyght, the tenth, twelfth, " thyrteenth, and the fyfteenth. Of the whyche N°. fyve " are perfyte Cordys. The fyve perfyte Cordys be theſe: " the Uniſon, the ffyfte, the eyghth, the twelfth, and the " fyfteenth. Of the whyche firſt perfyte ther are ful perfite

(*d*) No. 410. 25 N. (*e*) Vide ſupra p. 161.

" and

" and ther are leſs perfite. The ful perfite are theſe: the " Uniſon, the eyghth, and fyfteenth. The two leſs perfite " are the ffyfte, and twelfth. The imperfite Cordys are the " thyrde, the ſixte, the tenth, and the thyrteenth, and ſo " with theſe Accordys of DISCANT any Diſcanter may both " riſe and faul with the Playne Song," &c.

II. At Oxford, likewiſe, in the ſame volume as Thierred of Dover's Treatiſes (*f*), there is another Fragment of an Engliſh Tract on the ſubject of Diſcant, by Richard Cutell. It appears to be of nearly the ſame age as the preceding anonymous Tract in Benet College, and to contain the ſame doctrine.

*Compoſitio Ricardi Cutell de London.*

" It is to witt that there are ix accordys in Diſcant, that " is to ſay, 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, of the whilke " ix, 5 are perfite Accordys, and 4 imperfite. The five per- " fite are 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, and of theſe 5, 3 ar ful Acordys, " that is to ſay, 1, 8, and 15; and 2 are leſs perfite, that is " to ſay, 5 and 12 ‖ And 4 imperfite Acordys are theis 3, 6, " 10, 13. It is taught by the old tretyſes that a man ſhall take " bot on perfite of a kynd togedyr, as on 5, on 8, on 12; bot " it is denyd to take 2 perfite acordys togedyr of a perfite kynd, " as 2 5$^{te}$. and 2 8$^{te}$. ‖ or 2 12 and a 15, but never 2 of on " kynd ‖ Bote of all unperfite acordys it is leueful to take 3, " 4, or 5 of a kynd, if the Playn Song aſcend or deſcend. Bot " never muſt it be in on lyne | as fa, fa, fa, | or ſol, ſol, ſol; " then that a man take diverſe acordys of diverſe lynes whedyre " all they be perfite or unperfite ‖ alſo the old techyng was that " a man ſhal never take non unperfite acordys, bot that he " had a perfite after it. | As after a 3 a 5, and after an 8 a 12, " and after a 13 a 15 | but now it is denyd by the Techers of

(*f*) Bodl. 842.

" Diſcant,

" Diſcant, that after a 3 a man may take a 6, or after a 6 a man " may take a tent, &c.———— * * * * * Alſo it " is to witt, that if ye have a Playne ſong that deſcendeth as " fa ut, or fa re, or fa mi, or la re, and theſe be an unperfite " accord, about the hear (higher) note, ye ſhall never deſcend " out of the heir (higher note) out of the unperfite acord into a " perfite with the lower note. Never aſcending of the ſame " ayre. And alſo it is to witt, that there are 3 degrees of Diſ- " cant, that is to ſay Mene, Treble, and Quadrible. The " Mene beginneth in the 5, abowvyn the Playn Songe in " voys, and about the Playn Song in Syght to the Mene long- " eth properly 5 acordys, that is to ſay, the Uniſon, 3, 5, 6, " and the 8th. To the Treble langs properly 5 acordys alſo " the 5, the 6, the 8, 10, the 13th. to the Quadrible, lang- " eth 5 Acordys alſo, that is to ſay, the 8, the x, xii, xiii. " the xv. Alſo it is to witt that all the acordys of Diſcant ben " bellowyn the Playn Song in voys, ſave one, that is to ſay " the I. Neverthelefſe the Sight of Diſcant is ſometime be- " neth the Playn Song, and ſometime abouve, and ſometime " about the Playn Songe, and ſo the Diſcant of the Mene " Salbegynne hys Diſcant about the Playne Songe in Syght, as " I ſayd before"——

" Alſo it is ſkylful that alle Diſcant bygyne and end in a " perfite acorde, &c."——

The dividing the Perfect Concords into more and leſs perfect, ſeems peculiar to this period, as does the excluſion of the fourth from the Catalogue; and as no Diſcords are mentioned, it is natural to ſuppoſe that they were not as yet admitted into Compoſition.

The Engliſh Tracts in the Shelburn MS. by Lyonel Power and Chilſton, which have been already mentioned, and theſe Fragments, however inconſiderable they may appear, will not, it is hoped, be without their uſe, to thoſe who have a curioſity concerning the Progreſs of Muſic in our own country, as they will enable them at once to judge of the ſtate of our

Muſical Language, as well as Compoſition, at this early period.

* * * * * * * * * *

The GERMANS, who, during the paſt and preſent century, have ſo much contributed to the perfection of Counterpoint, and the refinement of every ſpecies of Inſtrumental Muſic, had doubtleſs ſongs at this time in their own language, ſet to Melodies formed upon the Guido Scale, and accompanied with ſuch Harmony as was then uſed in the reſt of Europe; but I have been able to procure none.

With reſpect to their Language and Lyric Poetry, though it appears from Tacitus (*g*), that in Germany, the Common Mother of the Saxons, Franks, and Lombards, letters were wholly unknown; and though Reineſius (*h*) tells us, that in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, the inhabitants of that country were not in poſſeſſion of an alphabet; yet we are aſſured from Bede, that the Saxons had Poetry and Songs in the eighth Century; and it is generally agreed that one of the firſt attempts at writing in a vulgar tongue was made by Otfrid, in the ninth Century, who tranſlated the Evangeliſts into German, making uſe of the Roman Alphabet (*i*).

Otfrid was a Monk of Weiſſemberg; his tranſlation was in verſe, and dedicated to Lewis the Second, brother to Charles the Bald.

The moſt ancient Muſic, applied to German words, that I can diſcover, was that ſet to the Hymns of the firſt Reformers. Some of thoſe written by John Huſs, the Diſciple of Wickliff, and companion of Jerom of Prague, with whom he ſuffered at the ſtake, by order of the Council of Conſtance, in 1415, are ſaid to be ſtill preſerved in the Proteſtant Libraries of Germany. But though I have not yet been able to procure tranſcripts of them, nor of any other German Muſic of equal antiquity, the Theoriſts and Compoſers of that country will be well intitled to a very conſiderable ſhare of the honour due to the Cultivators of Harmony, in the ſubſequent part of this work.

(*g*) *Mor. G.* c. 12. (*h*) *In præf. ad Inſ. Ant.*
(*i*) *Verona Illuſtr.* To. 19.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the State of Muſic, from the Invention of Printing till the Middle of the* XVIth *Century*; *including its Cultivation in the* Maſſes, Motets, *and* ſecular Songs *of that Period.*

WE are now arrived at an Æra when the principal materials for muſical compoſition are prepared; when a regular and extenſive ſcale for *Melody*, a code of general laws for *Harmony*, with a commodious *Notation* and *Time-table*, ſeem to furniſh the Muſician with the whole mechaniſm of his art; and if the productions of this period do not fulfil our preſent ideas of excellence, we muſt attribute their deficiencies neither to want of knowledge nor genius in their authors, but to the Gothic trammels in which muſic was ſtill bound.

The faculties of man are not only limited by nature, but by the horizon with which he is ſurrounded: if he lives in a poliſhed ſtate and enlightened times, his views will doubtleſs be extended; but it is allowed to no individual to penetrate *much* farther into the regions of ſcience than his cotemporaries. Our Shakſpeare, Dryden, Bacon, Locke, and Newton, ſublime as were their conceptions, and original their genius, found much already done, in their ſeveral departments, by their predeceſſors.

Muſic being the object of a ſenſe common to all mankind, if genius alone could invent and bring it to perfection, why is China, which has been ſo long civilized, ſtill without great compoſers and performers? And why are the inhabitants of three-fourths of the globe ſtill content, and even delighted with attempts at ſuch muſic as Europeans would qualify with no better title than noiſe and jargon? It cannot be ſuppoſed

that nature is entirely to blame, and that there is a phyſical defect in the intellects or organization of all the ſons of men, except in Europe; and that a perfect ear, and the power of delighting it, are local. As the eye accommodates itſelf to all the gradations of light and obſcurity, ſo does the ear to ſuch gratifications as are within its reach; and the people accuſtomed to bad muſic enjoy it contentedly, without languiſhing for better. It is the curſe of an ear long accuſtomed to excellence, to be faſtidious and unwilling to be pleaſed; and unluckily for the honour of muſic and muſicians, all the miraculous powers of the art ceaſe the inſtant perfection becomes common. The moſt hyperbolical praiſes have been beſtowed on muſic and muſicians, when they ſeem not to have had the leaſt claim to panegyric; but the *beſt* muſic of every age and nation is delightful to hearers, whoſe ideas of excellence are bounded by what they daily hear: and about the middle of the fifteenth century, though *melody* was governed by the eccleſiaſtical modes, though *harmony* was confined to a ſmall number of common chords, and though meaſure was unmarked, yet at this period, by their union, practical muſicians among the laity began to acquire great reputation.

It is perhaps unneceſſary to remind the reader, that about this time an important revolution was effected in the civil, religious, military, and literary intereſts of the inhabitants of Europe, by the diſſolution of the feudal ſyſtem, the reformation in religion, the invention of gunpowder, the mariner's compaſs, and printing, the taking of Conſtantinople, cultivation of the Greek language, and revival of literature in general. Of theſe events, all which happened within the ſpace of about a hundred years, ſome had a manifeſt effect upon muſic; particularly printing, and the Reformation. Indeed neither the art nor ſcience of muſic had as yet been much cultivated, except by the clergy, who had contributed greatly to keep its rules inacceſſible to the vulgar, by locking them up

in the Latin language. But the preſs now, not only multiplying the copies of Latin treatiſes at a ſmall expence, but of others in modern languages, had the ſame effect in increaſing muſical productions and theories, as printing the tranſlation of the Bible and liturgy had in augmenting the number of lay-preachers, and writers on the ſubject of religion, at the time of the Reformation.

Thus far but little information has been acquired for this volume, except from manuſcript tracts and records: and for theſe I have been chiefly indebted to the remains of monkiſh literature and diligence: but though the Monks, immured in their convents, and ſecluded from all intercourſe with thoſe who act the moſt important parts in the buſineſs of the world, may be well ſuppoſed ignorant of ſecular events and tranſactions, concerning which they muſt have taken their information upon truſt, or had recourſe to conjecture; yet, with reſpect to the concerns of their own convents, and the daily employments of their lives, of which muſic was one, they may be ſafely imagined to have been more competent judges than thoſe who never viſited them; and, unleſs it was for the intereſt of their order, or to confer honour on their patrons and tenets, neither mendacity nor prejudice was likely to corrupt their knowledge, or defile their narrations.

But though we are arrived at that period when the productions of the preſs will conſiderably diminiſh the labour of reſearch; yet the difficulty of finding materials will be now only changed to that of ſelection; and the peruſal of old muſic, after it is found, is attended with much more trouble than literary works of equal antiquity: for being publiſhed and preſerved in *ſingle parts*, theſe parts muſt previouſly be put into ſuch a ſtate, that the eye may compare their ſeveral relations at one glance; or, to uſe the language of Muſicians, they muſt be *ſcored*, before their beauties or defects can be diſcovered, and this, from the difficulty of obſolete notation, and the want of *bars*, is rendered

dered a very ſlow proceſs (*k*). But being determined to ſpeak of no muſic with which I am unacquainted, or of which I am unable to furniſh ſpecimens, I have tranſcribed in *Partitura*, or *Score*, many volumes, not only of the ſame age, but ſometimes of the ſame author, in order to ſelect the beſt productions I am able, for my work, or at leaſt to qualify myſelf to judge of each compoſer's abilities and reſources. Of the productions of each period I have endeavoured to procure examples from the works of thoſe who were the chief favourites of their cotemporaries, in order to put it in the power of critics in compoſition to compare muſical excellence, and build their opinions of ſuperiority upon the works themſelves, and not upon ſyſtem, conjecture, or prejudice.

From the decline of the Roman empire to the period under conſideration, but few names of great muſicians have come down to us, though there cannot be the leaſt doubt but that every age and country in which arts and ſciences have been cultivated, had their favorite and popular muſician, who contributed more to the delight of his cotemporaries than the reſt of his brethren. But practical muſicians and performers, however wonderful their powers, are unable, from the tranſient ſtate of their art, to give permanence to their fame: age, infirmities, and new phenomena, ſoon complete its deſtruction. To the reputation of a Theoriſt, indeed, longevity is inſured by means of books, which become obſolete ſlower than muſical compoſitions. Tradition only whiſpers, for a ſhort time, the name and abilities of a

(*k*) The word *Score* probably originated from the *Bar*, which in its firſt uſe, was drawn through all the parts, as it ſhould be ſtill, of a piece of muſic in *partition*, or *partitura*. Bars were firſt uſed in *canto fermo*, to ſeparate the verſes of a pſalm or hymn, or as ſigns for pauſes, or reſting places, where the finger might take his breath. Morley, who uſes no *bars* in the ſingle parts of any of his works, has however drawn a *ſcore* or *bar* through all the parts of ſeveral examples of compoſition, when placed under each other, in his *Introduction*; where, p. 34, he uſes the word *partit on* for this arrangement of the parts, and p. 176, the word *bar* occurs.

mere

mere Performer, however exquiſite the delight which his talents afforded to thoſe who heard him; whereas a theory once committed to paper, and eſtabliſhed, lives, at leaſt in libraries, as long as the language in which it was written.

We are now not certain that Boethius could play a tune, or ſing a ſong; and yet his name is recorded in every treatiſe which ſubſequent ages have produced on the ſubject of muſic. Neither are we ſure that Guido and John de Muris were great compoſers or performers, and yet their names are embalmed in a way that will render them more durable than the mummies of Egypt. Tallis and Bird, who were equally admirable in their muſical productions and execution, are now only known and revered by the curious; and Rameau and Tartini, whoſe compoſitions and performance afforded ſuch exquiſite delight to their age and country, will ſoon be remembered only as theoriſts.

In Dr. Prieſtley's ingenious Biographical chart, it is remarkable that not one muſician appears from the beginning of the Chriſtian æra till the eleventh century, where Guido is placed in a deſert, which extends to the ſixteenth century, and where Paleſtrina ſtands without a rival or neighbour; nor has all Europe furniſhed another muſician, whom the author has thought worthy a niche in his chart, till the time of Lulli.

As many of the great countries of Europe, which are now under the dominion of *one ſovereign*, were divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, at firſt under regal authority, like our heptarchy, but afterwards the ſucceſſors of theſe princes acknowledging *one ſupreme lord*, were degraded into barons, counts, and dukes; yet ſtill retaining great power in their ſeveral diſtricts over their vaſſals and dependants: ſo, in the empire of muſic, there were *Kings of the Minſtrels* in ſeveral countries of Europe, and even cities, and particular provinces;

theſe charmed and governed only in a narrow circle; but as an intercourſe and communication was opened between theſe ſeveral petty ſtates, there was ſoon an opening made for talents and ambition to aim at *univerſal monarchy*, and in tracing the hiſtory of muſic it ſeems neceſſary to record the names and actions of ſuch as have arrived at this acknowledged preeminence.

The muſical heroes of antiquity have been celebrated in the firſt volume of this work; and, as far as we have advanced into more modern times, the principal actors, governors, and benefactors in the art and ſcience of muſic, have been honourably mentioned, and the peculiar talents and abilities diſplayed of thoſe whoſe ſovereignty in Europe ſeems to have been univerſally allowed.

However, in this parallel between the Lords of the Earth and Princes of the Pipe and String, diſtinctions are to be made. *Theoriſts* may be well compared to Legiſlators, whoſe dominion ends not with their exiſtence, but continues, ſometimes with increaſing reverence, long after their deceaſe. With *Practical Muſicians* and Compoſers it is very different; the memory of theſe is of ſhort duration, for however extenſive their power, and ſplendid their reign, their empire, like that of Alexander, and other rapid conquerors, acquires no permanence; but as the territories of theſe were divided among their captains, ſo the diſciples or followers of great muſical leaders ſoon appropriate to themſelves the revenue and reputation of their maſters, ſo entirely, that when divided into ſmall portions, they add no great profit or power to the new poſſeſſors, who generally retain and enjoy them in obſcurity, till ſeized and appropriated by ſome new and powerful conqueror.

To purſue the idea of Muſical Sovereignty, BOETHIUS may be regarded as the *laſt* ancient, and *firſt* modern who eſtabliſhed a dominion in the Scientific parts of the Muſical Empire,

pire, to which all the learned in Europe were long unanimous in ſubmitting.

GUIDO, whoſe authority continued to increaſe for many ages after his deceaſe, and of whoſe laws many are ſtill in force, was the next who eſtabliſhed a permanent fame among Muſical Monarchs.

JOHN DE MURIS, though it is now hardly known what he atchieved for the common good, is ſtill more frequently had in remembrance among Theoriſts and Practitioners than any other chief or legiſlator who flouriſhed between the time of Guido and FRANCHINUS GAFURIUS, one of the firſt Theoriſts whoſe doctrines were diſſeminated by the preſs: but as *Theory* owes its exiſtence to ſucceſsful *Practice*, it ſeems but juſt to ſpeak firſt of thoſe early contrapuntiſts whoſe works have been the baſis upon which the preſent rules of compoſition were conſtructed.

There muſt, however, have been many Muſicians whoſe works are loſt, between the time of John de Muris and the middle of the fifteenth century; every art is progreſſive, and the harmony of Okenheim, Henry Iſaac, and Juſquin du Prez, of which ſpecimens will hereafter be given, is ſo ſuperior to that of all the other more ancient muſical productions which I have been able to find, that there ſeems to be the difference of two or three centuries between them; and it is difficult to imagine that ſuch regular compoſition, and even learned and ingenious contrivance, could be attained by the gigantic ſtride of any one Muſician, however ſuperior his genius may have been to that of all his predeceſſors.

Rome was pillaged and burnt in the year 1527, by the army of Charles the Fifth, which may perhaps account for the difficulty of finding compoſitions anterior to that time, in this city, which long continued to be the capital of the arts, after it ceaſed to be the capital of the world. Antonfranceſco Doni, in his liſt of Muſic, printed in Italy before the year 1550, at

which time he publiſhed the ſecond edition of his *Libraria*, mentions no names of higher antiquity than Juſquin and Morales; though he ſays, if he had ſpecified all the muſic which had been then publiſhed, he ſhould have compoſed a thicker book than any volume of Muſic that could be found. Our countryman Morley mentions, in the liſt of practical muſicians or compoſers on the continent, none more ancient than Okenheim, and his ſcholar Juſquin.

Of Engliſhmen, Paſhe, Jones, Dunſtable, Power, Orwel, Wilkinſon, Guinneth, Davis, and Riſby, are the moſt ancient in his liſt; but of the compoſitions of theſe, who all preceded Fayrfax, I have been able to meet with no examples, except of Joſeph Guinneth and Robert Davis, who flouriſhed about the time of Edward the Fourth, and of whoſe counterpoint in two parts there are ſome fragments at Cambridge, in the Pepyſian Collection, in which red notes are uſed for diminution. It is very rude, and inferior to that of Bonadies, the maſter of Franchinus, Okenheim, Henry Iſaac, Juſquin, Fayrfax, and Taverner, who flouriſhed only about twenty or thirty years later.

By the kind of characters which Dunſtable uſes in the paſſages that Franchinus and Morley have inſerted from his *Motet*, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, I ſhould imagine his melody very uncouth and unmeaning; of his harmony, as only one part is given, there is no judging. Yet ſtill this chaſm muſt have been occaſioned by accident, and the periſhable materials upon which the muſic of other compoſers of the fifteenth century has been written.

Something like a chain or ſeries of the writings of Muſical *Theoriſts* is preſerved; but of Muſical *Compoſitions*, the collectors of great libraries throughout Europe have been very negligent. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, began to form a Muſical Library at Vienna, and the Elector of Bavaria another at Munich in the laſt century; but both have been

been long neglected, and are now in a very confuſed and imperfect ſtate (*l*). Nor is a complete ſeries of Muſical Compoſitions by the beſt maſters, from the earlieſt period of Counterpoint to the preſent time, to be found in any public or private library in Europe, to which I have ever had acceſs. Indeed the collectors of Books for Royal, Collegiate, or Public Libraries, ſeem never to have had an idea of forming any regular plan for making ſuch a collection; and though many individuals have been poſſeſſed of a rage for accumulating muſical curioſities, it has ſeldom happened that they have extended their ideas to muſical productions in *general*; ſo that no more than one claſs or ſpecies of compoſition has been completed by them, and even this, at the death of the proprietor, is uſually diſperſed.

In a library, formed upon ſo large a ſcale as that of the King of France at Paris, the Bodleian, and Muſeum in England, it ſeems as if Muſic ſhould be put on a level with other Arts and Sciences, in which every book of character is procured. In a royal or ample collection of pictures, ſpecimens at leaſt of every great painter are purchaſed, and no private library is thought complete while the writings of a ſingle poet of eminence are wanting (*m*).

Though

(*l*) The late compoſer Gaſman, Maeſtro di Capella to the preſent Emperor, told me, that many works of old maſters had been ſtolen out of the library at Vienna, by Muſicians low in fancy; who, after making uſe of the beſt movements and paſſages as their own property, had deſtroyed the originals. This he diſcovered by the old catalogues, in which innumerable works were entered, that he was never able to find.

(*m*) In forming ſuch a Muſical Library as would aſſiſt the ſtudent, gratify the curious, inform the hiſtorian, and afford a comparative view of the ſtate of the art at every period of its exiſtence, it were to be wiſhed that the books, when collected, were claſſed in a way ſomewhat like the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Maſſes*, *Motets* | to Latin words, | From the infancy of Counterpoint to the year 1500. |
| *Madrigals*, *Songs in parts*, & *ſingle Songs* | In modern languages, | |

The ſame continued to the year 1600; to which ſhould be added:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Services* and *full Anthems*, *Verſe* and *ſolo Anthems*, *Pſalmody*, in two or more parts | To Engliſh words, as well as thoſe of other modern languages. |

Though the number of volumes of Muſic in the Britiſh Muſeum bears no proportion to thoſe in other faculties, and can hardly be called a collection, yet ſome very ſcarce and valuable compoſitions of old maſters are preſerved in that repoſitory, to which, by the kindneſs and friendly zeal of the gentlemen to whoſe care they are conſigned, I have been indulged with eaſy and frequent acceſs.

The moſt curious ſpecimens of early Counterpoint, among the printed Muſic in the Muſeum, are a collection of Maſſes in four parts, the firſt that iſſued from the preſs after the invention of printing. They conſiſt of the firſt and third ſet of the Maſſes which Juſquin compoſed for the Pope's Chapel,

The ſame claſſes completed to the year 1700, with the addition of *Maſques*, *Intermezzi*, *Serenatas*,

*Operas*, ſerious and comic.
*Oratorios*.
*Cantatas*.
*Fantaſias* and *Recercari*, for various inſtruments.

All the above continued to the preſent time, with an addition of full

*Concertos*, *Symphonies*, and *Overtures*.
*Concertos*, with *Solo parts* for particular inſtruments.
*Quintets*.
*Quatuors*.
*Sonatas*, or *Trios*, *Duets*, and
*Solos* for every Inſtrument for which Muſic has been compoſed, including *Voluntaries* for the Organ, and *Leſſons* for every ſpecies of Keyed-inſtrument.

The muſic publiſhed in ſingle parts ſhould be ſcored, and that publiſhed in partition, tranſcribed in ſingle parts; to be alike ready for the eye or the ear, for the Theoriſt to examine, or the Practical Muſician to perform.

And in order that Science and Criticiſm may keep pace with the Mechaniſm and Practice of the Art, all the *Treatiſes*, *Tracts*, and *Eſſays*, both in the dead and living languages, ſhould be collected, arranged chronologically, and aſſigned a particular portion of the Library.

The Bodleian Library, the Muſeum, and Royal Society, with ſome other libraries, have copies of new books ſent to them, by the Stationers Company, and by individuals, either by law or by courteſy; and when once ſuch a foundation of old muſic is laid as we have here ſketched out, it would ſoon become a cuſtom, or might be made one by the legiſlature, for copies of all Muſic that is publiſhed in England, as well as books on the ſubject, to be preſented by the authors or editors to the Public Library. And the ſame means ſhould be uſed for procuring all Foreign Muſical Publications as are employed in accumulating Books from all parts of the globe, where the preſs is at work.

The Librarian, *Cuſtode*, or Keeper of theſe books, ſhould be a good Practical Muſician, as well as Theoriſt and Scholar, in order to know the worth of the productions he has in charge, and to be enabled to give inſtructions at leaſt how to draw ſingle parts from a ſcore, and ſcore ſingle parts; to explain difficulties to the ignorant, and diſplay curioſities to the learned; to know the rank each compoſer ſhould hold in every claſs, and perhaps record the degree of reſpect that has been paid to him by his cotemporaries, and which is due to him from poſterity.

during

during the Pontificate of Sextus the Fourth, who reigned from 1471 to 1484; the Maſſes of Pierre de la Rue, ſometimes called Petrus Platenſis, a ſet of Maſſes by Anthony de Feven or Feum, Robert de Feven, and Pierzon. The Maſſes of John Mouton; ditto of different compoſers, *(Miſſæ diverſorum Auctorum)* viz. Obrecht, Phil. Baſſiron, Brumel, Gaſpar, and de la Rue.

All theſe were printed by Ottavio Petruccio da Foſſembrone. He firſt publiſhed the Maſſes of de la Rue at Venice, 1503, and in 1508 thoſe by different authors. In 1513, removing to Foſſembrone, in the Eccleſiaſtical State, he obtained a patent from Leo the Tenth in behalf of his invention of types, for the ſole printing of Figurative Song, (*Cantus Figuratus*) and pieces for the Organ (*Organorum Intabulaturæ*) during the term of twenty years (*n*). This patent is ſigned by the learned Cardinal Bembo, Leo's Secretary.

The Maſſes are followed in this collection by the ſecond, third, and fourth ſets of Latin Motets, in four or five parts, called *Mottetti della corona*, from the figure of a Crown ſtamped on the title page. The words of theſe excellent com-

(*n*) Whether this muſic for the organ was expreſſed by letters or numbers, as formerly in the tablature for the Lute, Viol de Gamba, &c. or whether it was printed in two ſtaves of ſix and eight lines, like the compoſitions of *Freſcobaldi*, is now uncertain, as they are loſt; but we are certain that they could not be *ſcores for the organ*, which has been imagined; as the word and thing were equally unknown for more than a century afterwards. See above, p. 440.

It has likewiſe been ſaid that Freſcobaldi's pieces for the organ were the firſt of the kind produced in Italy; but here is a patent granted for the printing ſimilar productions near a century before, and Doni gives a liſt in his *Libraria*, printed in 1550, under the article *Ricercari*, of more than ten volumes of *Tablatures* for the organ: *Intabolature da Organi, e da Leut d'Autore da Bologna, di Giulio da Modena, di Franceſco da Milano, di Giacches Brus, piu di dieci volumi, e la continua.* I have been able to find no memorial of any other pieces for the organ, printed, publiſhed, or even compoſed, of ſo high a date as thoſe printed by Petruccio, under the patent of Leo the Tenth. *Intavolare* and *Intavolatura* are general terms in Italy for the notation of Muſic, whether by letters and figures, in the ſame manner as for the lute, or otherwiſe.

*Ricercari*, or *Recercari*, was the title given to *Solfeggi* for the voice, and original compoſitions or inventions for inſtruments, in early times of Counterpoint, before the word *Fantaſia* ſupplied its place; and to this ſucceeded the terms *Concento*, *Concerto*, *Sinfonia*, *Sonata*, &c.

poſitions

poſitions conſiſt of ſhort portions of Scripture, and hymns of the Romiſh Church, ſet by Juſquin, Carpentras, Mouton, Adrian Willaert, Conſtantius Feſta, and other great maſters of the ſame period: they were all printed at Foſſembrone, in 1519, by Petruccio, and publiſhed with the ſame patent as the Maſſes.

It is from theſe collections that Glareanus has extracted almoſt all the examples of ſtyle of the early Contrapuntiſts, which he has inſerted in his *Dodecachordon*, and to which Zarlino ſo frequently referred afterwards as models of perfection in his *Harmonical Inſtitutes*, and other writings, in ſpeaking of what were even then (1558) called the *old* Claſſical Maſters.

The ſecond ſet of Juſquin's Maſſes, and the firſt ſet of Motets are wanting; however, I have ſeen in no other collection ſo many of the works of theſe venerable maſters (*o*).

But before we preſent our ſcientific readers with examples of compoſition from theſe ſcarce and valuable productions, it will be neceſſary, from ſuch ſcanty records as remain, to reſume the clue of our narrative concerning times ſomewhat anterior to their publication.

It has been frequently aſſerted, upon the authority of Ludovico Guicciardini, and the Abbé du Bos, that *Figurative Harmony* was invented and firſt cultivated in the Netherlands; but though I purpoſely viſited the chief cities there, both in the Auſtrian and French dominions, in order to aſcertain a fact ſo important to the Hiſtory of Muſic, the inhabitants were never able to furniſh ſuch examples of early compoſition as will put the matter out of diſpute. And to confeſs the truth, I have always regarded the teſtimony of L. Guicciardini and the Abbé du Bos as alike ſuſpicious.

(*o*) The printed copies which are now in the Britiſh Muſeum were formerly in the poſſeſſion of the noble families of Arundel and Lumley, whoſe ſignatures appear in the title page of each volume.

L. Guic-

L. Guicciardini, who was a renegade Italian, ſettled at Antwerp, in the ſervice of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, ſeems in his Hiſtory of the Low Countries, determined to give the people among whom he lived the honour of every uſeful as well as ornamental invention, in order to flatter his patron and benefactors, even at the expence of his native country, from which he had no farther hopes. The Abbé du Bos, from a contrary principle, wiſhed to give the honour to the Flemings, in order to pilfer it from them afterwards in favour of his own country, France (*p*). But if we may believe John Tinctor, who was himſelf a native of Flanders, and the moſt ancient *Compoſer* and *Theoriſt* of that country, whoſe name is upon record, it was the Engliſh, with John Dunſtable at their head (*q*), who invented and firſt cultivated Florid Counterpoint, or Figurative Harmony. As bare aſſertions of this kind in favour of our countrymen, without proof, would not ſufficiently authenticate the fact, I ſhall inſert here an extract which I made at Bologna, from an inedited tract written by John Tinctor, and preſerved, with other MS. treatiſes of the ſame author, in the Library of the Canons regular of S. Saviour, in that city; to which P. Martini referred me, upon aſking him by what nation he thought Muſic in parts, or ſimultaneous Harmony, was firſt cultivated.

(*p*) The Abbé du Bos, as Voltaire obſerves, has ſeen, heard, and reflected upon the fine arts, and he muſt be allowed to be an elegant writer, and an ingenious, I would have ſaid a juſt, reaſoner, if he had not been too frequently warped by the *Amor Patriæ*, which is but too viſible in many of his deciſions. He not only determines, without ſufficient proof, that the French and Flemings cultivated Muſic before the Italians; but, wholly unacquainted with the compoſitions of other parts of Europe, aſſerted that there was no Muſic equal to that of Lulli, only known and admired in France. And where will he be believed, except in that kingdom, when he ſays that foreigners allow his countrymen to underſtand *time* and *meaſure* better than the Italians? He never loſes an opportunity of availing himſelf of the favourable opinions of foreigners in behalf of French Muſic, againſt that of other parts of Europe. Not only L. Guicciardini, but Addiſon, Gravina, and Voſſius, all equally unacquainted with the Theory, Practice, or Hiſtory of the Art, and alike deprived of candour, by the ſupport of ſome favourite opinion or hypotheſis, are preſſed into the ſervice of his country.

(*q*) See above, p. 399.

The

The title of this particular Tract is, *Proportionale Muſices*; it is addreſſed to Ferdinand King of Sicily, Jeruſalem, and Hungary, who reigned from 1458, to 1494, by JOHN TINCTOR, Chaplain, and Maeſtro di Capella to that Prince (*r*). The paſſage which confers on the Engliſh the honour of having invented *Figurative Harmony* is the following (*s*):—*Cujus, ut ita dicam,* novæ Artis *fons et origo* (Contrapuncti) *apud Anglos,* quorum caput DUNSTAPLE extitit, fuiſſe perhibetur. Et huic *contemporanei fuerunt in Gallia,* Dufai, *et* Binchois; *quibus immediate ſucceſſerunt moderni,* Okenheim, Buſnois, Regis *et* Caron, omnium, quos audiverim, in compoſitione præſtantiſſimi: *nec* Anglici *nunc licet vulgariter* jubilare, Gallici verò cantare *dicantur veniunt conferendi. Illi etenim in dies novos cantus noviſſime inveniunt; at iſti, quod miſerrimi ſignum eſt ingenii, una ſemper et eâdem compoſitione utuntur. Sed, prob dolor! non ſolum eos imo complures alios compoſitores famoſos, quos miror, dum tam ſubtiliter, ac ingenioſe, tam incomprehenſibili* ſuavitate componunt, mors abripuit.—" Of which " *new art*, as I may call it, the fountain and ſource is ſaid to " have been among the ENGLISH, of whom DUN- " STABLE was the chief. And with him were cotem- " porary in France, Dufai and Binchois, whoſe immediate " ſucceſſors were the moderns, Okenheim, Buſnois, Roi, and " Caron, who of all the compoſers I ever heard were the " moſt excellent; nor can the Engliſh, who are proverbially ſaid " to *ſhout*, while the French *ſing (t)*, *now* come in competition " with them. For the latter invent new Melodies every day (*u*),

(*r*) Johannis Tinctoris, *Muſicæ Profeſſoris*, Proportionale Muſices *incipit.—Et primo Proemium.— Sanctiſſimo et invictiſſimo Principi Divo* Ferdinando, regis regum Dominique dominantium Providentiâ, *Regi Siciliæ, Gierusalem et Ungariæ*, Johannes Tinctor, inter Muſicæ Profeſſores, ſuoſque Capillanos, minimus.

(*s*) This paſſage has been already cited, p. 400, but incompletely, as I could not then find my extract, which is here given more fully.

(*t*) This alludes to national characters which I have ſeen in ſeveral books that were written during the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, and which were at firſt probably circulated by one of the natives of France, as no others are allowed to *ſing*. Of theſe characters we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak farther hereafter.

(*u*) He ſeems to uſe *Gallici* in the extended ſenſe of the Abbé du Bos, and to include the Netherlanders and Flemings.

" but the former continue to make uſe of one and the ſame " ſtyle of compoſition, which betrays a miſerable poverty of " invention (*x*). But, alas! death has deprived us, not only " of theſe, but of many other famous maſters whom I ad- " mire for the ſubtilty, ingenuity, and inconceivable ſweet- " neſs of their Compoſitions."

Glareanus, who wrote in 1547, calls thoſe compoſitions ancient, which were in uſe about ſeventy years before his time; nor does he believe that Muſic *in four parts* ſubſiſted, a century more early. His *Dodecachordon* was publiſhed during the laſt year of Henry the Eighth, and our John of Dunſtable, who died in 1455, muſt have flouriſhed about the time when Glareanus imagines Muſic in four parts to have been firſt compoſed. Now as his *tenor parts*, which have been quoted by Franchinus Gafforus (*y*), prove, that he had written in ſeveral parts, and as the *invention* of Muſic of this kind is given to him by Tinctor, who was nearly his cotemporary, I ſhould be guilty of great ingratitude, as an Engliſhman, if I did not accept of the preſent, in the name, and for the uſe of my countryman.

However, as to the *invention of ſimple Counterpoint*, that is an honour for which we ſhall not contend, as the point has been given up already (*z*); but that he was at leaſt *one of the firſt* who compoſed and wrote upon the ſubject of figurative Harmony, conſiſting of three or four different melodies moving together in conſonance, a conſiderable time before the Flemings or Netherlanders had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, or were diſperſed all over Europe, which was the caſe during the next century, it is not only eaſy to believe, but to demonſtrate. Tinctor and Franchinus, the firſt writers upon Muſic in Italy,

(*x*) This is an accuſation from which I fear it will be difficult to defend my countrymen, in the early days of counterpoint; as the chief part of their learning and genius was employed in *varying* and *harmonizing old Melodies*.

(*y*) *Pract. Muſicæ*, lib. ii. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 4.

(*z*) See above, p. 399.

whoſe works were printed, not only quote Dunſtable as a *Theoriſt*, but inſert fragments of his compoſitions to illuſtrate their rules of *Practice*.

Theſe writers mention two other compoſers in France, Dufai and Binchois, who were nearly cotemporary with Dunſtable; but neither they, nor any other authors whom I have ever conſulted, have recorded the name of any *Flemiſh Muſician* more ancient than JOHN OKENHEIM, whom Tinctor enumerates among the moderns that were living in his own time (*a*).

From this period we ſhall not only find the names of Muſicians who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in almoſt every part of Europe, but ſhall be able to produce ſpecimens of their works; which will be more ſatisfactory to our Muſical Readers than all the praiſe, cenſure, or deſcription of their ſtyle and abilities, which ingenuity and the moſt flowery language can furniſh.

But before we exhibit any of the productions of theſe Fathers of Figurative Harmony, it will be neceſſary to explain the characters in which they were originally written, and form them into a Diagram, or Time table, in order to facilitate their peruſal; for though we ſhall exempt the reader from the difficulty of comparing the ſeparate parts, by placing them over each other, in *ſcore*, and dividing the meaſures by *Bars*, yet the ſquare notes and ligatures which will frequently occur, would be unintelligible to thoſe who are unacquainted with any longer notes than ſemibreves, if not previouſly appriſed of their reſpective duration. To write this ancient Muſic in modern notes would deprive it of its venerable appearance, and the learned reader of an opportunity of judging whether it has been copied with care and fidelity; and indeed a promiſe was made to the reader in a former chapter (*b*),

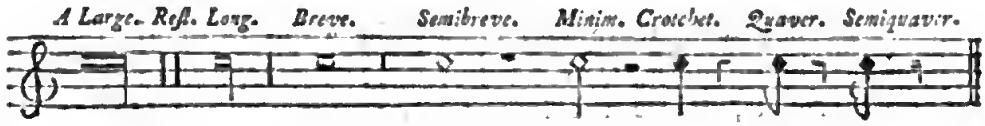
(*a*) See p. 400. (*b*) Page 192.

that

that as ſoon as we were arrived at Muſic in parts, worthy of contemplation, the ſubject of *Time* ſhould again be reſumed, and this ſeems the fitteſt place for its performance.

Franchinus, one of the moſt ancient Theoriſts whoſe doctrines firſt iſſued from the preſs after the invention of printing, ſpeaks of but five different characters by which Muſicians meaſured time: theſe were the *Maxima*, or Large, ; the Long, ; Breve, ; Semibreve, ; and Minim, . But other writers, early in the Sixteenth Century, added to theſe the Crotchet, ♩; Quaver, ♪; and Semiquaver, ♬; which the Italians call *Semiminima*, *Croma*, and *Semicroma*, or *Biſcroma*. And in compoſitions of the latter end of the fifteenth century, particularly in the celebrated Maſs, *l'Homme Armé*, of Juſquin, which is ſo frequently cited by almoſt every writer on Muſic of the ſixteenth Century, Crotchets and Quavers frequently occur.

Muſical Characters uſed in Morley's Time, with their equivalent Reſts.




The Semibreve, which is now our longeſt note, was, at this time, placed in the middle of the Diagram; and it ſeems at all times to have been the Unit, or Standard Meaſure, by which other notes were multiplied or divided: as a *Large* was equal, in common time, to eight Semibreves, a *Long* to four, and a *Breve* to two; whence the appellation of *Semibreve*.

All this is extremely ſimple and eaſy for thoſe, who are acquainted with the characters uſed in Modern Muſic, to com-

prehend; but the great difficulty in old compoſitions, without bars, is in movements of Triple, or as it was called *Perfect-time*, where, without a point, a Long was equal to three Breves, and a Breve to three Semibreves.

The initial Characters, or *Modal Signs*, placed at the beginning of a Movement, and their ſeveral powers, are almoſt innumerable, and always ſeem to have been ſubjects of diſpute and perplexity, in the writings of the cleareſt and beſt Theoriſts of the ſixteenth century. However, all meaſure was then, as well as at preſent, reducible to two ſtandards of proportion, the Ternary and Binary, or perfect and imperfect, which we now call Triple and Common Time.

The Modes, or Moods, for aſcertaining the *quantum* of each pulſation of time, were the following:

⊙ O3 for a perfect Long, or three Breves.
O a perfect Breve, or three Semibreves.
C Two imperfect Breves, and, in the compoſitions of Tallis and Bird, ſometimes three Minims.
C An imperfect Breve, or two Semibreves.

Beſides theſe, there were others, for a ſpecies of Jig-time, in which Semibreves or Minims were Ternary, and moving in Triplets, while the longer notes were Binary: O3. O2. C3. &c (*c*).

*Ligatures* were uſed by the early Contrapuntiſts, in vocal Muſic, to connect ſuch ſounds as were to be ſuſtained or ſung to one ſyllable, as is done at preſent by ſemicircular marks, called binding-notes, and ſlurs. The rules for theſe are too numerous and vague to be explained without a long diſcuſſion, and their powers will perhaps be beſt comprehended in the examples of ancient compoſition of different parts, in parti-

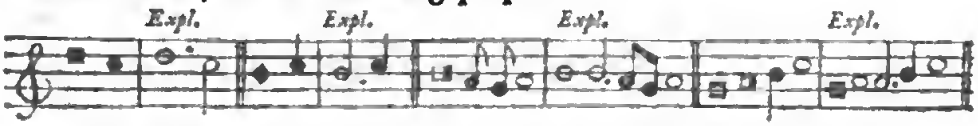
(*c*) Zacconi, *Prat. Muſ.* lib. ii. cap. 54. makes the Modal Signs amount to fourteen-

tion,

tion, and barred. However, it may be uſeful to thoſe who undertake to decipher ſuch Muſic, to remember, that all the ſquare notes in ligature, with tails on the *right hand*, *deſcending*, are Longs; on the *left*, Breves; and all with tails on the *left*, *aſcending*, are Semibreves. Square notes, without tails, in ligature, are in general Breves, though there are ſome exceptions to this rule, for which it is not eaſy to aſſign a cauſe.

Ligatures explained by equivalent Notes.

Black, ſquare, and lozenge notes, when mixed with white, are diminiſhed one fourth of the value they have, while open or vacuate. And a note partially black, or demivacuate, is ſtruck twice, in the following proportions:




The different uſe of *Points* by the Old Maſters is extremely perplexing: there were four in the time of Zarlino (*d*), which muſt neceſſarily be diſtinguiſhed in the peruſal of Old Compoſitions.

1. The point of *Perfection* was added only to ſuch note as by the Modal Signs was in itſelf *perfect*, or equal to three notes of the next leſs in value, but made imperfect by poſition. ⊙ ☾ are points of perfection in the Modal Signs.
2. The point of *Augmentation* is that ſtill in common uſe after every ſpecies of note; but which the old Maſters uſed

(*d*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 274.

only in common, or, as they called it, *imperfect* time: C ¢.

3. The point of *Diviſion*, or Imperfection, is placed between two ſhorter notes that follow and precede two longer, in perfect Modes, to render both the long notes imperfect.

In all theſe examples the longer notes are, as in common time, imperfect, or equal to two of ſhorter duration, and the point is neither ſung nor played. If, inſtead of the ſecond note, a reſt be placed before the point, its effect is the ſame.

4. The point of *Alteration*, or, more properly, of *Duplication*, is placed *before* two ſhorter notes preceding a longer, in order to double the length of the ſecond ſhort note (*e*).

In all theſe inſtances, the fourth note is as long again as the third.

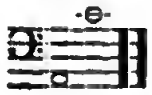
In early times of Counterpoint, human voices of different compaſs, occaſioned by age, ſex, and natural organ, were claſſed and divided into four diſtinct kinds, at the diſtance only of a third above each other, which the Baſe, or F Clef, placed from line to line, expreſſed. The loweſt of theſe was called the *Tenor*, the next *Contratenor*, *Motetus* the third, and *Triplum* the higheſt, or *Treble*; of which term, this was the origin.

(*e*) Reſts placed in this manner, at the beginning of a movement, were judicial ſigns of prolation, and to aſcertain the perfection or imperfection of the moods.

After

After this, about the middle of the fifteenth century, as different parts began to be multiplied, the ſcale received ſix diviſions: *Baſe*, *Baritono*, *Tenor*, *Contralto*, *Mezzo Soprano*, and *Soprano*. The natural pitch of theſe is about three or four notes above each other, as their ſeveral Clefs, which originally ſerved as barriers, will diſcover.

It ſeldom happens that a voice has more than ten real, ſteady, and full, natural notes, in its compaſs, without a mixture of *falſet*, which, being of a different regiſter, is eaſily diſcovered *(f)*. The following are the names and uſual extent of the ſeveral ſpecies of human voice.

1. *Baſe.*  2. *Baritono.* 3. *Tenor.*

4. *Contralto.* 5. *Mezzo Soprano* 6. *Soprano.*

But as there are ſometimes Baſe voices which go down to double F, and even lower; ſo there are in the Treble, among modern vocal phenomena, ſingers that go higher than F in altiſſimo; which make the whole Diapaſon of voices exceed four Octaves *(g)*.

But though parts were multiplied, not only to ſix, but even thirty-ſix, before the cloſe of the fifteenth century, as we ſhall have farther occaſion to relate hereafter; yet the general, and

*(f)* See Toſi, Obſ. on Florid Sorg, p. 22, et ſeq.

*(g)* In the fifteenth and ſixteenth century, the ambition of compoſers and ſingers ſeems to have been the approaching the great abyſs, by an extenſion of the ſcale *downwards*; as in ſcoring muſic of thoſe times I have frequently met with paſſages in the baſe as low as double D, and even C! Every lover of muſic muſt, on the contrary, have obſerved of late years, ſingers poſſeſſed of a *centrifugal* paſſion, and a rage for extraordinary altitudes, as much as if their apotheoſis depended on ſuch flights. Agujari, an admirable ſinger, in other reſpects, in fluted-notes uſed to out-top the compaſs of modern harpſichords, reaching to *g* in *altiſſimo*; but Madame Le Brun aſtoniſhes, with two or three notes of ſtill higher abſurdity!!

eſta-

eſtabliſhed number, in the Pope's Chapel, by which probably all other Choral Service was regulated, amounted to no more than four: *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Baſe* (*b*).

When

(*b*) As theſe were the principal colours on a Compoſer's pallet, which he blended at his pleaſure, and ſometimes varied his tints by additional mixtures, it may be neceſſary to acquaint the reader with the importance in which they were held by Muſicians.

All written muſic, in counterpoint, was at this time compoſed for voices, at leaſt I have never ſeen any other; and, being intended for the church, was ſet to Latin words; ſo that the firſt *terms* uſed in the art, were likewiſe in that language. And theſe were ſo numerous about the year 1474, that John Tinctor collected them under the title of *Terminorum Muſicæ Diffinitorium*, and printed them at Naples. This was doubtleſs not only the *firſt Muſical Dictionary* that was ever compiled, but the *firſt book* that was *printed* on the ſubject of muſic in general. The work is ſo ſcarce that I have never been able to find it, except in his Majeſty's ineſtimable Library, abounding with ſcarce, valuable, and beautiful copies of the moſt precious productions of the preſs. And I was not only allowed to conſult this rare book in the Royal Library, but was honoured with the ſingular indulgence of a permiſſion to tranſcribe it at my own houſe; for which I was the more ſolicitous, as it ſeemed of the greateſt importance to my inquiries into the progreſs of the art at this early period, to have a preciſe idea of the acceptation in which theſe technical terms were then uſed.

CANTUS, *Canto*, *Cantilena*, *Soprano*, Ital. *Chant*, *Deſſus*, Fr. Diſcant, die hochſte unter den Stimmen, Germ. Treble, ſupreme part, in counterpoint.

ALTUS, *Contralto*, It. *Haute-contre*, Fr. Alt-Stimme, Germ. That melody among the four principal parts in a vocal chorus, which is aſſigned to the *higheſt* natural voice of man.

TENOR, *Tenore*, It. *Taille*, Fr. Tenor-ſtimme, Germ. That part which holds the middle and moſt common pitch, among male voices. The word is derived from *teneo*, I hold, being that part in diſcant which ſuſtains the notes of the canto fermo, while the other parts are moving in diſſimilar melodies. Du Cange gives an inſtance of its uſe in 1407, ex Bibl. Reg. and from Zobinelli's *Hiſt. Britan.* to. ii. col. 962. *Jehan Tromelin* Tenour *de la Chapelle de Monſeigneur* LXX. l. *par an.* The tenor part is likewiſe mentioned in the *Roman de la Roſe:*

*Et chante haut à plaine bouche*
*Motets, gaudis & Teneure.*

The Tenor part in muſic has been compared to the *pole* of a coach, which couples and holds together the horſes by which it is drawn.

BASSUS, *Baſſo*, It. *Baſſe*, Fr. Grundſtimme, die tiefſte ſtimme einer Harmonie, Germ. The term appears in no compoſers before Juſquin. It is derived from *Baſis*, by Zarlino and others, and ſaid to imply the *fundamental ſounds* upon which all Harmony and even Melody is conſtructed. Others are of opinion that the Latin, which is barbarous, came from the Italian *Baſſo*, low, and ſo has got admiſſion into all modern languages with a double ſ. The word is not inſerted in Tinctor's *Diffinitorium.*

Teofilo Folingio, of Mantua, the poet, has facetiouſly, and with ſome degree of preciſion, deſcribed the four principal parts in Muſic, in as many *macaronic* verſes.

*Plus aſcoltantum* Sopranus *captat orrecchias.*
*Sed* Tenor *eſt vocum rector, vel guida tonorum.*
Altus *Apollineum carmen depingit et ornat.*
Baſſus *alit voces, ingraſſat, fundat, et auget.*

The *Treble* chiefly captivates the vulgar ear;
But the *Tenor* is the Ruler of Voices, and guide of tones;

The

When an additional part was wanting, it was called *Quinta pars*; and, if ſtill another was added, *Sexta pars*.

Now the ſeveral parts of the ſcale are appropriated to different voices, I ſhall proceed to ſhew my Muſical Reader, what harmonies were chiefly uſed in accompanying the eight notes of the ſcale, aſcending and deſcending from any given note, and it ſeems my buſineſs carefully to remark the gradual changes, that have happened in melody and harmony, from this period. With reſpect to Melody, its flights will ever be ſo wild and capricious, as to elude all laws, or require a new code every year; it is as ſubject to change as the ſurface of the ſea, or the fluctuating images of an active mind. But *Harmony* is ſomewhat more permanent; however, *that* cannot be long fixed by immutable laws, as will be ſhewn in the courſe of this work, where we ſhall preſent our readers, from time to time, with the general harmony, which was given to each note of the Baſe, in the aſcent and deſcent of the Diatonic Scale; which the French, during the preſent century, have diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Regle de l'Octave (i)*.

Tartini has remarked, with great truth, that there was no modulation in the Modes or Keys of the fifteenth century, but what intrinſically belongs to the Tone or Key propoſed; and all the Muſic of thoſe times remains perfectly and rigorouſly in the Diatonic Scale (*k*).

This purity, at preſent, ſeems monotonous, but perhaps the want of variety in the melody and modulation was compenſated by accuracy of intonation, and perfection of Harmony; for as ſo few keys were uſed, but little temperament was required, even in the organ, which, for all the modulation then prac-

The *Counter-Tenor* colours and ornaments the Lyric Poem;
While the *Baſe* feeds, enriches, ſupports, and completes the Harmony.

(*i*) The *Harmonic Formula*, ſo called, was firſt publiſhed, according to Rouſſeau, in 1700, by M. Delaire. *Dict. de Muſique.*

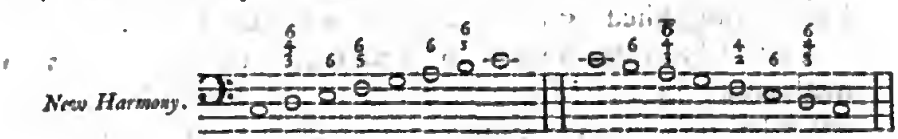
(*k*) Tartini, *Trattato di Muſica*, cap. v. p. 147, and Stillingfleet, p. 81.

tiſed, could have every conſonance and interval nearly as perfect, as they can be produced by voices or violins (*l*).

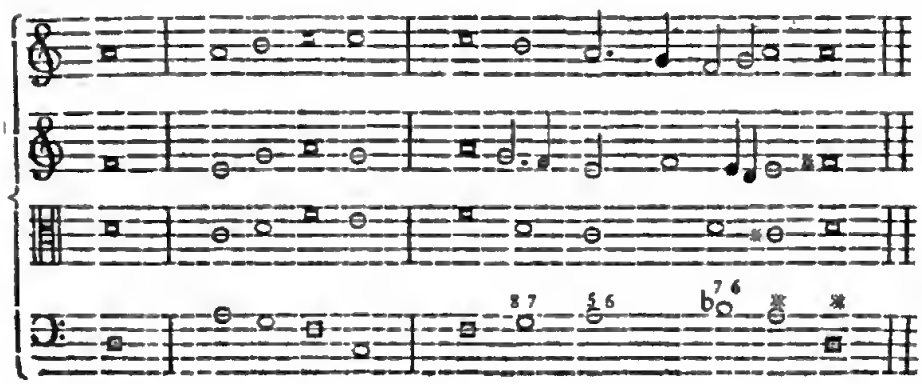
(*l*) The reader, who has ſtudied compoſition, or even accompaniment, will be able, by comparing the harmony of an ancient and modern ſcale, to account for the different effects, ariſing from the two kinds of muſic. The old maſters ſeldom uſed diſcords, except at a cloſe; and often accompanied ſeven of the eight notes, in every key, with common chords. The moderns, on the contrary, allow them only to the key note, and its fifth; to all the reſt they give a ſixth or a diſcord. In old compoſitions, the harmony of each note in the ſcale ſeems detached and unconnected by relative ſounds; and in the new, two chords ſeldom ſucceed each other, without being combined by ſome ſound, in common with both.

† About the middle of the ſixteenth century, the ſharp 7th of the key, aſcending, began to be accompanied by the 6th; indeed, before that period, if the 7th of the key was ever uſed in the baſe, it was made flat.

‡ The old contrapuntiſts held the ſharp 4th and flat 5th in ſuch abhorrence, that, to avoid them, they frequently made the 7th of a key flat, even before a cloſe. Mi *contra* fa *eſt Diabolus* in *Muſica*, has been ſaid by an eminent muſical writer, during the preſent century. *FUX, Grad. ad Parn. Vienna*, 1725.




It is not common, or neceſſary, for the ſounds of either of theſe ſcales, thus accompanied, to be uſed in this regular manner; but the following baſes, with no other harmony, than common chords, perpetually occur, in ancient muſic: DC, CE, EG, AGF. Of this laſt modulation, I can give no better illuſtration, than the following chaot of Paleſtrina, from a MS. chiefly in his own hand-writing, which will be deſcribed hereafter.



Indeed moſt of the attempts at Harmony, that we have been able to diſcover, previous to the middle of the fifteenth century, ſeem only to diſgrace and encumber melody. A ſucceſſion of fourths or fifths, which was called *Diateſſaronare*, and *Quintoier*, with a very ſparing uſe of other Concords, would be very diſguſting to modern ears; and the ſlow manner in which thirds and ſixths were received into favour, ſeem ſtill to prove the want of a temperament in the inſtruments, with which the voice was then accompanied. Theſe Concords, which, on this account, ſeem to have been ranked among Diſcords, by the ancients, perhaps acquired, from the ſame cauſe, the appellation of *imperfect*, among the moderns (*m*). The Pythagorean diviſion of the ſcale ſeems to have been all, that the Muſicians, of thoſe times, had retained of the Ancient Muſic. Poetry was now ſunk into Gothic Barbariſm, and elegant Melody was wholly unknown; for the Chants of the Church, to which Muſic ſeems now to have been wholly confined, offered little to the ear, but Melodies that were either monotonous, or uncouth.

However, while Harmony was refining, and receiving new combinations, it was found, like other ſweet and luſcious things, to want qualification, to keep off languor and ſatiety; when ſome bold Muſicians had the courage and addreſs to render it piquant and intereſting by a mixture of DISCORD, in order to ſtimulate attention; and thus by giving the ear a momentary uneaſineſs, and keeping it in ſuſpence, its delight became the more exquiſite, when the diſcordant difficulty was ſolved. And this contraſt of imperfection ſeems a neceſſary zeſt to all our enjoyments: in Painting, a tawdry glare of vivid colours without ſhade would but dazzle and fatigue the ſight;

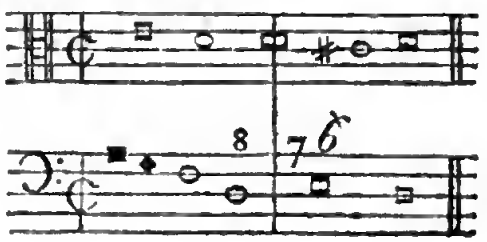
(*m*) Their *mutability* into major and minor, which is given by ſome writers as a reaſon for their being called *imperfect* concords, ſeems rather to entitle them to a precedency over all others: for it is on this account, and from their variety of effect on the ear, that they are ſo agreeable in ſucceſſion, and afford us a pleaſure peculiar to themſelves.

and to delineate figures, without the intervention of ſhade, would be writing upon water. Sleep, if uninvited by fatigue, would unwillingly approach our dwelling; even Sunſhine would loſe all its charms, if not interrupted ſometimes by clouds and darkneſs; and Happineſs itſelf, if monotonous, and inceſſant, would degenerate into apathy. Contraſt is the great principle of beauty, in all the arts, and indeed throughout the univerſe; for amidſt the wonderful order and ſymmetry, with which it is compoſed, an endleſs variety is diſcoverable in the proportions, forms, colours, and qualities, of its moſt minute, as well as moſt magnificent parts.

Diſcord, in Muſical Compoſition, does not conſiſt in the exceſs or defect of intervals, which, when falſe, produce jargon, not Muſic; but in the warrantable and artful uſe of ſuch combinations, as, though too diſagreeable for the ear to dwell upon, or for the purpoſe of finiſhing a Muſical Period, yet ſo neceſſary are they to modern Counterpoint, and modern ears, that Harmony, without their relief, would ſatiate, and loſe many of its moſt beautiful effects.

Diſcords were very ſparingly uſed by the old maſters, who were cotemporary with Franchinus; their laws were not ſoon eſtabliſhed, and in ſcoring the firſt Maſſes that were printed in Italy, and thoſe compoſed before the Reformation, in England, which are preſerved in MS. at Oxford, I find few diſcords regularly *prepared* and *reſolved*, except the 4th into the 3d, or the 7th into the 6th; the 2d, 9th, or 5th, made a Diſcord by the 6th, ſcarcely ever occur (*n*).

(*n*) The firſt diſcord that ſeems to have been regularly uſed was the 7th; the next, the 4th, at a cloſe; after this, the $\frac{1}{2}$; and then, the ninth. In a fragment of *Canto Figurato*, by Bonadies, the maſter of Franchinus, 1473, there is no other diſcord to be found than a 7th prepared by the 8th, and reſolved upon the ſharp 6th:



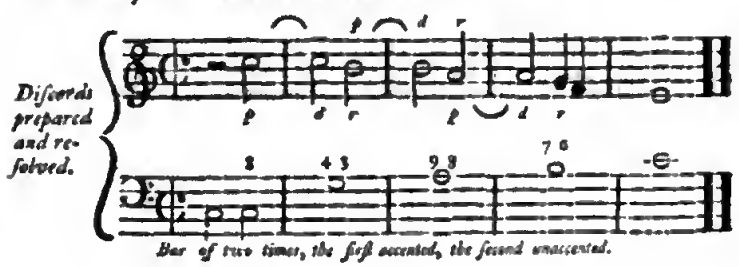
Franchinus quotes Dunſtable, on the ſubject of Diſcord; but our countryman ſeems only to have uſed it in *paſſing-notes*, to which no accompaniment is given, or notes which lead from one Concord to another, in order to connect the Melody. Franchinus is obſcure on the ſubject of preparing and reſolving Diſcords; indeed he only mentions the 4th made a Diſcord by the 5th, though in the recapitulation and illuſtration of his rules, he uſes, not only that, but the 7th, $\frac{4}{2}$, 9th, and 5th made a Diſcord by the 6th; which are almoſt all the Diſcords that were uſed for near two centuries after the publication of his book.

But in a tract upon Counterpoint, by John Tinctor, cited likewiſe by P. Martini (*d*), the ſubject is more clearly treated than by Franchinus, who wrote ſeveral years after him: for we are there told, that every Diſcord muſt be preceded by a Concord, as the ſecond by the uniſon or 3d; the 4th by the 3d or 5th; the 7th by the 5th or 8th, &c (*e*). After

It is probable that the rule for *preparing* diſcords originated from the danger of unſkilful fingers not hitting them: and we find in the old church-muſic, compoſed for voices only, no diſcords, but what were prepared, and in ligature; even during the laſt century, it was eſteemed a great licence to uſe one that had not been previouſly a concord.

(*d*) To. I. p. 215.

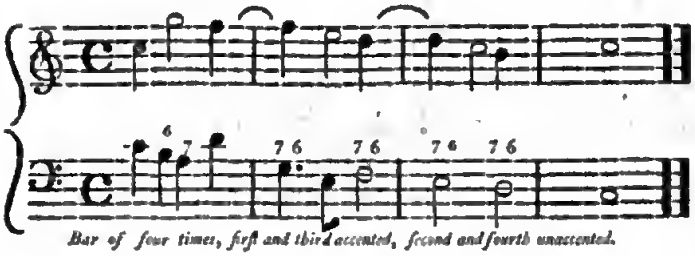
(*e*) Whether Tinctor means regular, *prepared* diſcords, or diſcords uſed as *paſſing-notes*, is perhaps not certain; but in either caſe, a diſcord ſhould be rendered ſupportable by two concords, one before its percuſſion, and one after it; that by paſſing from one agreeable ſound to another, the ear may not have more of this acid and piquant ſauce, than it can bear. There is a very material difference between the uſe of diſcords, as *paſſing-notes*, and *preparing* and *reſolving* them, which I ſhall endeavour to explain: a bar, in common time, is divided into two or four equal *portions*, *times*, or *parts*; of theſe, the firſt and third are *accented*, the ſecond and fourth, *unaccented*; now the *percuſſion* of a prepared diſcord ſhould always be on an accented part of a bar, and the *reſolution* on an unaccented part; on the contrary, a tranſient diſcord, uſed only as a *paſſing note*, is generally ſtruck on the *unaccented* part of a bar. A ſhort example in notes will perhaps make a deeper impreſſion than the precept.



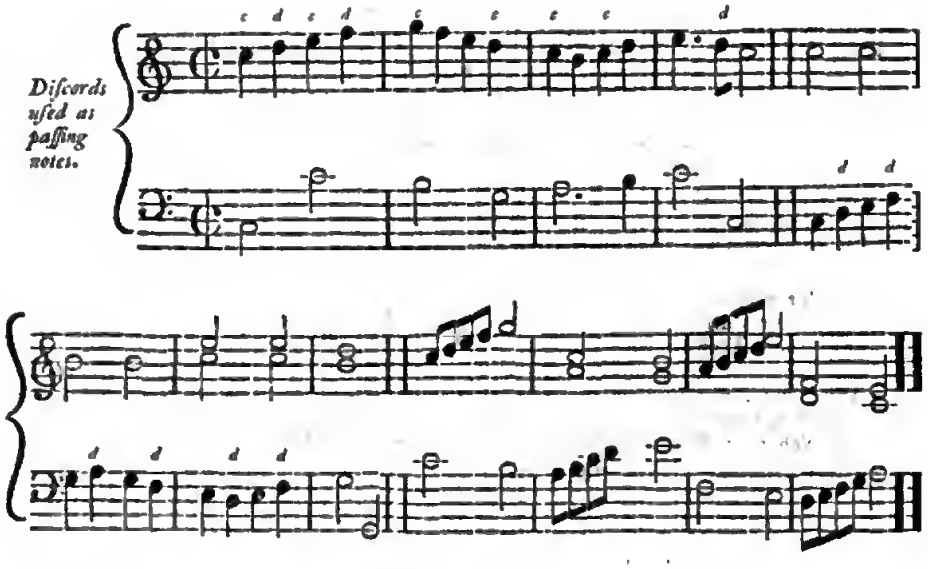

*Bar of two times, the firſt accented, the ſecond unaccented.*

Bar

After the ſcale, which furniſhes *Melody*, was ſettled, and agreeable ſimultaneous ſounds were diſcovered, which enriched it



*Bar of four times, firſt and third accented, ſecond and fourth unaccented.*




This ſubject has been ſo well and amply treated by Dr. Pepuſch, *Treatiſe of Harmony*, p. 41. and by Padre Martini, *ſaggio di Contrap.* that more examples need not be added here; I ſhall only, in general, remind muſical ſtudents that, in diviſions, where many notes in the treble go to one note in the baſe, all that are not ſounds of the chord, which belongs to the baſe, are *paſſing-notes*. And if the baſe is divided, then all are *paſſing-notes*, in that part, except the firſt in a group.

with

with *harmony*; after theſe ſounds were claſſed into *perfect*, and *imperfect*, *Concords*, and other intervals, called *Diſcords*, were found practicable in compoſition, and, when diſcreetly managed, to add to the beauty and effect of Harmonical Combinations, it was natural to imagine that Melody and Harmony, like twin-ſiſters, would have grown up, and been refined and poliſhed together. But the elder of the two Siſters, *Melody*, was long neglected, and ſuffered to run wild, while every method was uſed, which Science and diligence could deviſe, in order to cultivate and improve the natural powers and agreeable qualities of *Harmony*. It was indeed a long time, before ſufficient attention had been given to Melody, to find that ſhe was capable of the leaſt improvement, or had a genius for any thing but *Pſalmody*; however, in riper years, ſhe was diſcovered to have many captivating qualities, and to be ſuſceptible of grace, elegance, and every embelliſhment which art and invention could ſuggeſt. This diſcovery, in proceſs of time, brought her into good company, and made her the delight of the moſt poliſhed and faſhionable part of the world, after having long aſſociated with the loweſt of the people; rioting in alehouſes with jolly fellows, and roaring in the ſtreets with ballad ſingers. At length, however, ſhe went upon the ſtage, and there, though indeed ſhe was accuſed of giving herſelf airs, and affecting the company of princes and heroes, and manners of the ancient Greeks, yet, of whatever abſurdities ſhe was guilty in her theatrical character, ſhe ſeems from *that* to have derived all her favour and importance; as it was on the *Stage* that ſhe ſtudied the public opinion, and acquired the approbation of perſons of ſenſibility, taſte, and diſcernment. But before we proceed to give her dramatic adventures, we muſt relate what happened to her ſiſter, in the *Church*.

It has been already ſhewn (*a*) that *Counterpoint*, in the Church, began by adding parts to plain chant; and, in ſecular muſic,

(*a*) Chap. II. of this volume.

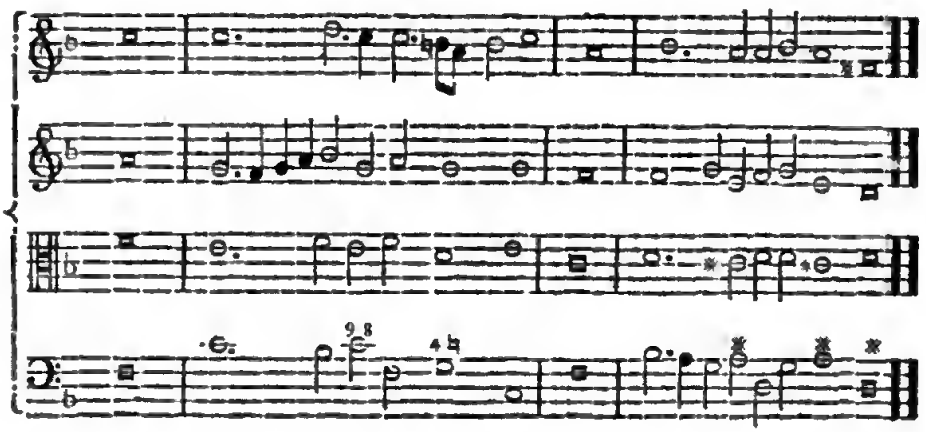
by

by harmonizing old tunes, as florid melody did, by variations to theſe tunes. It was long before men had the courage, or genius, to *invent new melodies (b)*.

It is a matter of ſurprize, that ſo little plain Counterpoint is to be found, and, of this little, none correct, previous to attempts at imitation, fugue, and canon, contrivances to which there was a very early tendency, in all probability, during times of extemporary Diſcant, before there was any ſuch thing as *written Harmony*; for we find in the moſt ancient Muſic, in parts, which is come down to us, that Fugue and Canon had made a conſiderable progreſs, at the time it was compoſed (*c*). The Song, or Round, "Sumer is i cumen in," is a very early proof of the cultivation of this art; and the firſt compoſitions for the Church, or Maſſes in Muſic, that were printed,

(*b*) Harmony in two parts muſt neceſſarily have been poor, and inſipid, while the modulation was ſo confined, and diſcord ſo ſeldom uſed. This ſeems to account for the rage of compoſing and hearing muſic in many parts, heaped one on the other, without much delicacy or ſelection, that each chord might have its full complement. Till fancy, taſte, and expreſſion, had exiſteoce, a ſolo or even duet, unaccompanied, muſt indeed have been as dull and unintereſting as the muſical ſocieties for the preſervation aod performance of ancient muſic, have ever pronounced them; hut either invention, refined tones, grace, and exquiſite performance, are nugatory, or a ſolo, and a ſingle ſong, have their merit at preſent, as well as choruſes and full pieces.

(*c*) The following chant, by Joſquin, is the moſt ancient and accurate counterpoint, *non fugato*, that I have hitherto found.

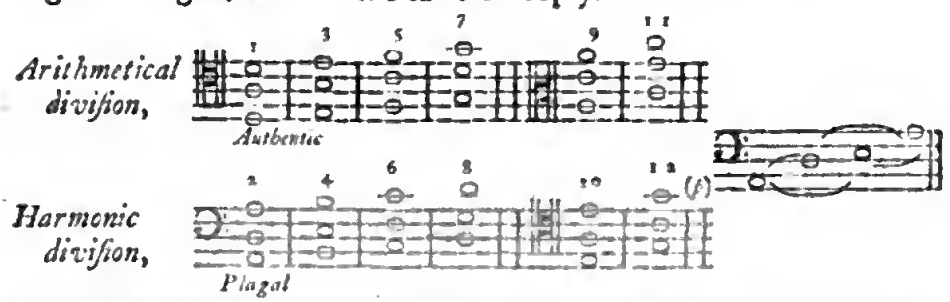


and

and which were compoſed in the fifteenth century, are full of Canons and Fugues, of the moſt artificial and difficult conſtruction. What could have given birth ſo early to theſe mockeries, is a ſubject which merits ſome inveſtigation.

Padre Martini (*n*) is of opinion that this ſpecies of compoſition had its beginning in the following manner. The firſt compoſers having begun to add another part to *Canto Fermo*, which at the ſame time that it formed a different melody, was in harmony, or counterpoint, which is the union of different melodies, contrived that whatever part they ſuperadded to the chant, ſhould reſemble it as much as poſſible, if not throughout the movement, at leaſt in the ſubject. But as this Canto Fermo is ſometimes tranſpoſed from one Hexachord (or *Proprietà del Canto*) to another, in the ſame manner the *imitations* of the ſeveral parts in counterpoint are made, ſometimes in the uniſon or octave, and ſometimes in the 4th or 5th above or below; ſtill taking great care that the intervals and ſyllables, or Solmiſation, are the ſame; that is, that the diſtance between one ſound and another, and the Solmiſation, or ſyllabic names of the ſounds, perfectly correſpond with thoſe of the ſubject, or principal Chant (*o*).

And it is eaſy to diſcover from the Skeleton of the Eccleſiaſtical Modes, authentic and plagal, that this is the true origin of fugue, and all the laws of reply.




(*n*) *Saggio di Contrap.* parte 2da. Pref. p. XXVIII.

(*o*) See above, p. 94, the Diagram, repreſenting the Hexachords, or, as they are likewiſe called, *proprieties*, of the three original keys of G, C, and F.

(*p*) The laſt four modes, which were added by Glareanus, offer no new modulation, or melody; as all the intervals which the eight ancient eccleſiaſtical modes allow, in the key of A, are furniſhed by the ſecond mode, or plagal of D; and C is ſupplied with all its ſounds by the plagal of F.

Here we have all the keys; and, if theſe fixed and fundamental ſounds were filled up with the intermediate notes, we ſhould have all the ſcales whence the melody of Fugues and Canons was drawn, during almoſt three centuries. The chants of the church furniſhed the ſubjects, and their anſwers; the accuracy of which was proved by the ſyllables of the Guidonian Hexachords.

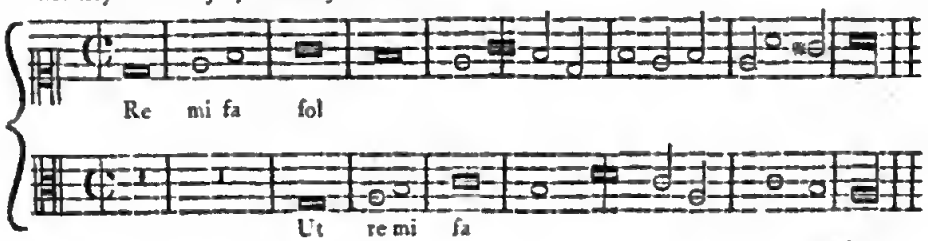
The 5th above and 5th below, or 5th and 4th of a key, either major or minor, are its firſt relatives; and as they furniſh the moſt agreeable modulation, ſo they are the only intervals, different from the identity of uniſon and octave, in which the anſwer of a regular Canon or Fugue can be made (*a*). All other replies are allowed by Theoriſts to be nothing but imitations. And the *literal* names of notes, their appearance on paper, or even effect on the ear, will not demonſtrate the truth of an anſwer to a ſubject given, with ſuch certainty, as Solmiſation; and it ſeems as if the Guidonian ſyllables would be more uſeful in this ſpecies of compoſition, than in ſinging (*b*).

I have

(*a*) If, for inſtance, the ſubject of a fugue was delivered in any ſeries of notes belonging to the Hexachord of C Major, the anſwer ſhould be in one of the other two Hexachords of F or G, its 4th and 5th, in the ſame intervals, and ſyllables. In a minor key the ſame rules ſhould be obſerved, remembering that no accident of b, ♯, or ♮, ſhould have admiſſion in the anſwer, which does not occur in the ſubject. The relative minor keys to a major, and major to a minor, are, reciprocally, the 3ds above and 3ds below, which furniſh *imitations*, but not *anſwers*, to ſubjects of Fugue.

e a b minor. { c f g major.
C F G major. { A D E minor.
a d e minor. { f b c major.

(*b*) Pietro Aaron, in his *Lucidario in Muſica*, publiſhed 1545, gives the following little movement, as a proof, that a Fugue, in appearance, is not always a Fugue, *in reality*.




Many

I have dwelt the longer on theſe firſt principles of Canon and Fugue, as the lives and labours of the primitive Fathers of Harmony were ſpent in eſtabliſhing, and thoſe of their immediate ſucceſſors, in producing ſuch illuſtrations of them, as were not only the delight of their own age, but are ſtill the admiration of every friend to the art.

Though it has been frequently aſſerted, upon the authority of Lud. Guicciardini, and the Abbé du Bos, that Counterpoint was invented and firſt cultivated in the Netherlands, yet it ſhould be remembered that Guido, who furniſhed the Muſical Scale and ſyſtem ſtill in uſe; Marchetto da Padua, who firſt attempted modern Chromatic, or Secular Modulation; and Franchino Gafforio, who produced the firſt practical treatiſe upon Compoſition, were *Italians*.

It is well known, and generally allowed, that it was the cuſtom in the middle ages, during times of the greateſt mental darkneſs, when reaſon and reflexion were the leaſt cultivated, for the prieſts, of almoſt every part of Europe, to viſit Rome, in order to learn Canto Fermo, and the manner of performing thoſe rites of the church, in which muſic had any concern (*c*). Even thoſe hiſtorians who are the leaſt friends to bigotry, and the moſt

Many of the rules of Fugue, it muſt be owned, were frivolous, and often followed with ſuch rigour and pedantry, as merited reprobation; for all rules in muſic, deduced from any other principle than *effect on the ear*, are abſurd. If that ſenſe, which this art was invented to delight, be ſatisfied, what title has the eye to take offence, though a ſharp, flat, or other accident, interrupt the apparent ſymmetry of intervals? However, it was chiefly in Fugues, which were wholly built on fragments of *Canto fermo*, that ſuch Rules were thought indiſpenſable; for in ſecular muſic, compoſed upon ſubjects of invention, where the eccleſiaſtical ſcales have been abandoned, more latitude, both of ſubject and reply, has been taken by the greateſt maſters of the art; as will appear from the ſpecimens of their abilities in this kind of Compoſition, which will be inſerted in the courſe of the work.

It is upon the *Hexachords* that Dr. Pepuſch has founded all his rules of Fugue: *Treatiſe of Harmony*; Mr. Marpurg, *Traité de la Fugue*, has likewiſe had recourſe to *Solmiſation, à la Françoiſe*, for explaining his precepts; and Padre Martini, in his learned and admirable *Saggio di Contrapunto*, recommends *ſyllabic* demonſtration to ſtudents in church Muſic, where Fugue and Canon have ſtill, and will ever have, their champions, among the friends of maſterly compoſition, and local propriety.

(*c*) King Pepin, Charlemagne, and Alfred, had applied to the Roman Pontiffs for ſinging maſters to inſtruct their ſubjects.

ready to combat ſuperſtition and papal uſurpations (*d*), allow that it was only at the court of Rome that the arts of elegance and refinement were at all cheriſhed, during theſe times.

And in the fifteenth century, when we firſt hear of Harmony in four parts, and Maſſes ſet to figurative Muſic, it was for the uſe of the Pope's Chapel that the greateſt efforts of genius in compoſition were excited among the candidates for favour in that art, by the double certainty of having their labours liberally rewarded, and their productions well performed. And if we find that many of the compoſers of the Pontifical Chapel were Netherlanders, and the ſingers Spaniards, it does not neceſſarily follow that the Italians had either Counterpoint, or the art of ſinging, from the Low Countries, or from Spain. The Roman College of Singers had been eſtabliſhed and celebrated during ſo many ages, that we may as well imagine theſe foreigners went to Rome to *learn* muſic, as to *teach* it.

We know, in later times, that many of the greateſt Muſicians of Europe have either had their education in Italy, or thought it as neceſſary to viſit that country as the ancient Roman philoſophers to travel into Greece, or the Grecians into Ægypt. Orlando di Laſſo, Handel, Haſſe, Gluck, and J. C. Bach, went thither very early, and may be ſaid to have formed their ſtyles on the beſt models of that country (*e*).

(*d*) See Hume's Hiſtory, at the cloſe of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VIII. chap. 3.

(*e*) The firſt motets of Orlando that were publiſhed at Antwerp, by Tylman Suſato, 1555, were ſaid to be made *à la nouvelle compoſition d'aucuns d'Italie*; as the firſt productions of Handel, that were publiſhed in England, were ſaid to be compoſed *by an eminent ITALIAN maſter*; Haſſe went very young into Italy, and was a ſcholar of AleſſandroScarlatti; however, his clear and graceful ſtyle more reſembled that of Vinci and Pergoleſi, his competitors in the natural, ſimple, and elegant manner of writing for the voice, than that of either Scarlatti, his maſter, or Kaiſer, his countryman, and firſt model. The late excellent compoſer, Mr. J. C. Bach, ſon and brother of two of the greateſt muſicians that ever exiſted, is allowed to have been a fine player on keyed inſtruments, before he went into Italy; but his vocal muſic is certainly more in the ſtyle of Italy, than of his native country.

The

The learned Juſquin went thither as a ſinger (*f*), during the pontificate of Sixtus the Fourth. And before the year 1600, the names of near twenty Spaniſh ſingers and compoſers are recorded, who were employed in the pontifical chapel. Yet all this proves nothing more than that Muſicians of great abilities, from whatever part of the world they came, were certain of encouragement there.

It is, however, very true, that in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, many excellent Flemiſh compoſers were diſperſed all over Europe; but the Netherlanders had long been in poſſeſſion of its chief manufactures and commerce; and, as the polite arts are children of affluence, and dependent on ſuperfluity for ſupport, it is natural to ſuppoſe that they would thrive well at this period, particularly during the reigns of the Emperors Charles the Fifth, and Francis the Firſt of France, who were not only both lovers and encouragers of muſic, but ſuch knights-errant, that they lived leſs in their own capitals than elſewhere, and we find that the arts followed them wherever they went.

This reflexion will, perhaps, a little abate our wonder, at the great number of muſicians which French Flanders, and the Spaniſh Netherlands, produced, if it be recollected that Bruſſels, Antwerp, Mons, Cambray, &c. were frequently the reſidence of theſe munificent princes (*g*).

(*f*) Adami, *Oſſerv. per ben reg. il Coro della Cap. Pontif.* p. 159.

(*g*) Rabelais, in the prologue to the third book of his Pantagruel, written in 1552, (*voyez* To. 5. p. 52. *partie 2de. du Rabelais Moderne*, Amſt. 1752.) names ſixty *et autres joyeulx Muſiciens*, whom he had heard perform, the chief of whom were Netherlanders; and Lod. Guicciardini (*Deſcrit. di tutti i Paeſi Baſſi*) enumerates fourteen great muſicians of that country, who were dead at the time he wrote, 1566; and gives a more conſiderable liſt of ſuch as were then living. But as compoſitions of many of theſe ſtill ſubſiſt, and as I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to exhibit ſome of them, I ſhall not trouble my readers here with a dry catalogue of the names of perſons, who though they may have been intereſting to a great part of Europe, during the ſixteenth century, have been too long out of the world, to have many friends in it, at preſent.

With

With reſpect to the particular region, or city in Europe, where Harmony was *firſt* cultivated, till other countries can produce an earlier ſpecimen of Muſic in parts than the Song, or Round, "Sumer is i cumen in," or refute the aſſertion of Tinctor, himſelf a Netherlander, in favour of our countryman, Dunſtable, who is likewiſe frequently cited by Franchinus, we ſeem to have the faireſt claim to the honour. If the Italians were the firſt, as they were afterwards the beſt muſicians, of modern times, they have been negligent, in not giving inconteſtible proofs of it. Bonadies, the maſter of Franchinus, lived certainly as early as any other good compoſer in parts, of whom any thing is preſerved; but it muſt be allowed, that we are ſtill in poſſeſſion of works by Okenheim, Joſquin, Iſaac, and Brumel, who were neither Engliſhmen nor Italians, that ſurpaſs in excellence all that can be produced, of equal antiquity, by the inhabitants of England, Italy, or any other parts of the world. We ſhall therefore, in juſtice to theſe great Harmoniſts, and the countries which gave them birth, proceed to ſpeak of them in chronological order, and give ſpecimens of their works.

And among theſe, JOHN OKENHEIM deſerves the firſt notice, as he is the oldeſt compoſer in parts, on the continent, of whoſe works I have been able to find any remains. M. le Duchat, in his notes upon Rabelais, ſays he was a native of Hainault, and treaſurer of St. Martin de Tours; but I believe this aſſertion was hazarded more with the patriotic view of making Okenheim as much a Frenchman as poſſible, than from proof or conviction; for he was always ſpoken of as a Netherlander by his cotemporaries, Tinctor, Franchinus, and even in the *Deploration*, or Dirge, written upon his death, which his ſcholar, Juſquin, ſet to muſic in five parts, as well as in the following, which was ſet by Guillaume Creſpel:

*Agricola,*

*Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,*
*Joſquin des Pres, Gaſpard, Brunel, Compere,*
*Ne parlez plus de joyeulx chants, ne ris,*
*Mais compoſez un* ne recorderis,
*Pour lamenter noſtre Maiſtre et bon Pere.*

There is ſtill another Dirge, in Latin (*b*), on the death of Okenheim, ſet to Muſic by Lupi, a Netherlander, and compoſer of eminence in the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Many of whoſe Latin Motets, and French Songs, in parts, are preſerved in the Muſeum Collections, as are thoſe of Creſpel, the compoſer of the French *Deploration*, juſt cited.

Little more is recorded concerning the life of Okenheim, than that he was a Netherlander, who flouriſhed in the 15th century, produced many learned and elaborate compoſitions for the church, and had many ſcholars, by whom he ſeems to have been much beloved and reſpected. It is, indeed, often mentioned to his honour, that he was the maſter of Juſquin (*i*): but he ſeems to have been as fortunate in a diſciple, as Juſquin in a maſter: as no great profeſſor is ſure of making great ſcholars in any art, unleſs he have genius and diligence to direct; and it is only from ſuch fortunate and rare concurrences that the narrow limits of mediocrity are ſurpaſſed, or the wild effuſions of youthful ardour reſtrained.

None of the muſical writers of the ſixteenth century forget to tell us that Okenheim compoſed a Motet in thirty-ſix parts: of what theſe parts conſiſted, or how they were diſpoſed, is not related by Ornithoparcus, Glareanus, Zarlino, or any one who mentions the circumſtance, which all ſeem to have received from tradition. But of our countryman, Bird, a

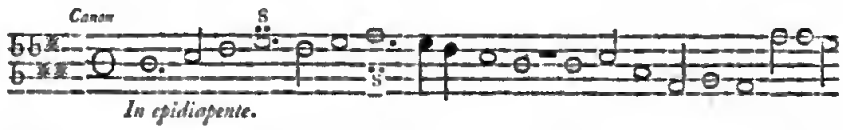
(*b*) *Nænia in* Joannem OKegi, *Muſicorum principem.*

(*i*) Padre Martini calls him, *Il famoſo Maeſtro del famoſiſſimo Gioſquino del prato.* Stor. To. I. 333.

Song

Song is ſtill preſerved in forty parts (*k*); yet though I have ſeen this effort of ſcience and labour, its effects muſt ſtill be left to imagination, for where ſhall we find forty voices, aſſembled together, that are able to perform it (*l*)?

We may, however, deduct from the reputation of Okenheim all the increaſe it received from the ſtory of his Polyphonic Compoſition, and there will ſtill remain ſufficient cauſe for the reſpect and wonder of Contrapuntiſts, in the fragments only of his works which have been preſerved in the *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus. This writer tells us, that he was fond of the Καθολικα in the cantus; that is, of compoſing a melody which may be ſung in various modes, or keys, at the pleaſure of the performer, obſerving only the ratio, or relation of conſonant notes in the harmony (*m*). From the following ſingle part, which may be led off in any key, with either a flat, or a ſharp third, two other parts may be extracted, a fifth lower, beginning at the diſtance of a *perfect Breve*, or whole meaſure, after each other (*n*.)




*In epidiapente.*

(*k*) It is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Bremner in the Strand, and will be further deſcribed hereafter.

(*l*) If there had been more frequent rehearſals of the *Miſerere* of Leo, in 8 real parts, which Anſani had performed laſt year, 1781, at the Pantheon, by more than 40 voices, I can conceive from ſuch movements as were correctly executed, that the effects of the whole would have been wonderful, and greatly have ſurpaſſed all the expectation which the high reputation of the compoſer, and the uncommon magnitude of the enterprize, had excited. I am at preſent in poſſeſſion of the Maſs by Benevoli, in twenty-four parts, for ſix choirs, mentioned p. 11, and a movement for twelve ſopranos, or treble voices, of equal extent. There can be little melody in any of theſe multiplied parts; but to make them move at all, without violation of rule, requires great meditation and experience.

(*m*) This ſeems to imply no more than that the ſinger, as was uſual in old muſic, ſhould himſelf diſcover and expreſs the accidental flats and ſharps, without which, however eccleſiaſtical the melody might look, the harmony would be intolerable; and indeed this kind of muſic ſeems more calculated to pleaſe the *Eye* than the *Ear*.

(*n*) By this injunction of reſting a *perfect time*, with the circular modal ſign at the beginning, all doubt is removed concerning the *time* of this movement, which is certainly *triple*, though ſome have erroneouſly imagined it to be in *common* time.

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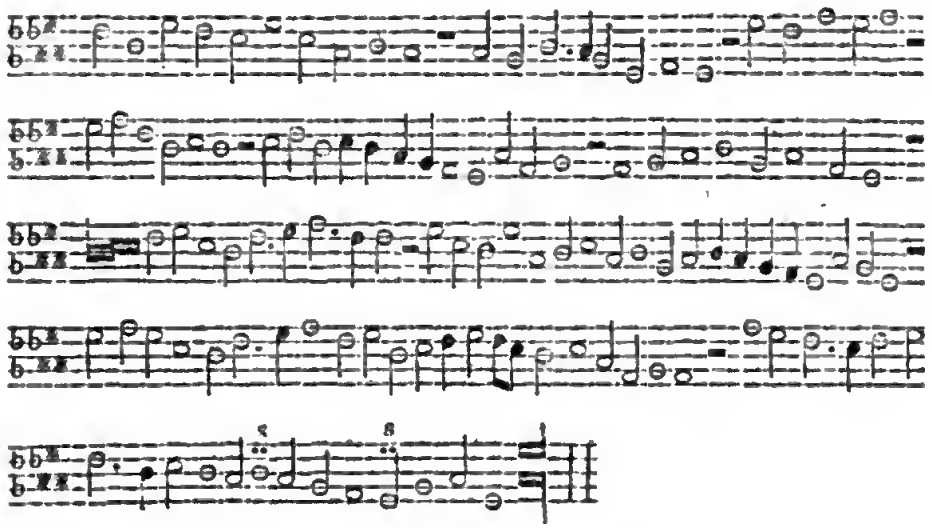
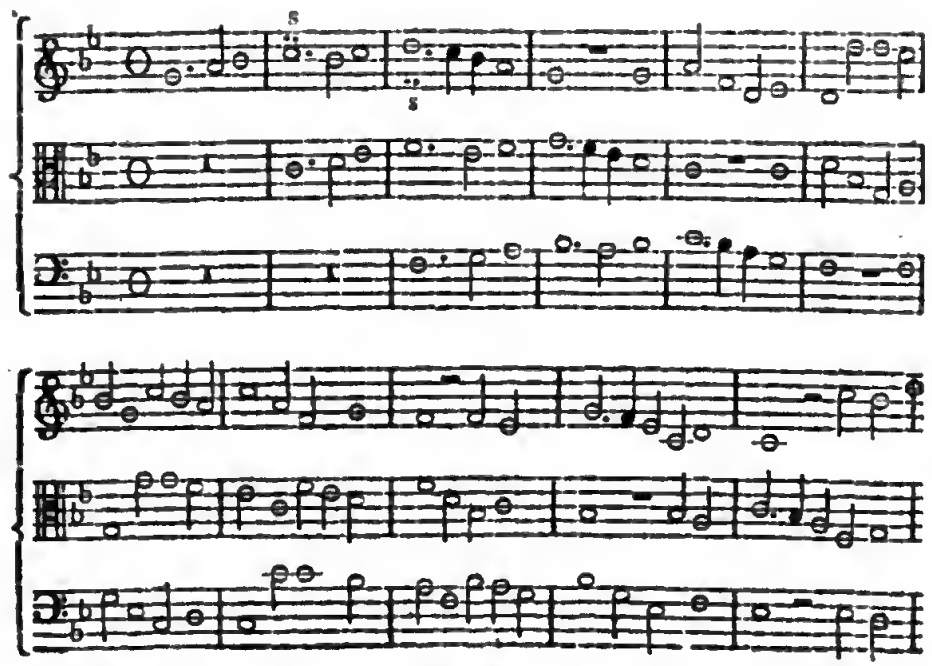
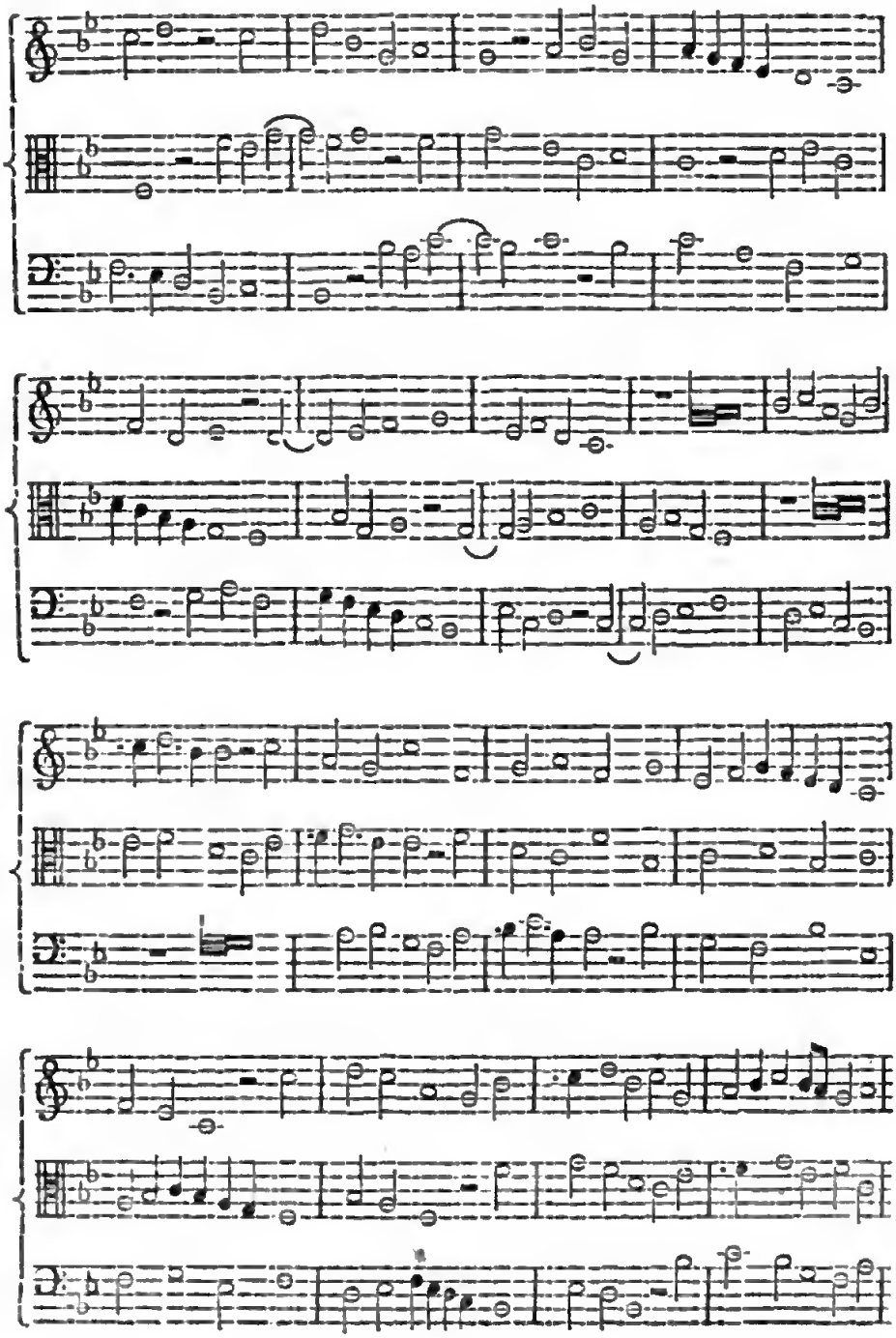
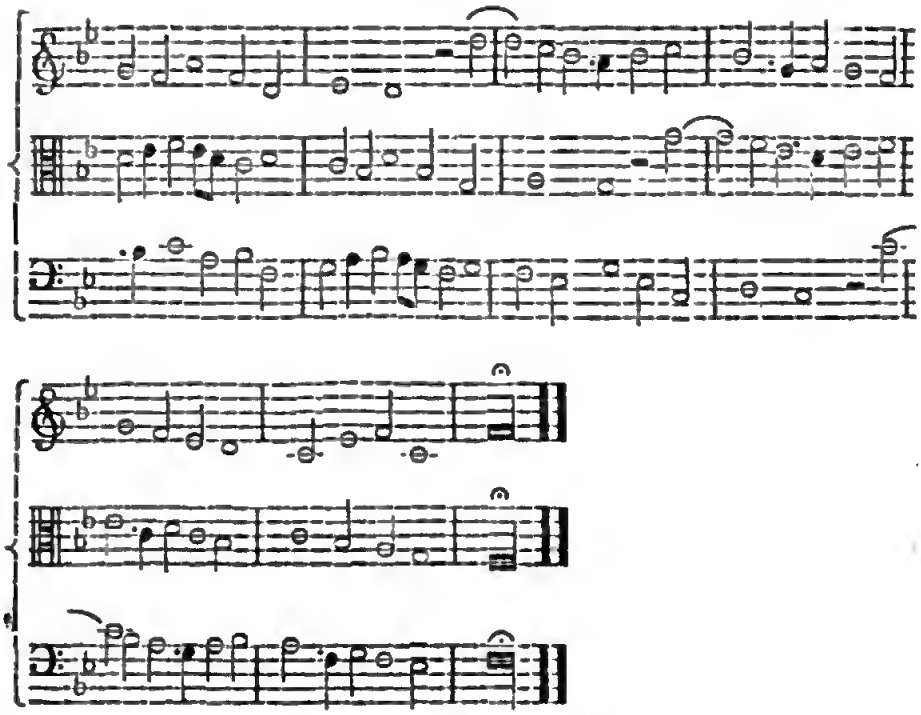


SOLUTION.

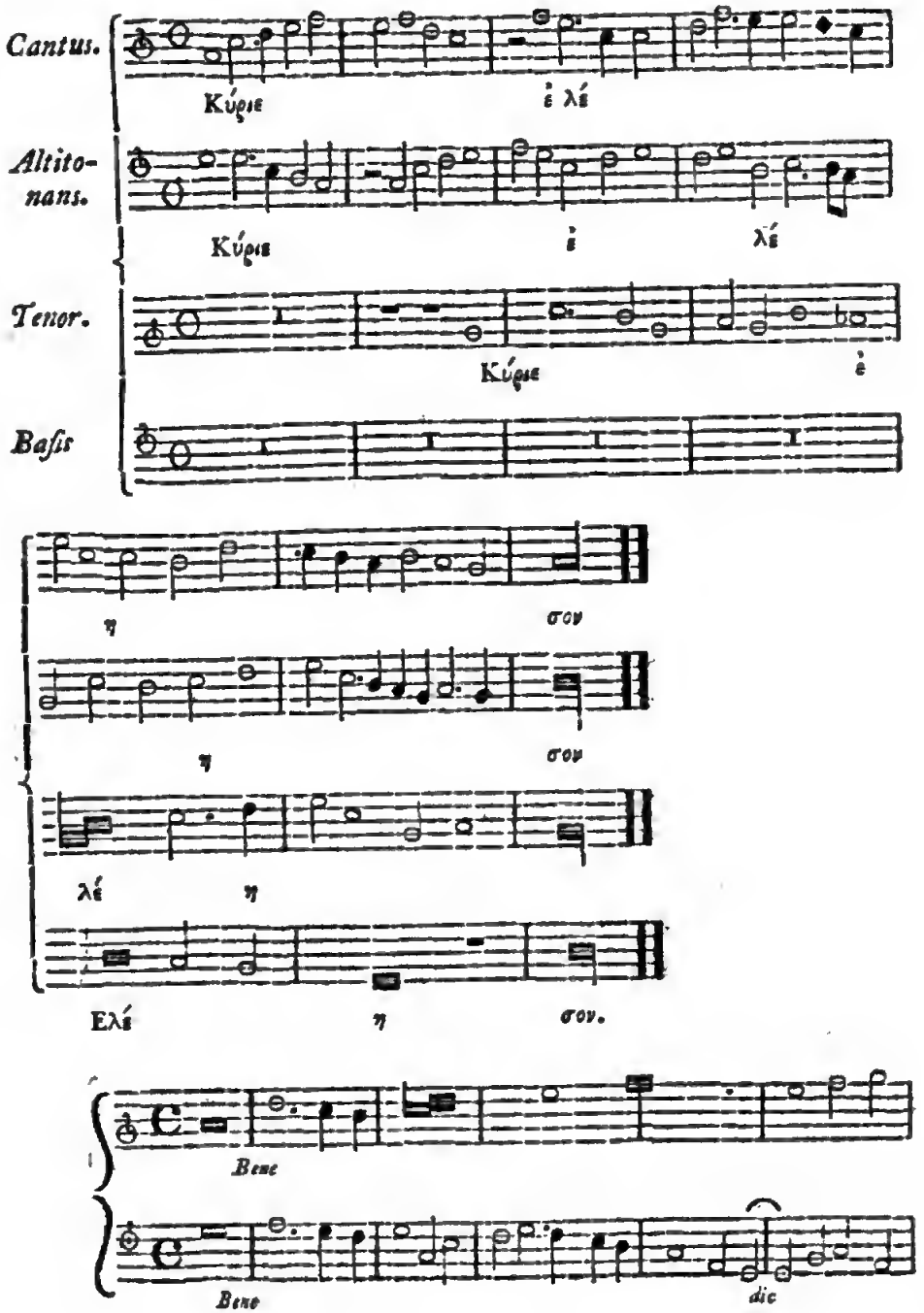






Okenheim likewiſe compoſed a Maſs for three and four voices, *ad omnem tonum*, which, as the words imply, might be ſung in any of the three ſpecies of Diateſſaron, each part beginning at *ut*, *re*, *mi*, or in *c*, *f*, *g*, major, and *d*, *e*, *a*, minor, on which account no indicial Clef is marked; as the performer, at ſetting off, has his choice of any of the modes, or eccleſiaſtical keys. Indeed all the Fragments from Okenheim are inſerted in Glareanus without Bars, Clefs, or accidental flats and ſharps.

In whatever Tone the following *Kyrie* is begun by the *Cantus*, if the *Altus* takes the ſame note, and the *Tenor* and *Baſe* the octave below, the Harmony will be found correct, provided the neceſſary flats and ſharps are remembered. The circle, with a note of interrogation, placed at the beginning of each line, where the Clef ſhould be, ſeems to aſk the Singer, in what Key or Clef he means to begin?


Cantus.
Κύριε
ἐ λέ
Altito-
nans.
Κύριε
ἐ
λέ
Tenor.
Κύριε
ἐ
Baſis
η
σον
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Ελέ
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Bene
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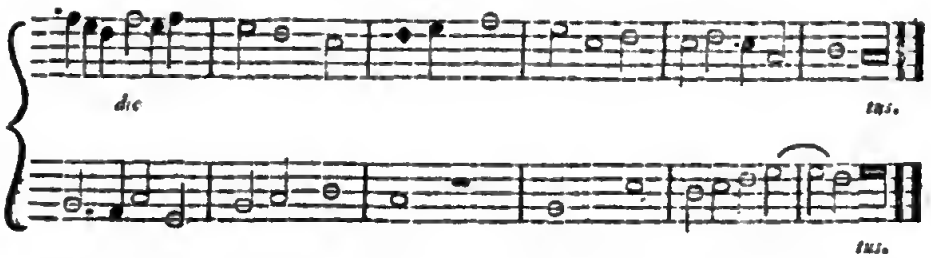


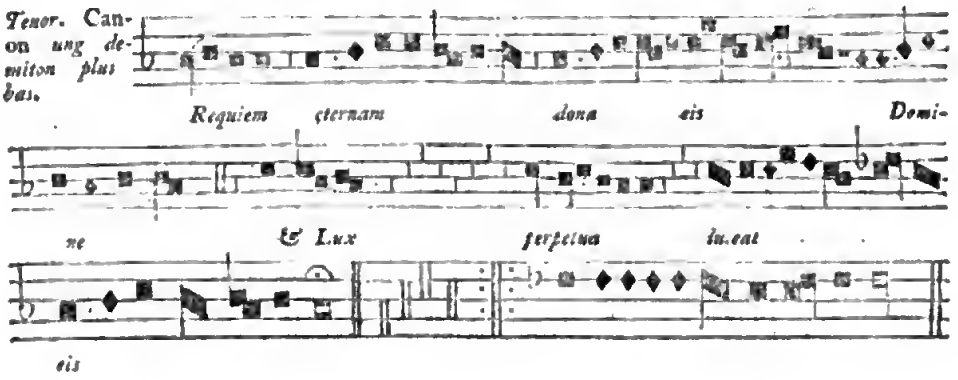

Theſe compoſitions are given rather as ſpecimens of a determined ſpirit of patient perſeverance, than as models of imitation. In Muſic, different from all other arts, learning and labour ſeem to have preceded taſte and invention, from both which the times under conſideration are ſtill very remote. But as the Chants of the Church were the ground-work of all compoſition at this period, the ears of the congregation ſeem to have been leſs conſulted than the eye of the performer, who was to ſolve canonical myſteries, and diſcover latent beauties of ingenuity and contrivance, about which the hearers were indifferent, provided the general Harmony was pleaſing. However, the Performer's attention was kept on the ſtretch, and perhaps he gained in mental amuſement, what was wanting in ſenſual.

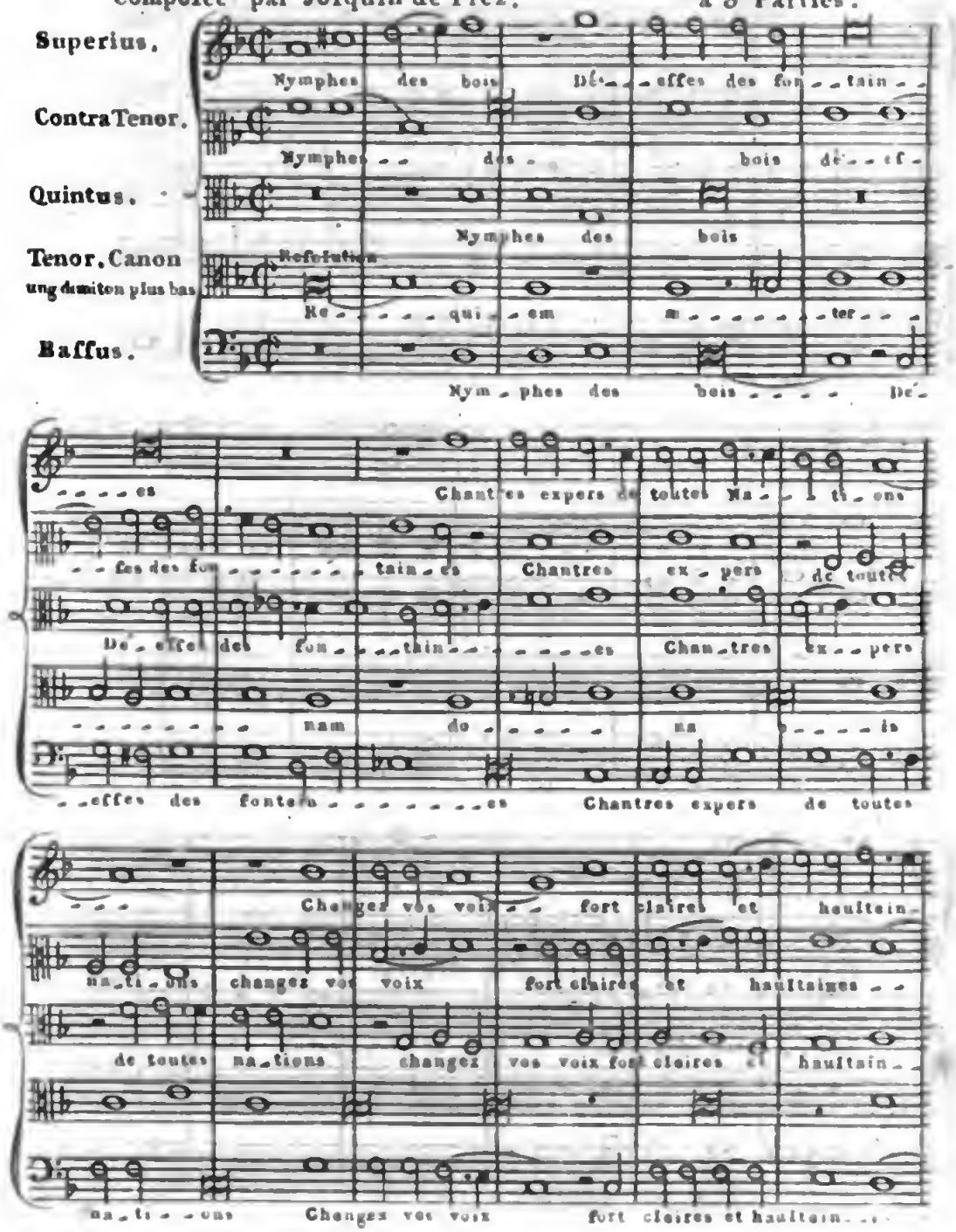
It is not certain when Okenheim died; but he is generally mentioned as a compoſer of the 15th century, and I have met with no proof of his exiſting in the next. In a ſet of old French ſongs, in five and ſix parts, printed at Antwerp, 1544, there is the following Dirge on his death; the language ſeems to be that of the 15th century. The muſic is printed entirely in black Breves, Semibreves, and Minims, which I have never ſeen in Secular Muſic elſewhere, after the invention of types. It is printed in ſeparate parts, without bars, clefs, or character for time. The difficulties I encountered in ſcoring this compoſition are not to be deſcribed, and I am aſhamed to confeſs how much time and meditation I beſtowed upon it; for, after I had diſcovered the clefs of the other parts, and the meaſure,

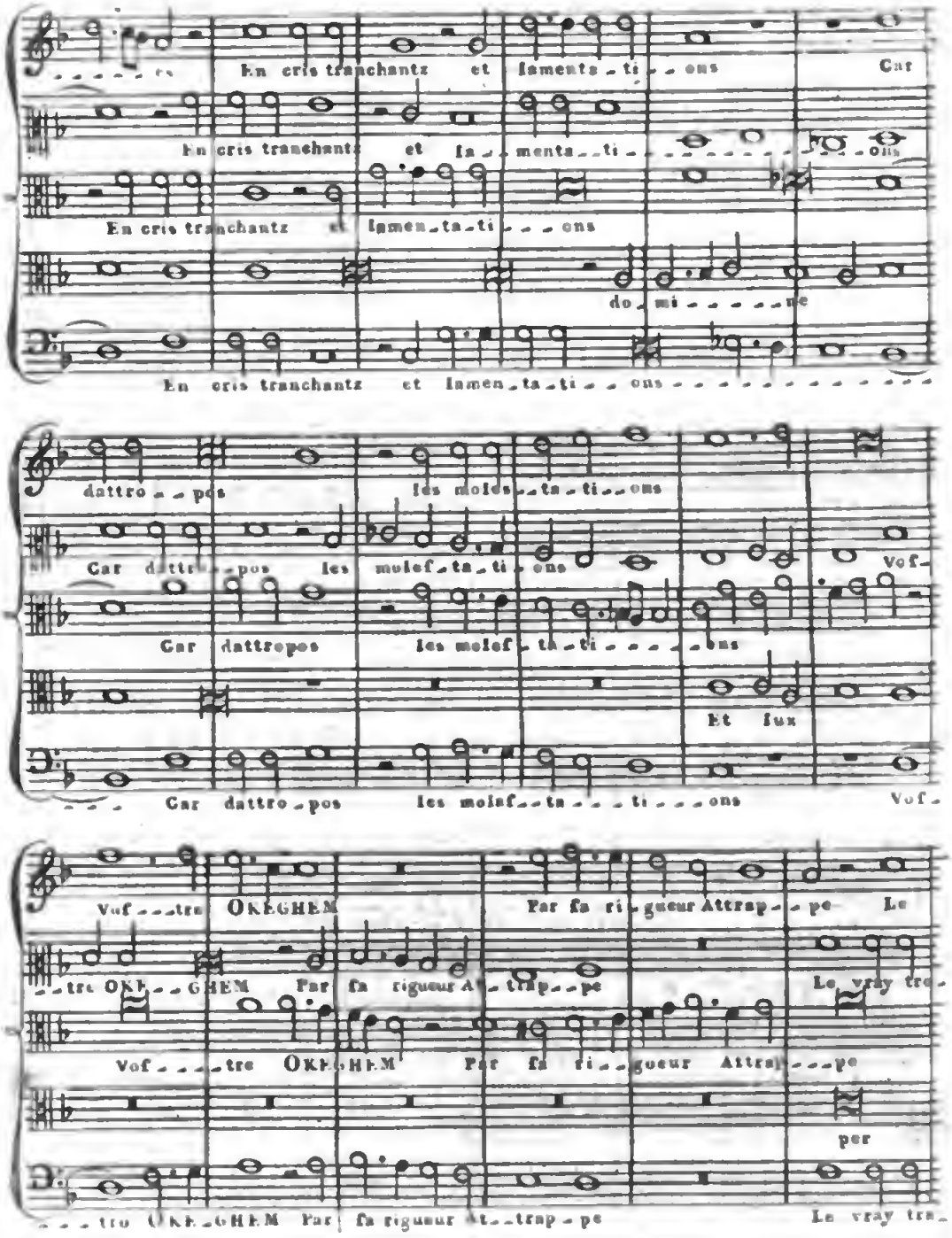
I was

I was thrown into deſpair by the *Tenor*, which is ſaid to be a CANON, *ung demiton plus bas*, and I was equally unable to find a clef which would harmonize with the other parts, or make it a Canon to itſelf. At length, in ſcoring a five-part French Song, by Joſquin, I diſcovered, by chance, what I ſhould never have found by ſtudy, that by the word *Canon* he does not always mean a *perpetual Fugue*, but ſome myſtery which the performer is to unravel; according to the definition of John Tinctor, his cotemporary, who ſays: "CANON *eſt regula vo-* "*luntatem compoſitoris ſub* OBSCURITATE *quadam oſtendens.*" And the obſcurity in the preſent Canon ſeems only that of *tranſpoſition*. The flat which is printed on the ſecond ſpace implied the contralto clef; and by beginning the firſt note, which is likewiſe on the ſecond ſpace, half a tone lower, upon A, the whole will agree very well with the other parts. Another reaſon for ſuppoſing that nothing more was meant, is, that the Dirge is ſaid to be *à cinq parties*; now, if another part were extracted in Canon with the Tenor, which I cannot ſee poſſible, there would be a ſixth part; and the harmony ſeems complete without it. Before I exhibit a Score of this Dirge, I ſhall inſert a *Fac-ſimile* of the Tenor part, which is ſaid to be in *Canon*, in order to afford the learned Muſical Reader an opportunity of exerciſing his ſagacity in its reſolution, if it ſhould be different from that which I have given.

*La Deploration de Johan Okenheim, à 5 Parties.*




Superius.
Contra Tenor.
Quintus.
Tenor. Canon
ung demiton plus bas
Baffus.
Nymphes des bois Dé- effes des fon- tain-
Nymphes des bois dé- ef-
Nymphes des bois
Refolution
Re- qui- em m- ter-
Nym- phes des bois Dé-
es
Chantres expers de toutes Na- ti- ons
fes des fon- tain- es
Chantres ex- pers de toutes
De- effes des fon- thain- es
Chan- tres ex- pers
nam do- na
effes des fontain- es
Chantres expers de toutes
Changez vos voix fort claires et haultein-
na- ti- ons
changez vos voix
fort claires et haultaines
de toutes na- tions
changez vos voix fort claires et haultain-
na- ti- ons
Changez vos voix
fort claires et haultain-


En cris tranchantz et lamenta-ti-ons Car
En cris tranchantz et la-menta-ti-ons
En cris tranchantz et lamen-ta-ti-ons
do-mi-ne
dattro-pos les moles-ta-ti-ons
Car dattro-pos les molef-ta-ti-ons Vof-
Car dattropos les molef-ta-ti-ons
Et lux
Car dattro-pos les molef-ta-ti-ons Vof-
Vof-tre OKEGHEM Par fa ri-gueur Attrap-pe Le
-tre OKE-GHEM Par fa rigueur At-trap-pe Le vray tre-
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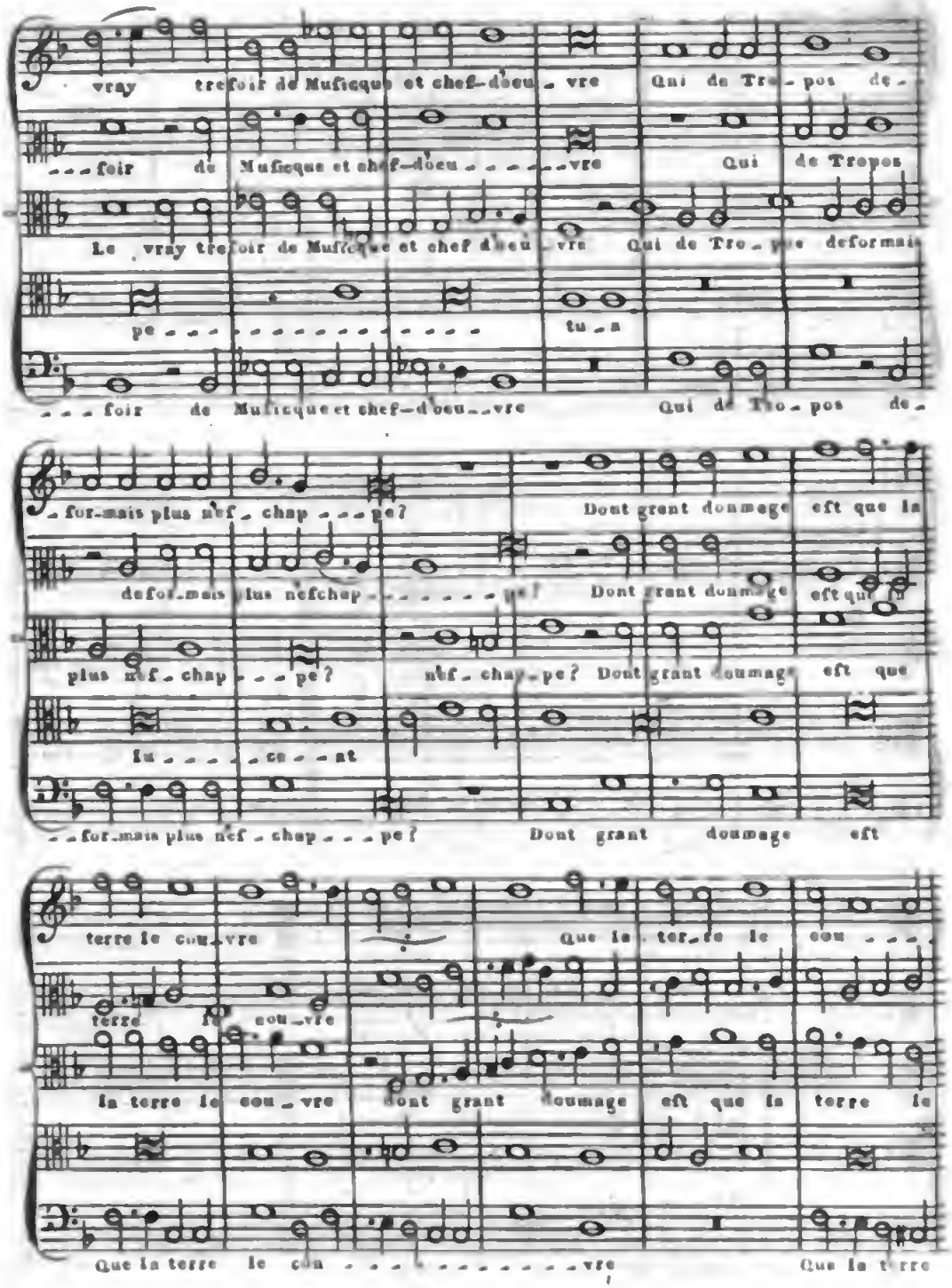
per
-tre OKE-GHEM Par fa rigueur At-trap-pe Le vray tre-


vray trefoir de Muficque et chef-d'oeu-vre Qui de Tro-pos de-
-foir de Muficque et chef-d'oeu-vre Qui de Tropos
Le vray trefoir de Muficque et chef d'oeu-vre Qui de Tro-pos deformais
pe- tu-a
-foir de Muficque et chef-d'oeu-vre Qui de Tro-pos de-
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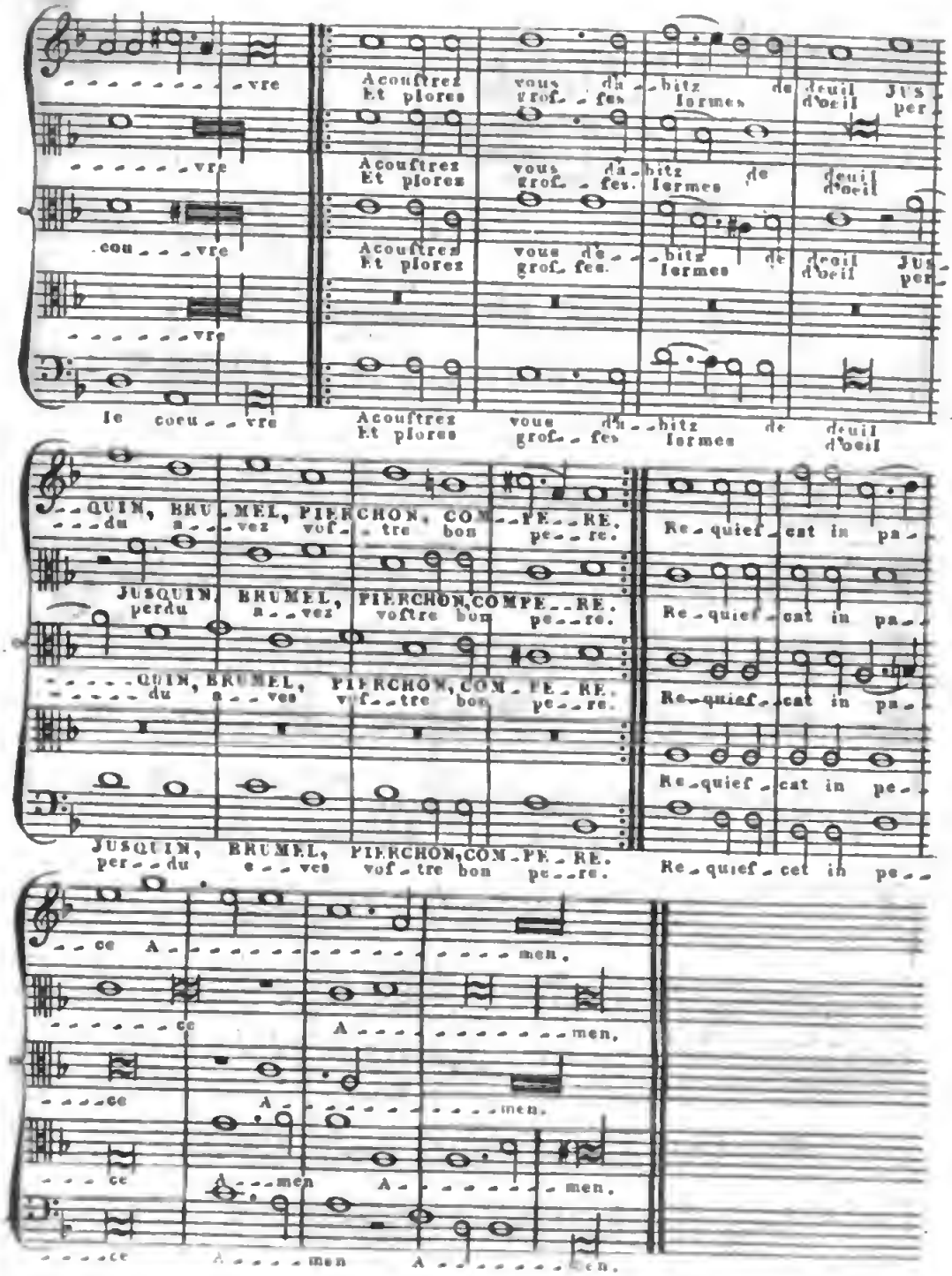


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The next great Contrapuntiſt, of the Flemiſh School, to Okenheim, was his Scholar, IOSQUIN DES PREZ, DEL PRATO, or, as he was ſtyled in Latin, IODOCUS PRATENSIS, the author of the preceding Dirge, whoſe compoſitions for the church, though long laid aſide, and become obſolete by the gradual changes in Notation, continue ſtill to merit the attention of the curious. Indeed the laws and difficulties of Canon, Fugue, Augmentation, Diminution, Reverſion, and almoſt every other ſpecies of learned contrivance allowable in eccleſiaſtical compoſitions for voices, were never ſo well obſerved, or happily vanquiſhed, as by Joſquin; who may juſtly be called the father of modern harmony, and the inventor of almoſt every ingenious contexture of its conſtituent parts, near a hundred years before the time of Paleſtrina, Orlando di Laſſo, Tallis, or Bird, the great muſical luminaries of the 16th century, whoſe names and works are ſtill held in the higheſt reverence, by all true judges and lovers of what appears to me the true and genuine ſtyle of Choral Compoſitions.

This ingenious, learned, and voluminous compoſer, is enumerated by Lewis Guicciardini (*a*), among Flemiſh Muſicians. However, the conſtant addition of Pratenſis, or Del Prato, to his name, ſeems rather to make him a native of *Prato* in Tuſcany; and the frequent mention that is made of him by Italian writers, implies at leaſt, if he was not a native of Italy, that he had lived there, and that his works were very familiar to them; for not only by the name of Joſquino, Jodoco del Prato, is he often mentioned by Franchinus, and all the muſical writers of Italy in the next age, as a moſt excellent compoſer, but by miſcellaneous writers, who only ſpeak of muſic incidentally. As a proof of this, I need give no better authority than the following paſſage in Caſtiglione's admirable *Cortegiano*.

(*a*) *Deſcritt. di tutti i Paeſi baſſi*, p. 42.

This

This author, ſpeaking of the operations of prejudice in favour of great names, tells us of the eagerneſs and delight with which a polite company of his acquaintance had read a copy of verſes, ſuppoſing them to have been written by Sannazaro, who afterwards, when it was certain that they were not of his compoſition, thought them execrable. "So likewiſe, ſays one of the interlocutors, a Motet ſung before the "Ducheſs of Urbino, was unnoticed, till it was known to be "the production of *Joſquin*."

Franchinus (*b*), enumerating the great Muſicians of his time, ſpecifies Tinctor, Gulielmus, Guarnerius, *Juſquin de Pret*, Gaſpar, Agricola, Loyſet, Obrecht, Brumel, Iſaac, and calls them *moſt delightful Compoſers (c)*.

The ſame author, in another work (*d*), lets us know that he had been perſonally acquainted with Joſquin: for, ſpeaking of ſome inaccuracies in the Seſquialterate proportion, he ſays: *Di queſti inconvenienti ne advertite gia* molti anni *paſſati* Juſquin Deſpriet *et* Gaſpar *digniſſimi Compoſitori*. This was printed in 1508, ſo that "many years ago," muſt throw theſe compoſers far back into the 15th century; and, he adds, "though they acquieſced in my opinions, yet, having been "corrupted by *long habit*, they were unable to adopt them."

Zarlino (*e*), who likewiſe ſpeaks of him among the *pratici periti*, gives another inſtance of predilection in favour of Juſquin at Rome *(f)*, "which, ſays he, was at the expence of "my friend, the admirable Adrian Willaert, who has often him-"ſelf confirmed the fact." The Motet *verbum bonum et Suave*, for ſix voices (*g*), having been long performed in the Pontifical Chapel at Rome, on the feſtival of our Lady, as the production of Joſquin, was thought to be one of the fineſt compo-

(*b*) *Pract. Muſ.* lib. iii. cap. 12.
(*c*) *Jocundiſſimi Compoſitores.*
(*d*) *Angel. ac. Div. opus Muſicæ Tract.* 5. *Cap.* 6.
(*e*) *Parte 4ta.* p. 346.
(*f*) Ib. p. 175.
(*g*) We ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak of this compoſition hereafter.

ſitions

ſitions of the time; but Willaert, having quitted Flanders, in order to viſit Rome, in the time of Leo X. and finding that this Motet was ſung as the compoſition of Joſquin, whoſe name was affixed to it in the Chapel books, ventured to declare it to be his own work, and not that of the famous Joſquin: but ſo great was the ignorance, envy, and prejudice of the ſingers, that, after this declaration, the Motet was never again performed in the Pontifical Chapel.

Adami (*h*), in his hiſtorical liſt of the Singers in the Pope's Chapel, mentions Joſquin next to Guido, as one of the great cultivators and ſupporters of Church Muſic; he calls him "*Uomo inſigne per l'inventione*," and ſays that he was a Singer in the Pontifical Chapel during the time of Sixtus the Fourth (*i*).

After quitting Italy he was appointed Maeſtro di Capella to Lewis the Twelfth of France, who reigned from 1498 to 1515, and it is hardly probable that ſuch an honour ſhould have been conferred upon him till he had arrived at great eminence in his profeſſion; he muſt either have acquired the publie favour by his works or performance, before he could be noticed by a ſovereign: indeed the impediments to their approximation muſt have been reciprocal, and it has been well obſerved, that it is as difficult for a prince to get at a man of merit, as it is for a man of merit to approach a prince.

It is related (*k*), that when Joſquin was firſt admitted into the ſervice of Lewis, he had been promiſed a *beneſice* by his majeſty (*l*); but this prince, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, for he was in general both juſt and liberal, forgot the promiſe he had made to his Maeſtro di Capella; when Joſquin, after ſuffering great inconvenience from the ſhortneſs of his Majeſty's memory, ventured by a ſingular expedient to remind him public-

(*h*) *Offerv. per ben regolare il Coro della Cap. Pontif.*

(*i*) This Pontiff reigned from 1471 to 1484.

(*k*) Glareano, *Dodecachordon*, p. 441.

(*l*) This ſeems to imply that Joſquin was an Eccleſiaſtic.

ly of his promiſe, without giving offence; for being commanded to compoſe a Motet for the Chapel Royal, he choſe part of the 119th Pſalm: *Memor eſto verbi tui ſervo tuo*; "Oh "think of thy ſervant, as concerning thy word;" which he ſet in ſo ſupplicating and exquiſite a manner, that it was univerſally admired, particularly by the King, who was not only charmed with the muſic, but felt the force of the words ſo effectually, that he ſoon after granted his petition, by conferring on him the promiſed preferment. For which act of juſtice and munificence, Joſquin, with equal felicity, compoſed, as a hymn of gratitude, another part of the ſame Pſalm: *Bonitatem feciſti cum ſervo tuo Domine*, "Oh Lord, thou haſt "dealt graciouſly with thy ſervant."

Joſquin ſeems to have been poſſeſſed of a certain vein of wit and humour, as well as muſical genius; of which Glareanus has given his readers ſeveral inſtances, beſides thoſe juſt related. In conſequence of the long procraſtination of the performance of Lewis XIIth's promiſe relative to the benefice, Joſquin applied to a nobleman, in high favour at court, to uſe his intereſt with this prince in his behalf, who, encouraging his hopes with proteſtations of zeal for his ſervice, conſtantly ended with ſaying, "I ſhall take care of this buſineſs, *let me alone—Laiſſe faire moi, (laiſſer moi faire)* when, at length, Joſquin tired of this vain and fruitleſs aſſurance, turned it into *Solmiſation*, and compoſed an entire Maſs on theſe ſyllables of the Hexachords: *La ſol fa re mi*; which Maſs is among the productions of our author in the Brit. Muſ. and is an admirable compoſition.

The following circumſtance, which likewiſe happened during Joſquin's reſidence at the court of France, has been recorded both by Glareanus (*m*) and Merſennus (*n*). Theſe writers inform us, that Lewis, though Muſic afforded him great pleaſure, had ſo weak and inflexible a voice, that he never was

(*m*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) *Harm. Univ. Liv. de la Voix.* p. 44.

able

able to ſing a tune, and that he defied his Maeſtro di Capella to compoſe a piece of Muſic in which it was poſſible for him to bear a part. However the Muſician accepted the challenge, and compoſed a canon for two voices, to which he added two other parts, one of which had nothing more to do than to ſuſtain a ſingle ſound, and the other only the key note, and its fifth, to be ſung alternately. Joſquin gave his Majeſty the choice of theſe two parts, and beginning with the long note, after ſome time, his royal ſcholar was enabled to continue it, as a drone to the canon, in deſpite of nature, which had never intended him for a ſinger (*o*).

Rabelais, in his prologue to the third book of Pantagruel, places Joſquin des Prez at the head of all the fifty-nine *Joyeulx Muſicines* whom he had formerly heard (*p*). Joſquin, among Muſicians, was the Giant of his time, and ſeems to have arrived at that univerſal monarchy and dominion over the affections and paſſions of the muſical part of mankind, that has been mentioned above (*q*). Indeed his compoſitions ſeem to have been as well known, and as much practiſed throughout Europe, at the beginning of the 16th century, as Handel's were, in England, about forty years ago.

In the muſic book of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. which is preſerved in the Pepys collection at Cambridge, there are ſeveral of his compoſitions; and we are told that Anne of Boleyn, during her reſidence in France, had collected and learned a great number of them. In a very beautiful MS. at the Britiſh Muſeum (*r*), conſiſting of French Songs of the 15th century, in three and four parts, there are likewiſe many of Joſquin's compoſitions (*s*). But the moſt capital collection of

(*o*) This Canon is printed in Glareanus, and Merſennus, *ubi ſupra*.

(*p*) Rabelais died in 1553, at ſeventy years of age; ſo that he might have heard Joſquin while he was in the ſervice of Lewis XIIth.

(*q*) P. 441.

(*r*) Bib. Reg. 20. A. 16.

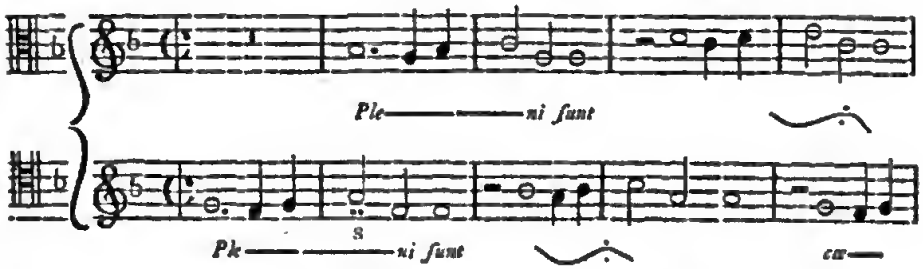
(*s*) The names of the other compoſers in this MS. are Heyne, Brumel, and Creſpieres. The parts are generally Soprano, Tenor on the third line, and Con-

of his works, and of cotemporary Contrapuntiſts, which, I believe, is now ſubſiſting, is that of the Britiſh Muſeum, already deſcribed (*t*); and as theſe productions are not only precious, from their age and ſcarcity, but intrinſic worth, I ſhall here be the more ample and diffuſe in my extracts and accounts of them.

My firſt intention was only to tranſcribe from this collection two or three movements of Joſquin's celebrated Maſs upon the old tune, called *l'Homme Armé*, as ſpecimens of his ſtyle; but I was ſo drawn on and amuſed by the author's ingenious and curious contrivances, that I ſcored the whole maſs and ſeveral others, and regard them as the moſt ſubtle and elaborate productions that I have ever ſeen in this kind of writing.

Joſquin's Maſs, *Sine Nomine* (*u*), conſiſting of upwards of twenty movements, is wholly made up of Canons in the different intervals of Diateſſaron, Diapente, Diapaſon; and one, very curious, in the ſecond above, and another in the ſecond below the ſubject.

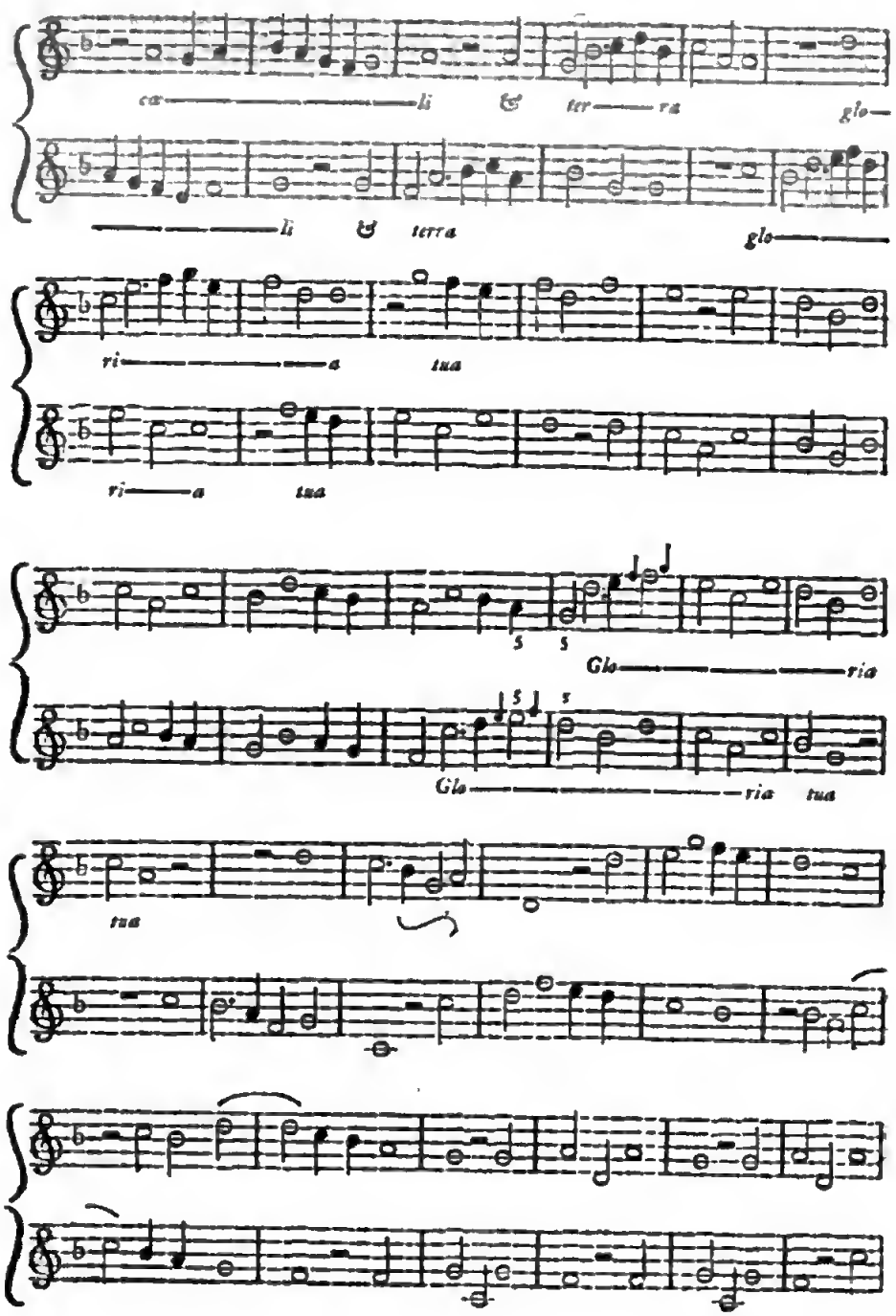
Canon, *un ton plus haut.*




tra Tenor in the clef of F, either on the third or fourth line, or of C on the fifth. In Joſquin's compoſitions, and in two or three more, the under part is called Bassus, and this is the earlieſt uſe which I have ſeen made of the word. Theſe Songs are chiefly in Fugue, and all in common time, ¢. The treble clef on the ſecond line only occurs once, and then the ſecond part is in the Soprano, the third in the Alto tenore, and the fourth in the common baſe. In the firſt ſong the loweſt part which is written in the Baſe Clef on the fourth line, is called *concordans*, a term ſtill uſed by the French for the Middle Baſe: they have *Baſſe-taille*, *Concordans*, and *Baſſe-contre*.

(*t*) P. 446.

(*u*) This is a title given by the old Maſters to ſuch Maſſes as were not compoſed on Fragments of Canto Fermo, or on Old Tunes, but on a ſubject *invented* by the author. See *Ragionamenti di Muſica, del* P. Pontio, p. 156.

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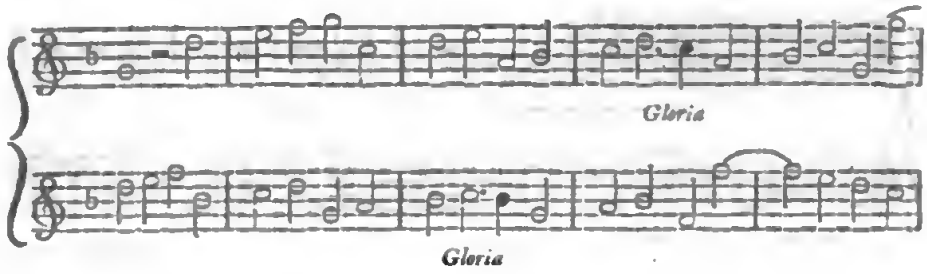
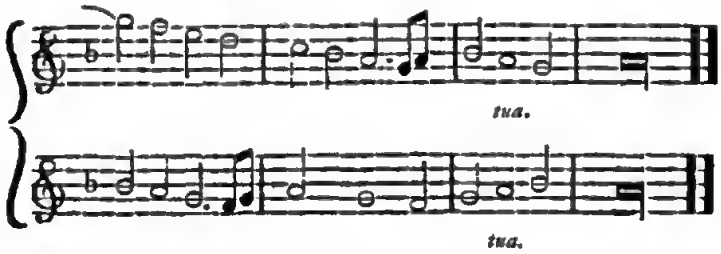
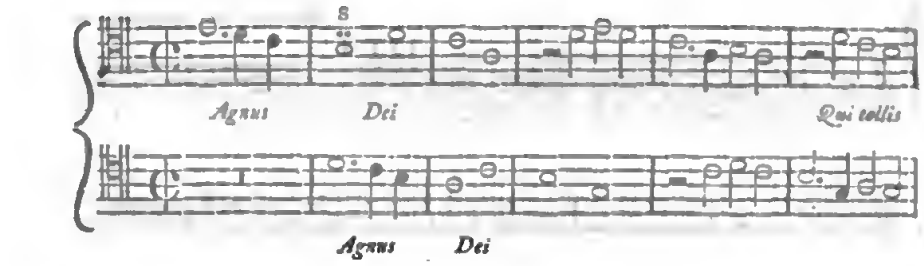
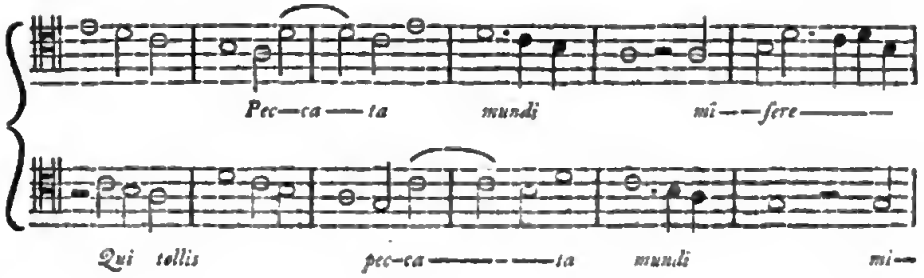
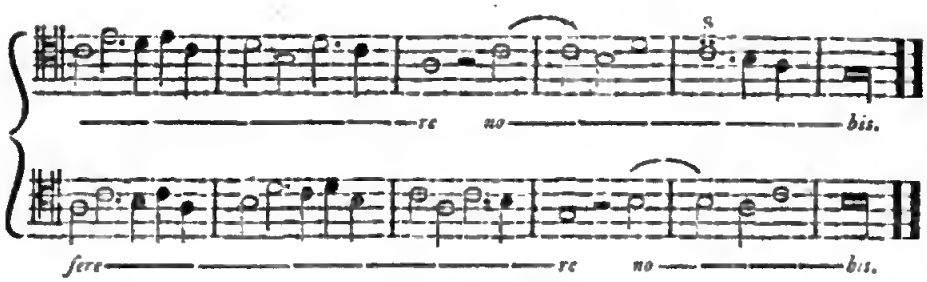



Canon, *un Ton plus bas.*






Sometimes the ſuperius, or upper part, is to be drawn out of the altus, and ſometimes out of the tenor, or baſe, without being written; a taſk the more difficult, as the ſign where they are to begin is frequently omitted.

Theſe compoſitions muſt have been ſtudied, and frequently rehearſed, before their performance; for though no rapidity of execution is required, yet, as there are no bars, and the value of the notes is frequently changed by poſition, as well as by the modal ſigns, upon very ſhort notice, this, joined to the difficult ſolution of the Canons, muſt have made it impoſſible for them to have been ſung at ſight, even by thoſe who were accuſtomed to the notation.

There are more than twenty compoſitions, by Joſquin, inſerted in Glareanus, among which are ſeveral from his celebrated Maſs, *l'Homme Armé*. P. Martini (*x*) ſuppoſes the ſubject of it to have been the tune of a Provençal ſong: *il canto d'una certa Canzone Provenzale:* but though I have taken great pains, both by enquiry and reading, to find the words to which this old melody uſed to be ſung, yet I have never been ſucceſsful. Nothing, however, has appeared to me more probable, than that this is the famous *Cantilena Rolandi*, or air to the ſong which the French *armed Champion* uſed to ſing at the head of the army, in honour of their Hero Roland, in advancing to attack an enemy (*y*).

(*x*) *Saggio di Contrap. Parte 1ma.* p. 129.

(*y*) See above, p. 275.

But

But whatever may have been the import or merit of the poem, the tune was in ſuch favour among Compoſers, at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, that not only Joſquin compoſed two different maſſes upon it, but De Orto, Pipilare, Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, and, afterwards, Morales, and Paleſtrina, in friendly contention, and trials of ſkill, made it the theme of very elaborate compoſitions for the Church (z).

In every movement of Joſquin's Maſs, ſome part or other, but generally the Tenor, is ſinging the tune in different notes and meaſures: ſometimes in augmentation, and ſometimes in diminution. In the *Kyrie*, or firſt movement, the tenor has the firſt part of the tune, which the ſuperius, or upper part, had led off; in the next movement, or *Chriſte*, it has the ſecond part. In the third, fourth, and ſixth movements, the tenor has the ſubject-tune in different and difficult notations, and in the fifth and ſeventh, the ſame part ſings it in *retro*, or, as it is called in the muſical technica of the times, *cancrizans*.

In the *Sanctus*, the ſoprano leads off the ſubject, in D minor, moving in breves and ſemibreves, accompanied by the tenor, in a free and airy melody; and, after ſix bars, the counter-tenor ſings the theme, in F major, and in augmentation; when the firſt part is finiſhed, the baſe leads off a new ſubject of cloſe imitation between that, the tenor, and the ſoprano; and while the counter-tenor is ſinging the ſecond part of the tune, the intelligent muſician will ſee ſeveral ingenious contrivances in the other three parts.

The next movement, *Pleni ſunt*, is only in trio; but the ſubjects of fugue are ſo well treated, and the texture of the parts is ſo maſterly, that I ſhall preſent it to my readers.

(z) Thoſe of Joſquin are both preſerved, as is that of De la Rue, in the Muſeum Collection; and I have made a ſcore of Paleſtrina's from the ſingle parts which Zacconi has inſerted in his *Pract. Muſ.* printed at Ven. 1596, which, though it contains many admirable combinations and contrivances, is in nothing ſuperior to that of Joſquin, except in clearneſs and facility; advantages, that a period of near a hundred years had perhaps given to muſic in general.

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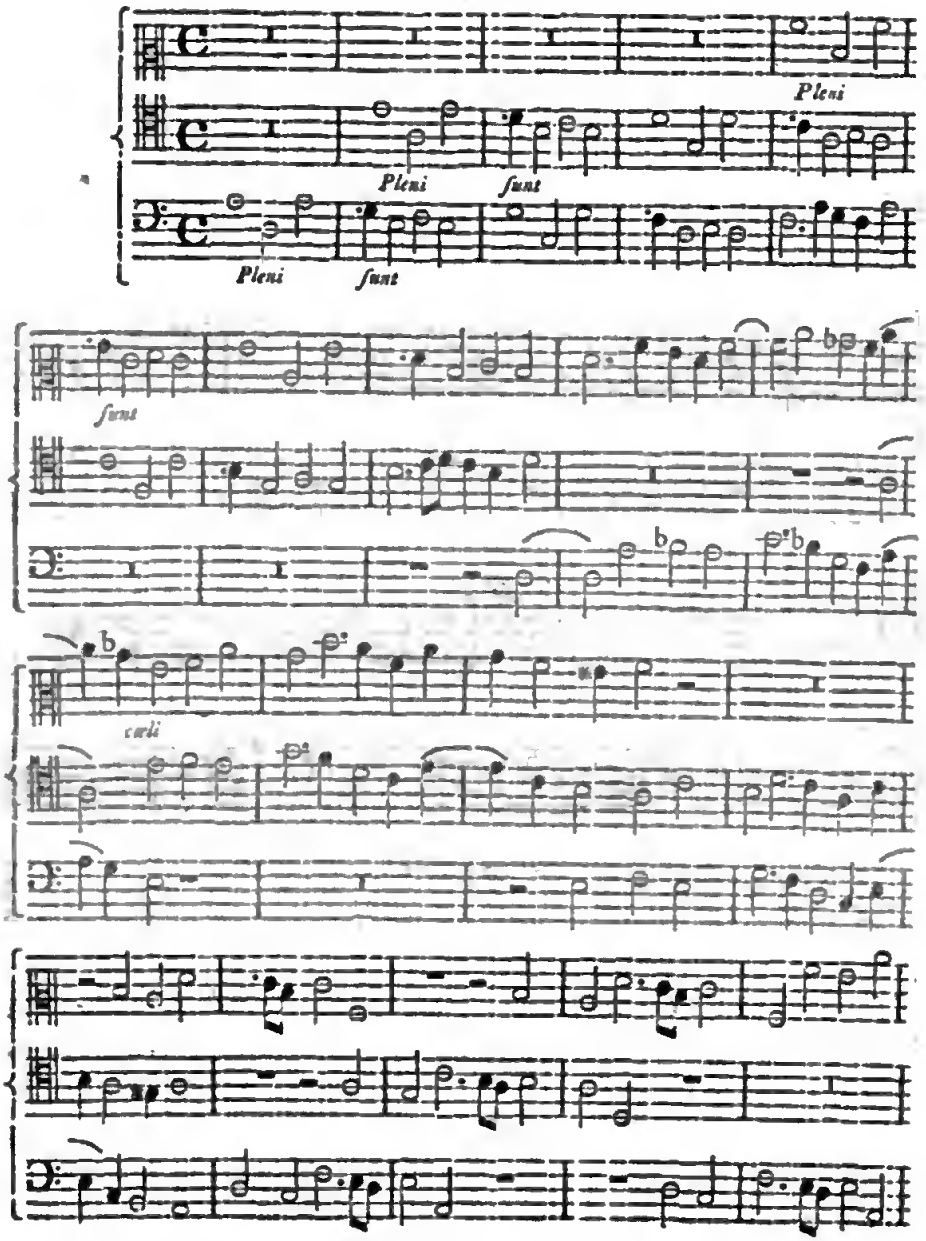
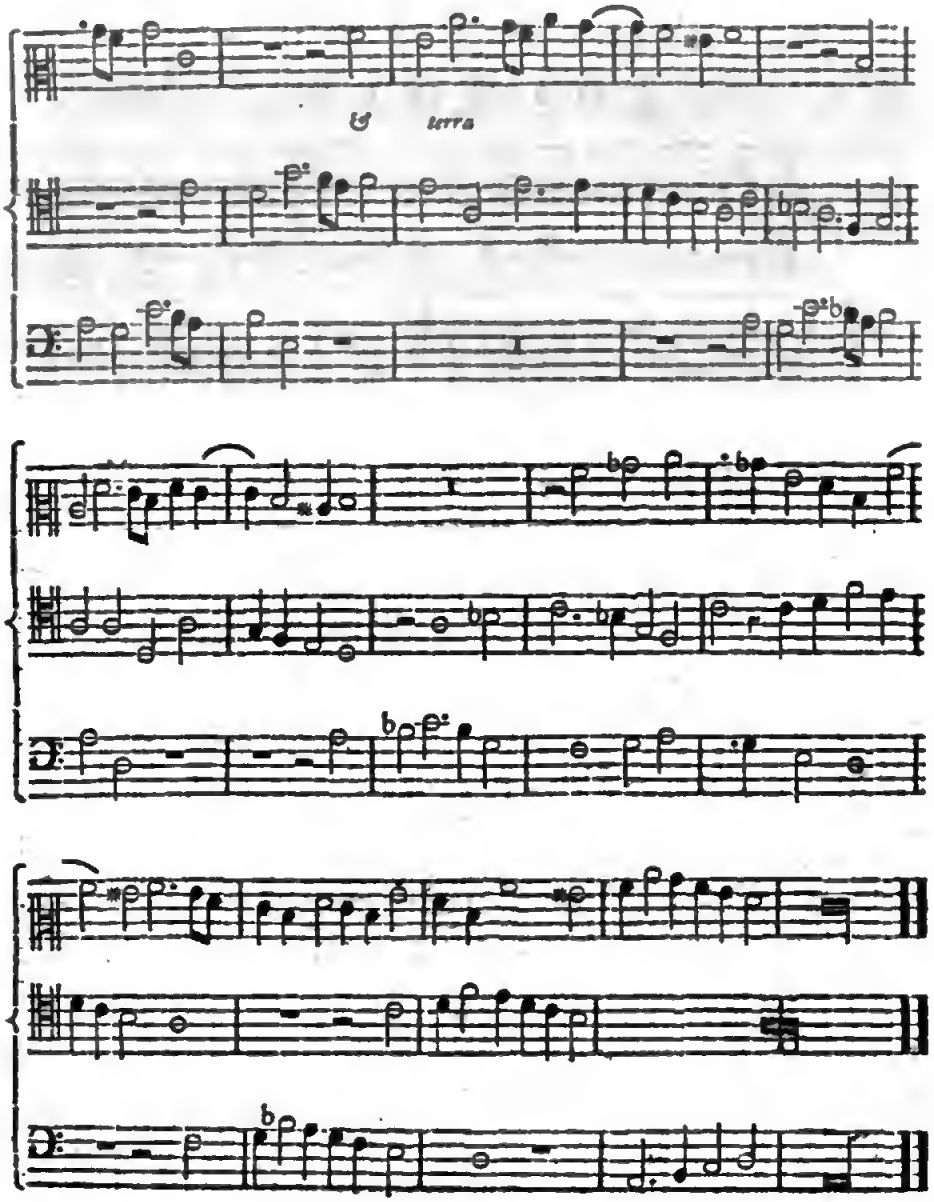
## JOSQUIN.

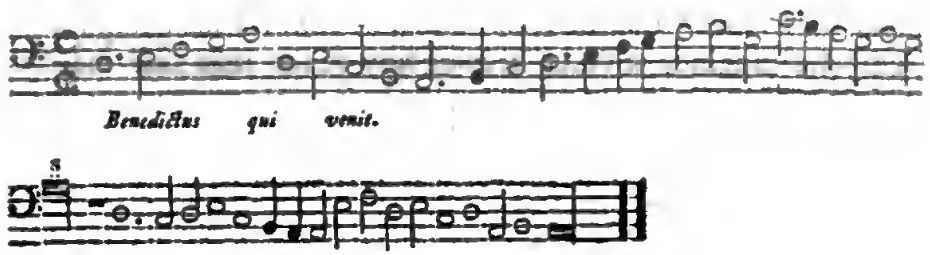

Pleni
Pleni
Pleni


terra

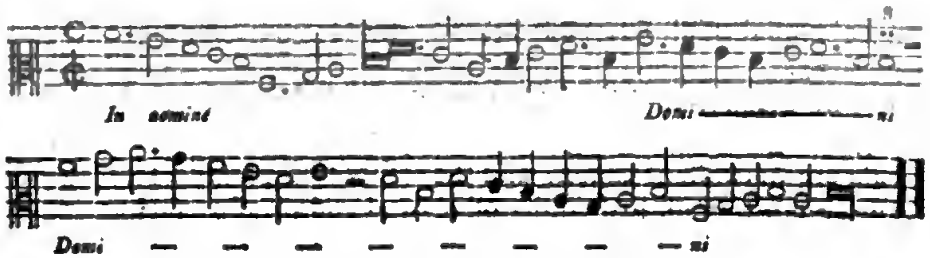
Whoever examines the compoſitions of Joſquin in ſcore, will find that no notes have had admiſſion by chance, or for the ſake of *rempliſſage*, but that, like the prints of Hogarth, every thing not only contributes to the principal deſign and harmony of the whole, but has a ſpecific character, and meaning in itſelf.

The *Oſanna* has many curious contrivances in *moto contrario*, *double counterpoint*, &c. in three parts; while a fourth is ſtill ſinging *l'Homme Armé*. In the two next movements, "*Benedictus* "*qui venit*," and "*In Nomine*," by a curious ſpecies of contrivance, *Duos* are formed by two parts ſinging the ſame intervals in different meaſures: that is, while one performs the melody in ſemibreves, the other ſings it in minims, and è contra. After furniſhing the muſical ſtudent with this hint at a ſolution, I ſhall preſent him with theſe ſhort movements in the ſame manner as they appear in the printed copy, and leave the reſt to his ſagacity.

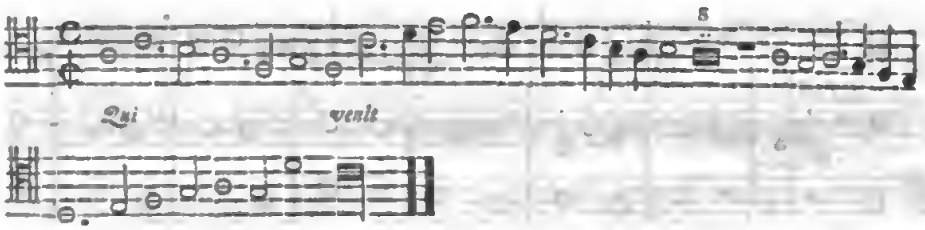
*Duo in unum.*




*Duo.*



*Duo in unum.*




The next movement, "*Agnus Dei*," in four parts, is an exercise for time, as the proportions in all of them are different.

After this, there is a second movement, to the same words, where three parts, in different measures, are drawn out of one: *tria in unum*. At the beginning of this canon, three characters for time are placed over each other, thus ¢ 3 ¢ : but as it is inserted by Glareanus with its solution, I shall only refer the curious reader to p. 442 of the *Dodecachordon*.

The next, and last movement, is a third *Agnus Dei*, à 4. in which the *superius*, or upper part, performs the tune in Longs and Breves, with this direction, *clama ne cesses*; which implies perpetual singing, without keeping any of the rests that may occur, allowing only for the time of the notes. The other three parts are in close fugue, during the whole movement, and often in canon, the tissue of which is carried on with wonderful art and ingenuity.

But though this mass has not only been more celebrated than any of Josquin's other masses, but than any of his motets, or songs, I think there are many of his compositions which manifest equal abilities, and yet are more clear, natural, and pleasing.

The *Osanna*, in his mass upon the melody of an old song beginning "*Faysans regrés*" is truly curious: the tenor and base are in constant canon, and the other two parts in free fugue, consisting of little traits of natural and pleasing melody.

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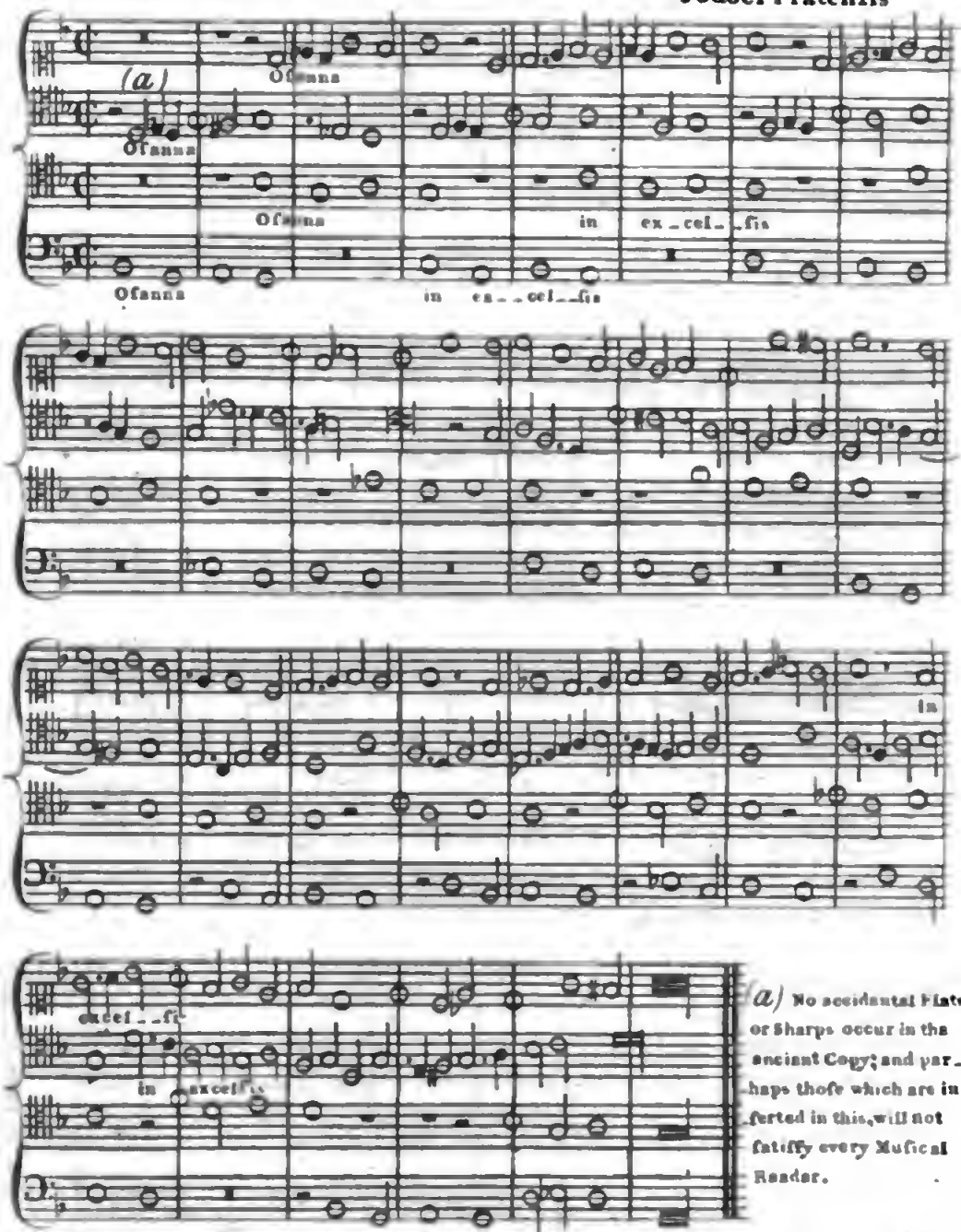
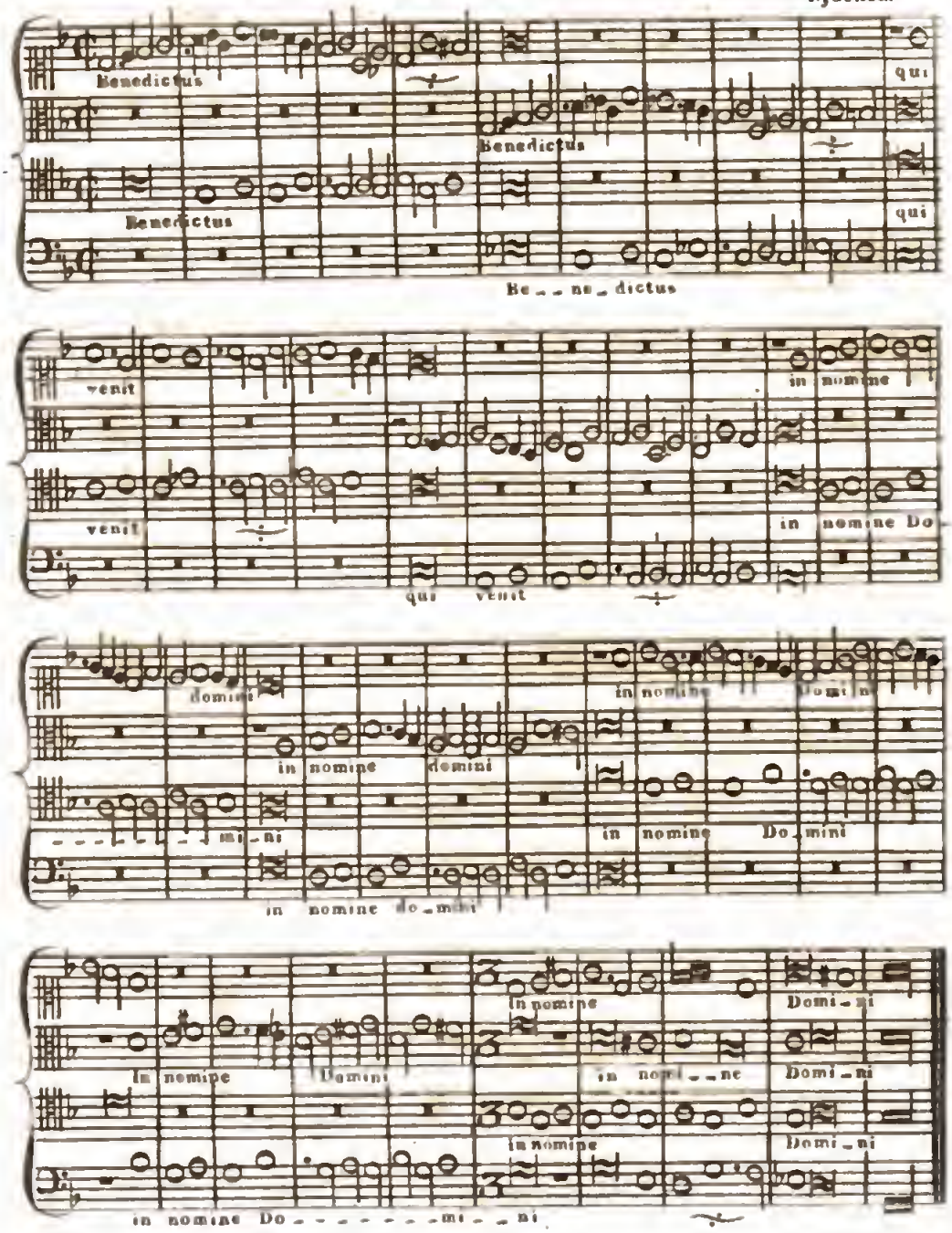



(a) No accidental Flats or Sharps occur in the ancient Copy; and perhaps thoſe which are inſerted in this, will not ſatisfy every Muſical Reader.

The **Benedictus** of the ſame Maſs is almoſt a double Canon in four parts, upon two very different Subjects; that of the Tenor and Baſs being a fragment of the old tune, PAYSANS REGRETS.


Benedictus
Benedictus
Benedictus
qui
qui
Be_ _ ne_dictus
venit
venit
in nomine
in nomine Do
qui venit
domini
in nomine domini
in nomine
Domini
in nomine Do_mini
in nomine
in nomine
Domini
Domini
in nomine
in nomine
Domini
Domini
in nomine Do_ _ _ _ _ _ _mi_ _ni

His maſs, called *Didadi*, is likewiſe a very curious and elaborate compoſition, on a tune that was probably well known in the time of Joſquin, and which the tenor part is continually ſinging in different meaſures, of ſo uncommon a kind, that the author has thought it neceſſary not only to give their *reſolution* in notes, but to place at the beginning of each, one of the following ſigns of prolation:

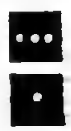
| To the *Kyries*, or two 1ſt movements. | To the 3d & 4th movements, *Et in terra*, and *Qui tollis*. | *Patrem omnipotentem*, & *crucifixus*, | and in the *Sanctus*. |
|---|---|---|---|

(*a*)

His maſs, "*De beata Virgine*," abounds with canons, fugues, and imitations, of admirable contrivance. Almoſt every movement is in five parts, yet only four are printed, as ſome two of them are conſtantly in canon, for which, though frequently of difficult ſolution, only one part is allowed.

Joſquin's "*Miſſa, Sine Nomine*," is almoſt the only one which he compoſed without taking a Chant or old tune for his theme; but the writing upon vulgar melodies was not a practice peculiar to him, forPierre de la Rue, Brumel, Mouton, Gaſpar, Fevin, or Feum, and all his cotemporaries, did the ſame, as appears by the titles of their Maſſes in the ſame collection; and Zarlino (*b*), long after, tells us, that it was an ancient cuſtom, which ſtill prevailed in his time, not to compoſe a Maſs, unleſs upon a certain theme

(*a*) The author doubtleſs gave theſe types of his Rhythmical proportions in alluſion to the Song which he had taken as the theme of his Maſs: *Dadi*, from *Dado*, being the Italian word for *Dice*, and *Di dadi*, as it ſhould have been printed, were either the initial words, or title, of a popular Song upon *Hazard* or *Gaming* in general, during the fifteenth century. Our fanciful author might fairly have completed the *ſix faces* of the *Dado*, or *Die*, by the proportions in the perfect Mood, or Ternary Meaſure, O, where one Long is equal to 3 Breves, or a Breve to 3 Semibreves:



(*b*) P. 172. & 267.

or

or ſubject, taken from a well known Chant, Motet, or Song. Glareanus *(c)* informs us, likewiſe, that hardly any Maſs was compoſed in his time, except upon an old ſubject.

That Chants, and the Canto Fermo, to which the Hymns of the Church had been ſung for many ages, ſhould be made the ſubject, or baſis of Counterpoint, in the Church, had ſomething of piety and propriety in it, which would naturally ſilence cenſure, and incline the heads and rulers of eccleſiaſtical rites to excuſe, if not encourage, the attempt; but when Compoſers polluted pious ears with the light and contaminated ſtrains of the vulgar and licentious, moſt profanely adapted to humble ſupplications, Hymns of praiſe, or ſacred injunctions, the ſentiments of which muſt be perpetually driven from the minds of the congregation, by the frequent repetition of theſe profane fragments, in all the ſeveral parts of a Chorus, they abuſed the privilege they had obtained of harmonizing the Chants, and diſcovered an egregious want of underſtanding, decorum, and reverence, for the religious rite which they were appointed to direct *(d)*.

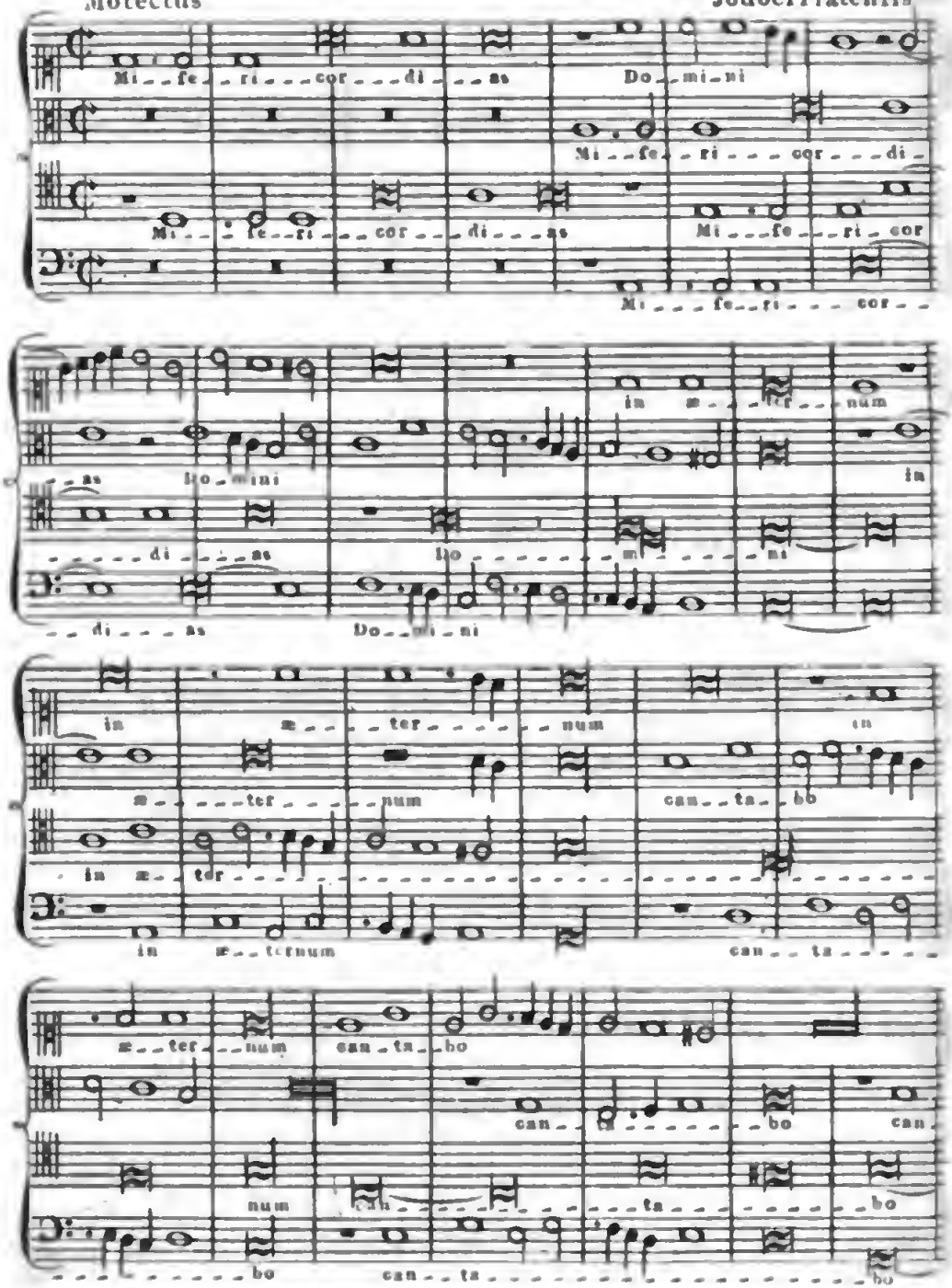
But Joſquin's Maſſes, though more frequently cited and celebrated by muſical writers, than thoſe of any other author, and, indeed, than any of his other works, ſeem to me inferior to his Motets in every reſpect; for theſe are not only all compoſed upon ſubjects of his own invention, or upon fragments of the moſt beautiful and ſolemn Chants of the Church, but in a ſtyle more clear and pleaſing. The following Motet, which is the eighth of the fourth Book *della Corona*, will afford the muſical reader an opportunity of forming a judgment of the ſolemnity and ſcience with which he treated ſacred ſubjects.

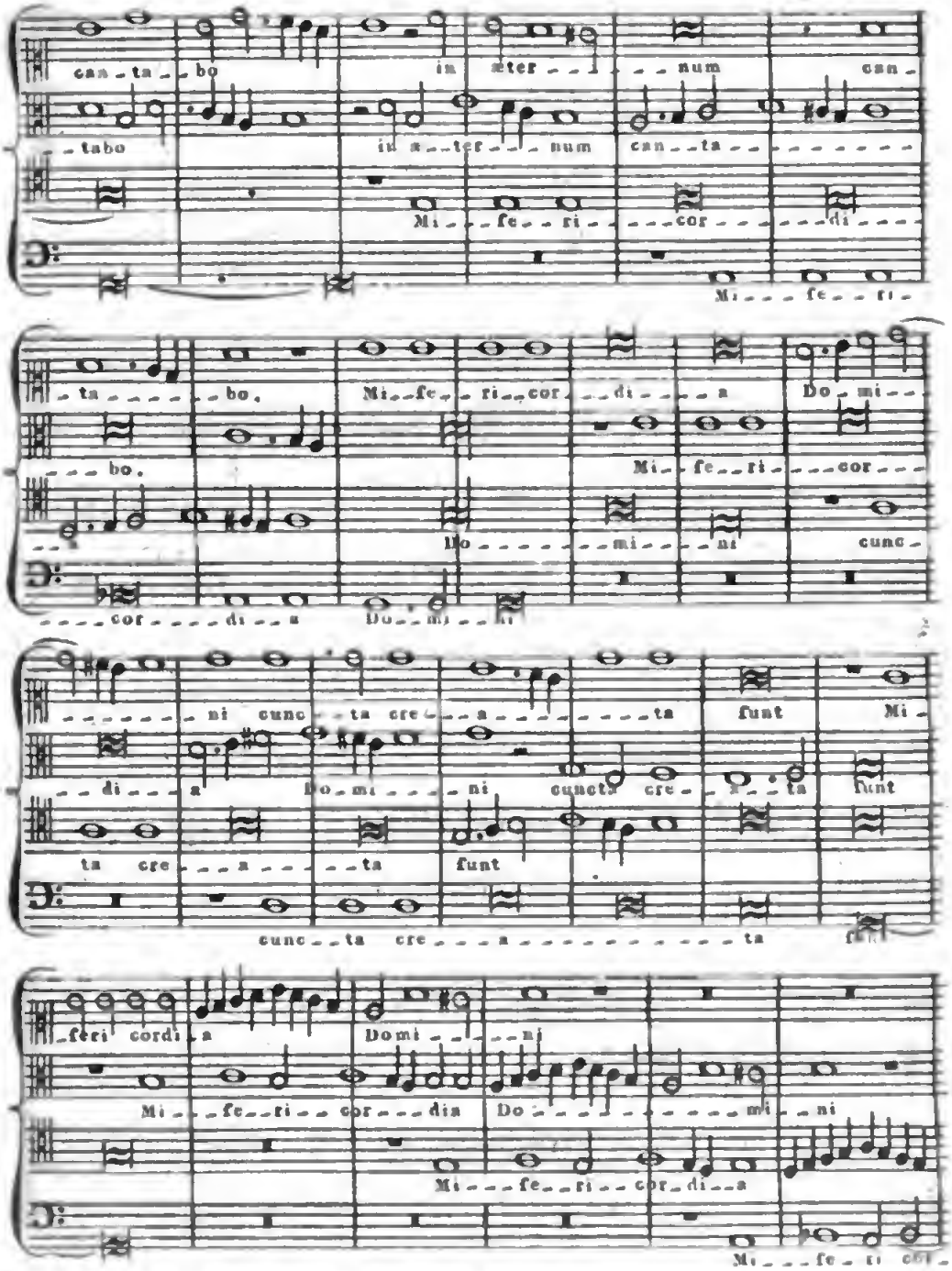
*(c)* P. 275.—*Nulla eſt ferè hodie Miſſa, quæ non ex antiquo Themate quopiam deprompta.*

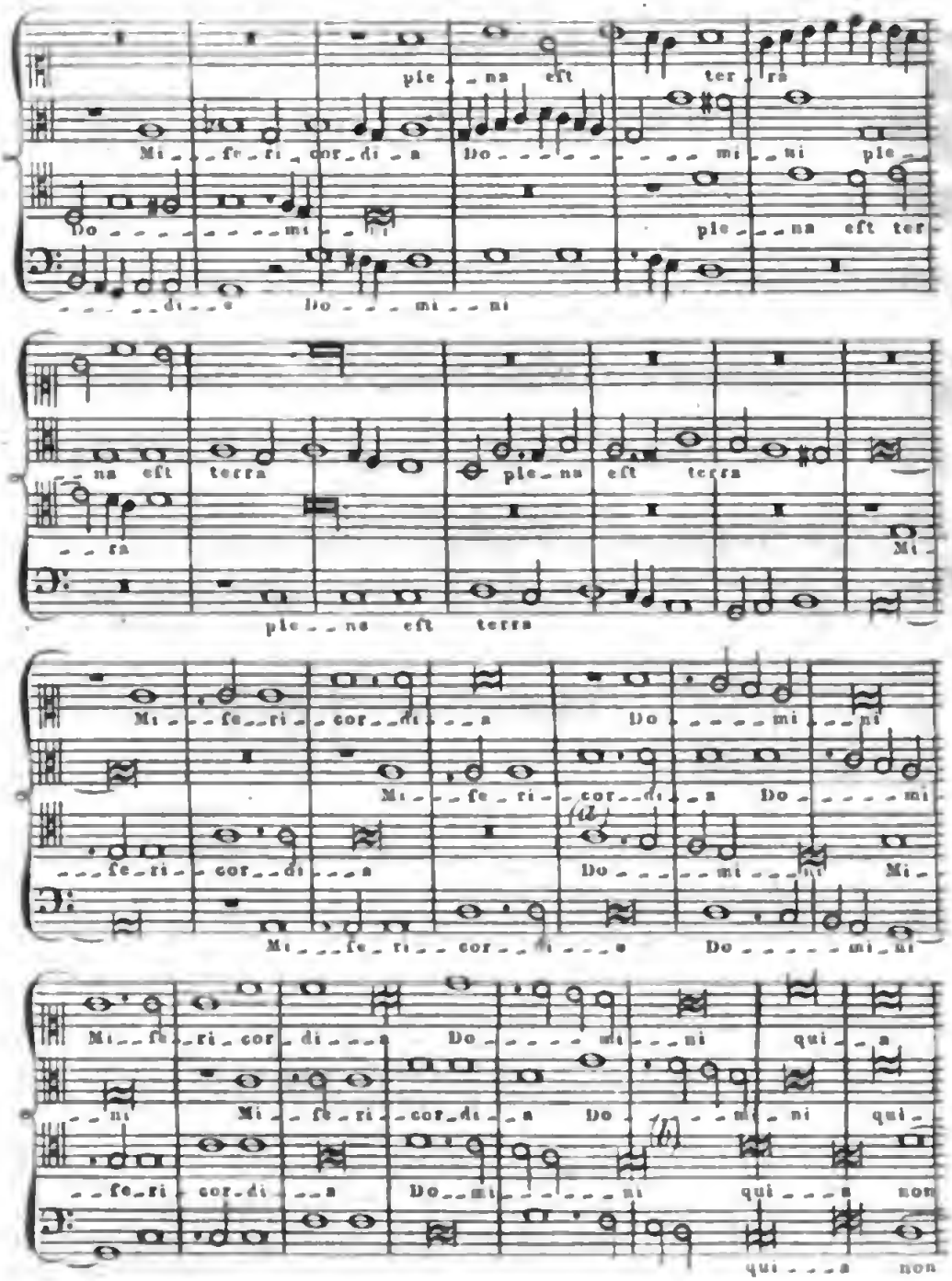
*(d)* This cenſure muſt not however be confined to Joſquin and his Cotemporaries, for we find that Francis the Firſt and all his Court, ſung Clement Marot's tranſlation of the Pſalms, when they firſt appeared, to the tunes of favourite Songs; indeed at this time, all Melody was Pſalmody. See Bayle, Art. Marot.

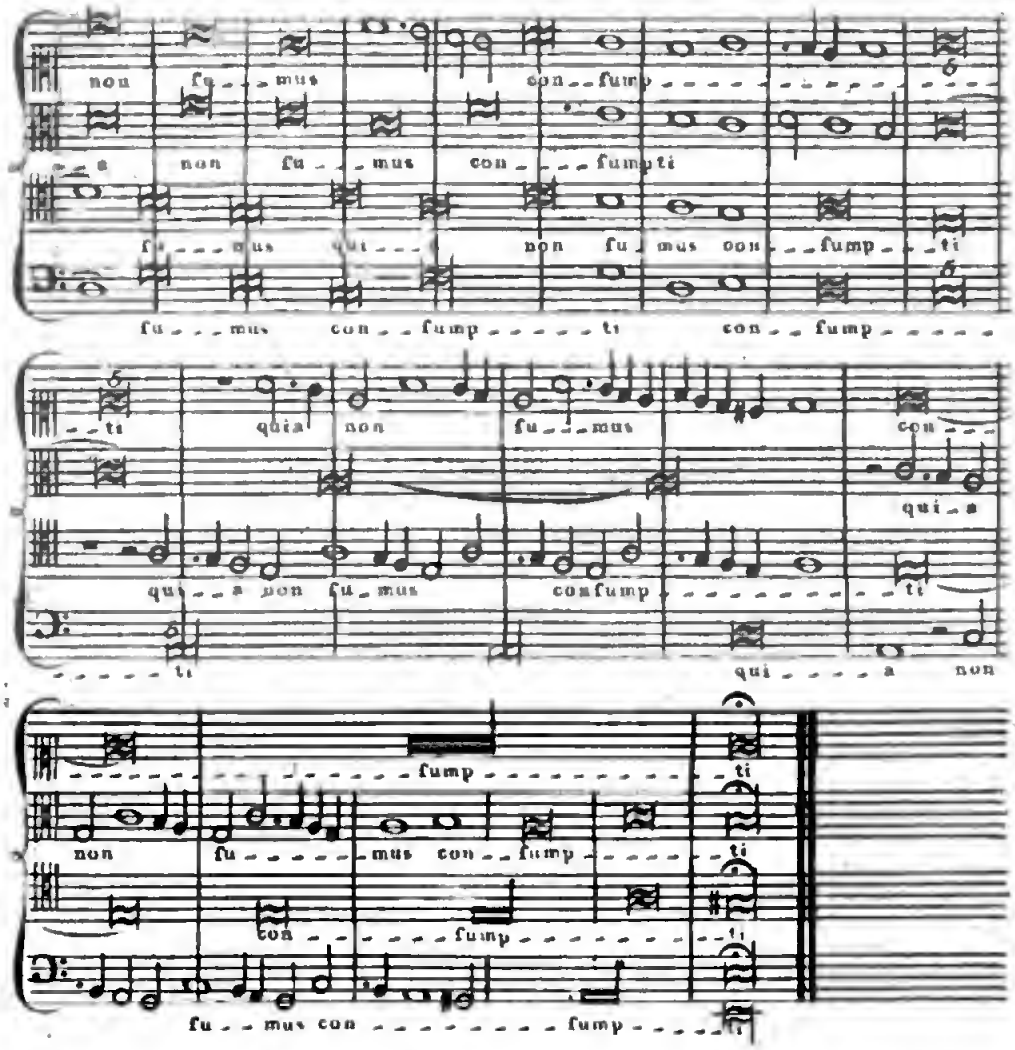
*Motectus.*

Motectus Jodoci Pratenſis




can - ta - bo
in æter - - - num
can -
- tabo
in æ - - ter - - - num
can - - ta
Mi - - - fe - - ri - - - cor - - - - di - - -
Mi - - - fe - - ri -
- ta - - - - - bo.
Mi - fe - - ri - - cor
- - di - - - - a
Do - mi - -
- - - bo.
Mi - fe - - ri - - - cor - - -
Do - - - - - - - mi - - - ni
cunc -
- - - cor - - - - di - - a
Do - - mi - - ni
- - - - - - - - - ni cunc - - ta cre - - - a - - - - - - - - ta
funt
Mi -
- - di - - - a
Do - mi - - - - ni
cuncta cre - - - a - - ta
funt
ta cre - - - a - - - - ta
funt
cunc - - ta cre - - - a - - - - - - - - - - - - ta
- feri cordi - a
Domi - - - - - - ni
Mi - - - fe - - ri - - cor - - - dia
Do - - - - - - - - - - - - mi - - ni
Mi - - - fe - - ri - - cor - di - - a
Mi - - - fe - ri cor -


ple na eſt ter ra
Mi ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni ple
Do mi ni ple na eſt ter
di a Do mi ni
na eſt terra ple na eſt terra
fa Mi
ple na eſt terra
Mi ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni
Mi ſe ri cor di a Do mi
ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni Mi
Mi ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni
Mi ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni qui a
ni Mi ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni qui
ſe ri cor di a Do mi ni qui a non
qui a non




(a) This was a favourite Point, with Handel, as may be seen in the 1st Allegro of his 1st Organ Con-certo, and in several of his Choruses.

(b) The Imitation here, a CONTRE-TEMS, is admira-ble, and has served as a Model to Corelli, in the ALLA BREVE Fugue of his 1st Concerto, and to many others.

In the third and fourth collection of Motets publiſhed at the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, under the title of *Motetti della Corona*, there are many by Joſquin, which are truly admirable, particularly a *Miſerere* for five voices, which, as it conſiſts of three movements, is too long to be inſerted in a work of this kind, but appears to me a model of choral compoſition, without inſtruments; as the ſubjects of fugue and imitation are ſimple, and free from ſecular levity; the ſtyle is grave and reverential; the harmony pure; the imitations are ingenious; and all conſtructed upon a fragment of Canto Fermo, to which the ſecond tenor is wholly confined: repeating it, in the firſt part, a note lower every time, beginning at the fifth of the key, and deſcending to its octave; in the ſecond part, aſcending in the ſame manner; in the third part, beginning at the fifth, and deſcending to the key note.

This ſpecies of laboured compoſition has been frequently cenſured, and ſtigmatized by the name of pedantry, and Gothic barbariſm, which, perhaps, it would *now* deſerve, out of the Church; but in the time of Joſquin, when there was little melody, and no grace in the arrangement, or meaſure of *ſingle notes*; the ſcience of harmony, or ingenuity of contrivance in the combination of ſimultaneous Sounds, or Muſic in parts, as it was the chief employment of the Student, and ambition of the Compoſer, ſo the merit of both, and the degree of regard beſtowed upon them by poſterity, ſhould be proportioned to their ſucceſs, in what was their chief object, and not in what had no exiſtence at the time in which theſe Muſicians lived. Another apology offers itſelf for Joſquin, as well as for his ſcholars, and followers, who compoſed for the Church: which is, that pure harmony, and contrivance, are leſs favourable to that kind of levity which is inſeparable from *Airs* clothed with little harmony, which ſeem unfit for the gravity of Eccleſiaſtical purpoſes.

With

With reſpect to ſome of Joſquin's contrivances, ſuch as Augmentations, Diminutions, and Inverſions of the Melody, expreſſed by the barbarous Latin verb *Cancrizare*, from the retrograde motion of the *crab*, they were certainly purſued to an exceſs; but to ſubdue difficulties, has ever been eſteemed a merit of a certain kind, in all the arts, and treated with reſpect by artiſts. Michael Angelo, in delineating the difficult attitudes into which he choſe to throw many figures in his works, and which other artiſts had not courage, or, perhaps, abilities to attempt, procured himſelf a great name among the judges of correct drawing, and bold deſign; though a great part of the ſpectator's pleaſure in viewing them, muſt ariſe from reflecting on the difficulty of the undertaking. There are different roads to the temple of Fame in every art; and that which was followed by Joſquin, and his emulators, was too full of thorns, brambles, and impediments, to be purſued by men of common diligence and abilities. Painting and ſculpture, which are to delight and deceive the eye, do not, any more than Muſic, confine their powers to the mere endeavour at pleaſing the ſenſe, of which they are the object; and there are Pictures, Statues, and Muſical compoſitions, which afford very little pleaſure to the eye or ear, but what is intellectual, and ariſes from reflecting on the learning, correctneſs, and great labour which the artiſt muſt have beſtowed on them.

Canons of difficult ſolution, were, to Muſicians, a ſpecies of problem, and ſerved more to exerciſe the mind than pleaſe the ſenſe; and, though a peculiar genius, or penetration, is requiſite for the quick diſcovery of riddles and rebuſſes, yet, ſtill more cunning is neceſſary to their production; and, however contemptuouſly theſe harmonical contrivances may be treated by the lazy lovers of more airy and ſimple compoſitions, the ſtudy of them is ſtill of ſuch uſe to Muſical ſtudents, in their private exerciſes, that a profound and good Contrapuntiſt has, perhaps, never yet been made by other means. Thoſe who

deſpiſe

deſpiſe this ſeeming Gothic pedantry too much, reſemble ſuch half-bred ſcholars, as have expected to arrive at a conſummate knowledge of the Roman Claſſics, without ſubmitting to the drudgery of Grammar and Syntax. Indeed a great Compoſer has, perhaps, never exiſted ſince the invention of Counterpoint, who, at his moments of leiſure, has not attempted to manifeſt ſuperior learning and ſkill, in the production of Canons, and other difficult arrangements and combinations of ſound; and who, if he ſucceeded, was not vain of his abilities. Before the cultivation of Dramatic Muſic, as Canon and Fugue were univerſally ſtudied and reverenced, they were brought to ſuch a degree of perfection, as is wonderful; and though good taſte has long baniſhed them from the Theatre, yet the Church and Chamber ſtill, occaſionally, retain them, with great propriety; in the Church they preclude levity, and in the Chamber exerciſe ingenuity.

As Euclid ranks firſt among ancient geometricians, ſo Joſquin, for the number, difficulty, and excellence of his Muſical Canons, ſeems entitled to the firſt place among the old Compoſers, who have been moſt aſſiduous and ſucceſsful in the cultivation of this difficult ſpecies of Muſical calculation.

But though the ſtyle of Joſquin, even in his ſecular Compoſitions, is grave, and chiefly in Fugue, Imitation, and other contrivances, with little Air or Melody; yet this defect is amply ſupplied to Contrapuntiſts, and lovers of Choral Muſic, by purity of harmony, and ingenuity of deſign. Indeed, I have never ſeen, among all his productions that I have ſcored, a ſingle movement which is not ſtamped with ſome mark of the great maſter. And though Fugue and Canon were ſo univerſally cultivated in his time, when there were many men of abilities in this elaborate and complicated kiud of writing; there is ſuch a manifeſt ſuperiority in his powers, ſuch a ſimple majeſty in his ideas, and ſuch dignity of deſign, as wholly juſtify the homage he received.

Yet, notwithſtanding the eminence to which our great Contrapuntiſt arrived, neither his fame nor his fortune, his protectors, nor friends, ſeem to have exempted him from mortifications, during the time he was in Italy; when he ſeems to have complained to his friend Serafino Acquillano, the poet, of the ſplendor in which ſome faſhionable buffoons lived, while he was in want and obſcurity. A Sonnet, which was produced on the occaſion, is preſerved by Zarlino, which we ſhall preſent to our readers, though it will perhaps be ſaid to border a little on that *clinquant* and *concetto*, of which Boileau unjuſtly accuſes Taſſo.

*Sonnet on* Joſquin des Prez.

*Gioſquin non dir che'l ciel ſia crudo e empio,*
*Che t'adornò de ſi ſoblime ingegno:*
*Et s'alcun veſte ben, laſcia lo ſdegno;*
*Che di ciò gode alcun Buffone ò Sempio*
*Da quel ch' io ti dirò prendi l'eſſempio;*
*L' argento e l'or, che da ſe ſteſs' è degno,*
*Si moſtra nudo, è ſol ſi veſte il legno,*
*Quando s'adorna alcun Theatro ò Tempio:*
*Il favor di coſtor vien preſto manco,*
*E mille volte il dì, ſia pur giocondo,*
*Si muta il ſtato lor di nero in bianco.*
*Ma chi hà virtù, gira à ſuo modo il mondo;*
*Com' huom che nuota e hà la Zucca al fianco,*
*Metti 'l ſott' acqua pur, non teme il fondo (e).*

Joſquin,

(e) Ne'er ſay, O Joſquin, Fate's to thee unjuſt,
Bleſt with a genius ſo divine;
Nor let the dreſs of vile Buffoons diſguſt,
Who but in borrow'd plumage ſhine.
Nor gold, nor ſilver, want to be adorn'd,
Their price from worth intrinſic ſprings;
While ſtructures form'd of meaner wood are ſcorn'd,
Till cover'd with more precious things.
Of theſe Buffoons how ſoon the favour fades,
Who ev'ry hour their trappings change;
But ſhort neglect true virtue ne'er degrades,
She ſafely through the world may range!
Buoy'd up like one whom friendly cork ſurrounds,
Though plung'd in ocean fathoms deep,
Elaſtic ſtill with native force ſhe bounds,
And ſtill above the wave will keep.

Serafino

It will perhaps be thought, that too much notice has been taken of this old Compoſer, Joſquin, and his works; but, as he is the type of all Muſical excellence at the time in which he lived, the leſs need be ſaid of his cotemporaries, who, in general, appear to have been but his imitators. And, indeed, it ſeems as if only *one original genius* of the ſame kind, could ever burſt out at a time in any art or nation. Perhaps, two cauſes may be aſſigned for the ſervility and contraction of the reſt: the prejudice of the public, and timidity of individuals. Firſt impreſſions are difficult to efface, and candidates for favour or applauſe, eagerly purſue the road to it, which has already been traced by a ſucceſsful traveller.

Joſquin, according to Walther (*f*), was buried in the church of St. Gudule, at Bruſſels, where his figure and epitaph are ſtill to be ſeen. His death muſt have happened early in the ſixteenth Century, but the exact time I have not been able to diſcover, though I have found, not only ſeveral Latin poems, that were written on the occaſion, but the Muſic to two of them, in the ſeventh collection of French Songs in five and ſix parts, printed at Antwerp, by Tylman Suſato 1545, and preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (*g*). One of theſe was ſet by Jerom Vinders, a Netherlander, in ſeven parts (*b*); in ſcoring it, I found the harmony good, but without much fancy, or ingenuity of deſign. The other has been ſet twice, by Benedictus,

Serafino dall' Acquilla, the author of this Sonnet, was born 1466, and died in the year 1500. He was much eſteemed, ſays Creſcimbini, *Iſt. della Volg. Poeſia*, p. 206, by the firſt perſonages of his time; not only for his Poetry, but *Muſic*. His epitaph is cited by this writer as beautiful and curious.

*Qui giace* Serafin; *partiti hor puoi,*
*Sol d'aver viſto il ſaſſo che lo ſerra,*
*Aſſai ſei debitore agli occhi tuoi.*

Here, reader, Serafino lies,
Behold his monumental ſtone;
Then paſs, and grateful bleſs thy eyes:
They now for thee enough have done.

(*f*) Muſicaliſches Lexicon.

(*g*) *Le ſeptieme livre, contenant 24 Chanſons à 5 & à 6 parties, par feu de bonne memoire & très excellent en Muſique* Joſquin des Prez. *Avec trois epitaphes du dict* Joſquin, *compoſées par divers auctheurs.*

(*b*) Lamentatio ſuper morte Joſquin de Prez. Per Jeronimum Vinders. 7 vocum.

*O mors inevitabilis,*
*Horis amara, mors crudelis,* &c.

in four parts, and by Joſquin's ſcholar, Nicholas Gombert, in ſix. Both theſe compoſitions are in the third Eccleſiaſtical mode of *E*, with a minor ſecond, as well as third; which M. de Blainville ſome years ago wiſhed to paſs on the public for a third, or new key, different from the major and minor, which compriſe all ſecular Muſic, at preſent. And it is extraordinary, that this pretenſion ſhould have had any abettors in a Roman Catholic country, where old Compoſitions in this Mode, are daily performed in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches. However, it was a matter of wonder and debate, during ſome time, in France (*i*).

After performing the tedious taſk of ſcoring the Muſic of the *Nænia* on Joſquin, as ſet by Gombert, I found its chief merit to conſiſt in Imitations of his maſter. The compoſition of Benedict has, however, conſiderable merit; and though I can hardly allow room to a movement of ſuch length, I ſhall inſert it here, in honour of the admirable Joſquin, and likewiſe as an example of the method of writing in this equivocal Key, and the dexterity with which all Semitones are avoided, except thoſe of the Diatonic Scale, and Hexachords.

(*i*) See *Mercure de France*, 1751, *& Dict. de Muſique par Rouſſeau*, Art. Mode.

In Josquinum a prato, Musicorum principem, Monodia.

Benedicti.

Mu_ _ sæ Jo_vis ter max_ _i_mi

Musæ Jovis ter maxi_ _mi proles

Mu_sæ Jo_vis ter max_i_mi

Mu_sæ Jo_vis ter max_i_mi

ter

Mu_ _ sæ Jovis ter

Mu_ _ _ sæ Jo_ _ _ vis ter

(1)

maximi Proles canora

Proles canora

maximi Proles ca_ _nora

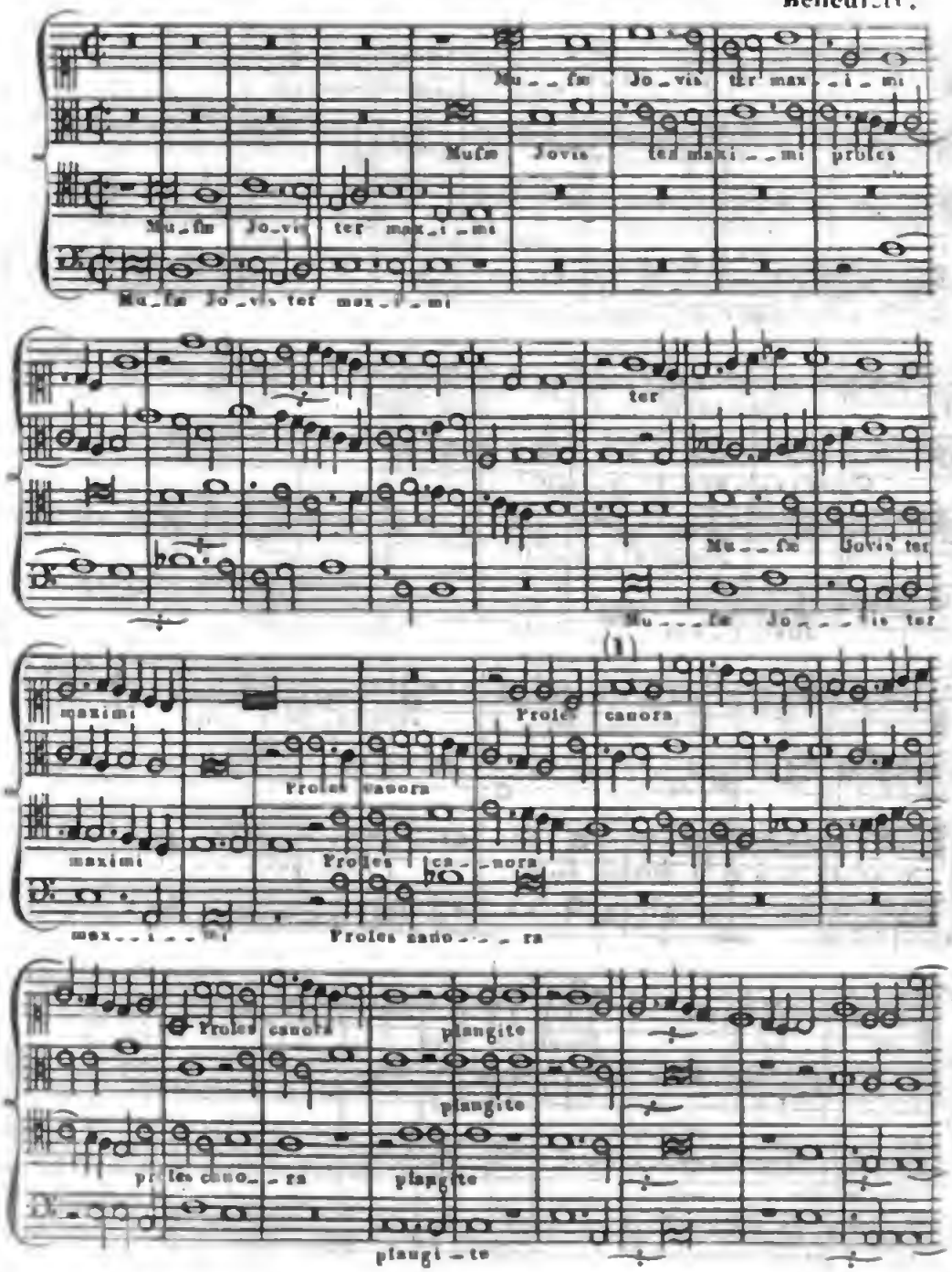
max_ _i_ _mi Proles cano_ _ _ra

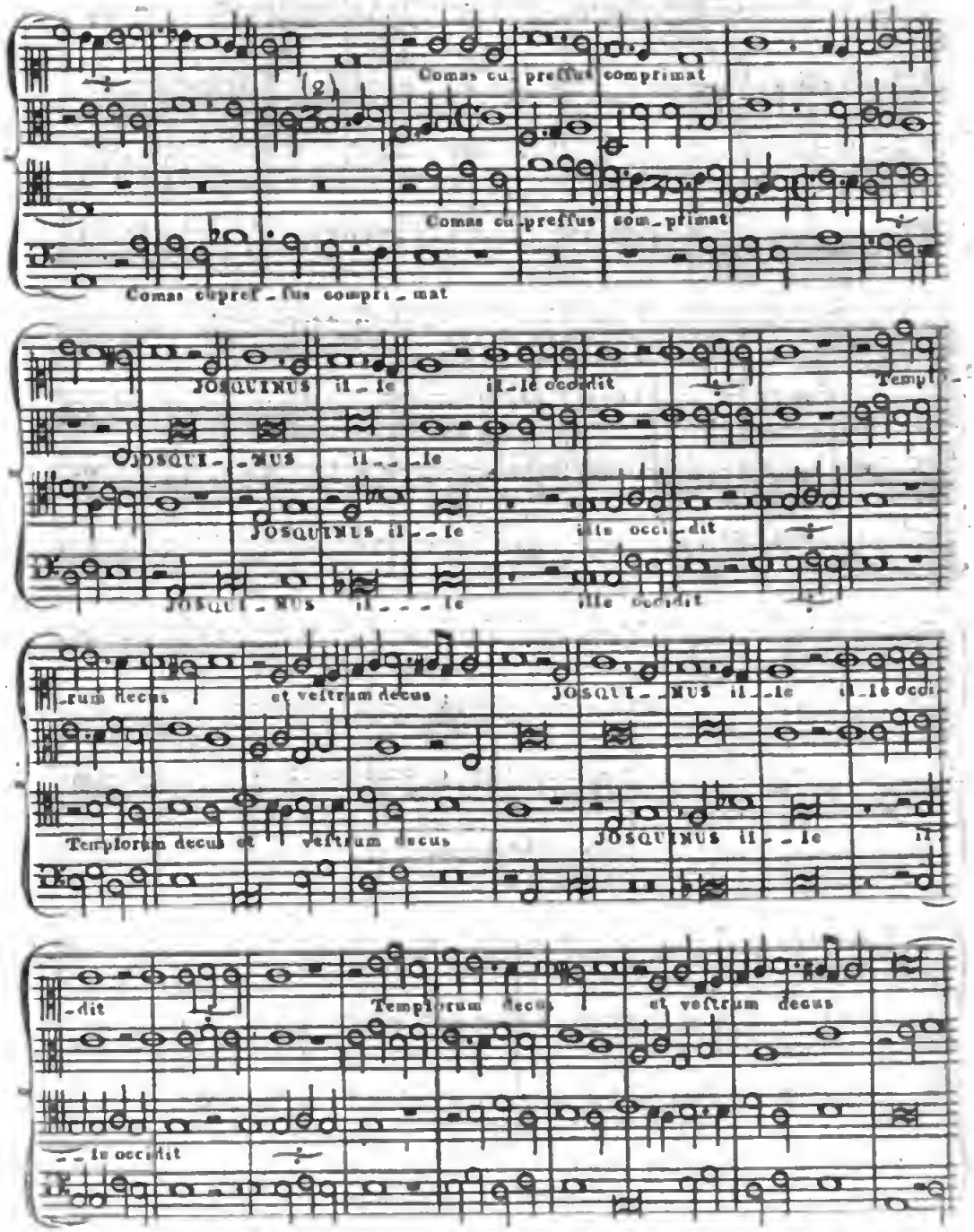
Proles canora plangite

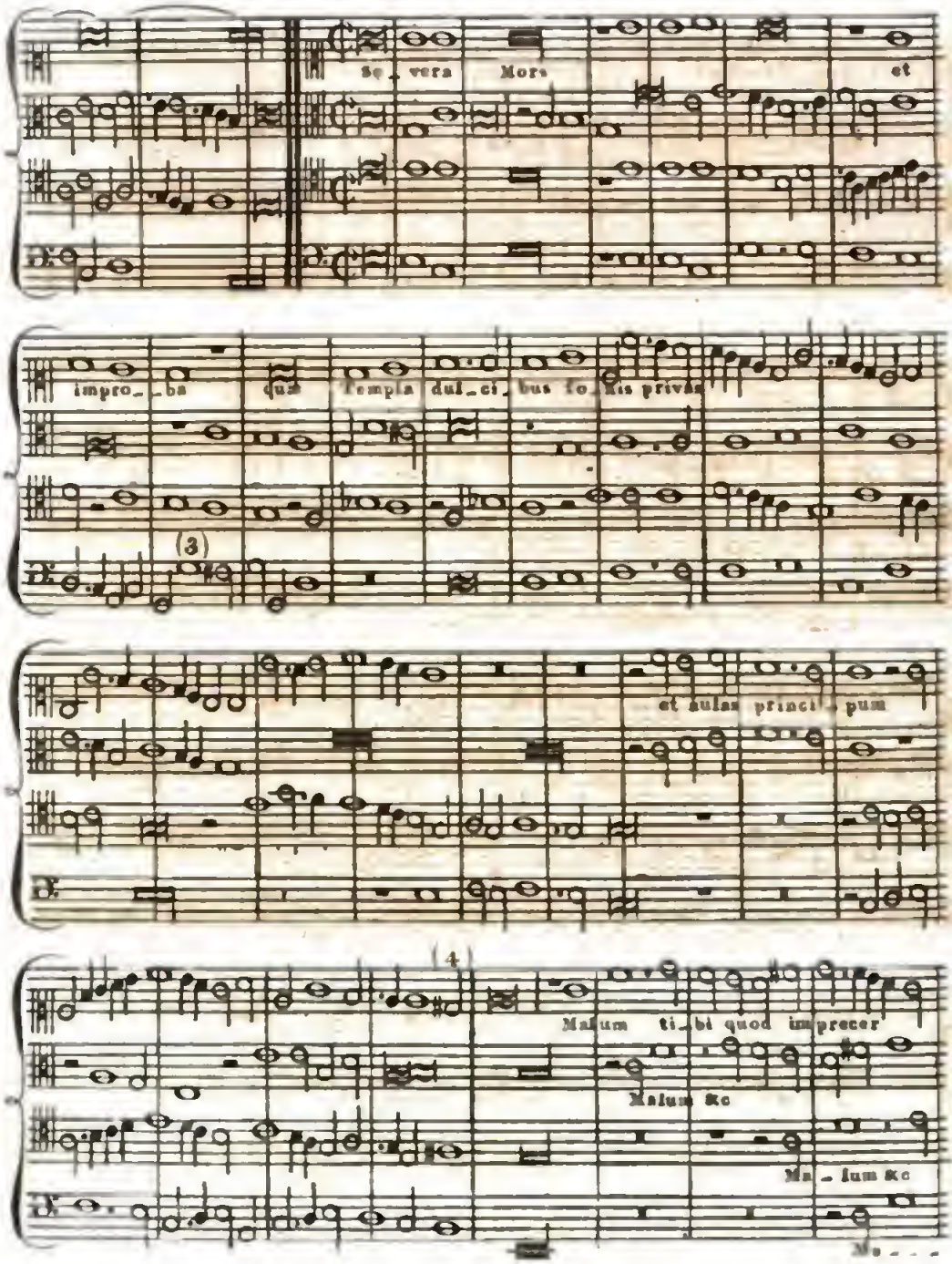
plangite

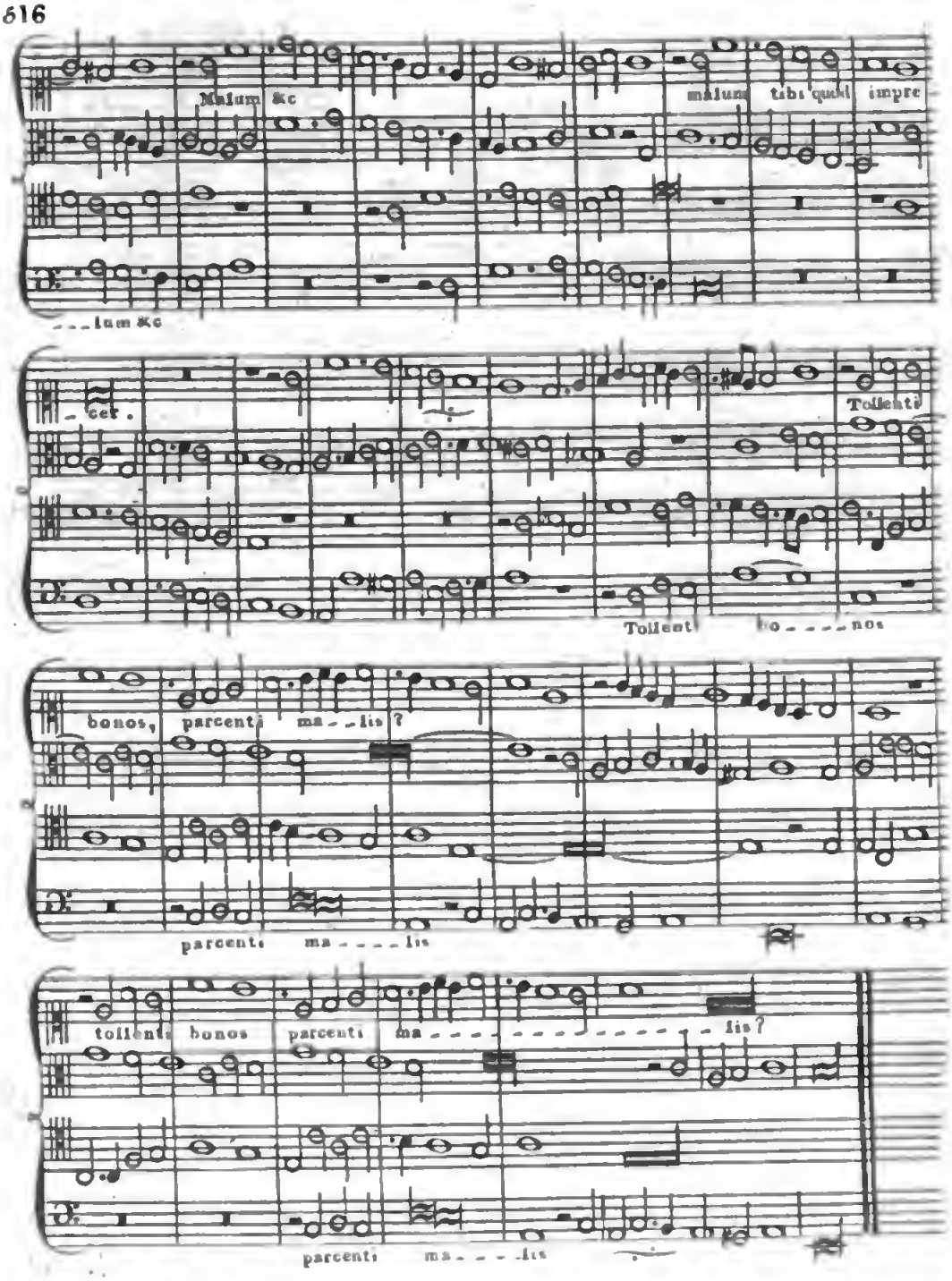
proles cano_ _ra plangite

plangi_te




Comas cu. preſſus comprimat
Comas cu. preſſus com_primat
Comas cupreſ_ſus compri_mat
JOSQUINUS il_le
il_le occidit
Templ
JOSQUI_MUS il_le
JOSQUINUS il_le
ille occi_dit
JOSQUI_MUS il_le
ille occidit
_rum decus
et veſtrum decus
JOSQUI_MUS il_le
il_le occi
Templorum decus et veſtrum decus
JOSQUINUS il_le
il
_dit
Templorum decus
et veſtrum decus
_le occidit


Se_ vera Mors et
impro_ba dum templa dul_ci_bus fo_ris priva
(3)
et aulas princi_pum
(4)
Malum ti_bi quod im precer
Malum &c
Ma_lum &c


Malum &c
malum tibi quod impre
...lum &c
cet.
Tollenti
Tollent bo - - - - nos
bonos, parcenti ma - - lis?
parcenti ma - - - - lis
tollent bonos parcenti ma - - - - - - - - - - - - - lis?
parcenti ma - - - - lis

There are ſeveral agreeable combinations, in this Monody, which have a modern appearance, and ſeem hazarded for the firſt time, by the author, or his cotemporaries; though they are now ſo common and ſo neceſſary, that a Contrapuntiſt would find it difficult to avoid them.

*Remarks on the preceding Compoſition.*

(1) At the twenty-third bar, we have a $\frac{6}{5}$ to A, and a falſe 5th to B, both difficult to find in compoſitions of equal antiquity.

(2) Triplets are introduced in the *Altus*, and afterwards in the *Tenor*, while the other parts continue to move in Common Time. This mixture of Meaſures was very faſhionable in the Muſic of all Europe, about the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, particularly in England, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

(3) The 2d is here accompanied by the 4th, which is continued as a falſe 5th, to the ſucceeding baſe; circumſtances which are ſo unuſual in theſe early times of Counterpoint, that a muſical antiquary would doubt the evidence of his eyes and ears, if other circumſtances did not confirm it. At this time, the uſual accompaniment of the 2d was the 5th; and if a 4th ſound was wanting, the Octave of the 2d or 5th was uſed. But here the point of imitation between the *Tenor* and *Altus* made the 4th a neceſſary accompaniment of the 2d.

(4) Here is a very beautiful and unexpected cloſe in E minor, *alla moderna*, which I never ſaw, in Muſic of this early period, before, and of which I ſhould have doubted, as no accidental Flats or Sharps are marked in the printed copy, had not the ancient rules of Counterpoint authoriſed, and even required an F♯ in the *Tenor*, to prevent a falſe 5th with B in the *Baſe*; and a D♯ in the *Soprano*, as a major 3d to that ſame B, previous to its falling a 5th. The ſolemnity of the Modulation, and ingenuity of Fugue and Imitation, in this Compoſition,

Compoſition, render it not only worthy of theſe remarks, but the attention of learned Muſicians.

BENEDICT, who ſet this *Nœnia*, or Monody on the death of Joſquin, to Muſic, flouriſhed early in the ſixteenth Century, and was author of ſeveral Motets, and ſacred Songs, that were printed at Antwerp and Louvain, in Collections which are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum; in one of which (*k*), he is twice ſtyled *Appenzeller*, which ſeems to imply, that he was a native of Appenzel, in Swiſſerland. Though his name occurs not in the liſts of Flemiſh and French Muſicians, given by L Guicciardini, and Rabelais, nor in the Dictionary of Walther; yet, in ſcoring his productions, it appears, that, with reſpect to Harmony, built on ſuch rules as were then eſtabliſhed, no Compoſer of the ſame period wrote with more eaſe and purity.

We find that Counterpoint was cultivated in Italy during the fifteenth Century, not only at Rome, for the uſe of the Pontifical Chapel, but at Florence, for ſecular purpoſes. Antonio Franceſco Grazzini, commonly called *Il Laſca*, in the dedication of the firſt edition of the *Canti Carnaſcialeſchi (l)*, or Songs that uſed to be ſung through the ſtreets of Florence, by perſons in maſks, during Carnival time, tells us, that the firſt of theſe Songs which was performed in this manner, in the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was ſet to Muſic in three parts, by a certain Arrigo Tedeſco, Maeſtro di' Capella of the Church of St. John, and a Muſician of great reputation, in thoſe times. Soon after, many ſuch Songs were compoſed in four, eight, twelve, and even fifteen parts (*m*).

(*k*) *Lib primus. Eccleſiaſticarum Cantionum quatuor vocum, vulgo* Moteta *vocant, tam ex Veteri, quam Novo Teſtamento, ab optimis quibuſque hujus ætatis Muſicis Compoſitarum. Antea nunquam excuſus*, 1553.

(*k*) *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Maſcherate o Canti Carnaſcialeſchi andati per Firenze dal tempo di Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fino al anno*, 1559.

(*m*) Theſe Songs, after the manner of the Greek *Scolia*, are applicable to perſons of different trades and occupations; among the reſt, there is one for thoſe who played on the Rebec, the Trumpet, and various Muſical inſtruments, uſed then by the German Troops, called by the Italians, *Lanzi*.

However

However I may be inclined to celebrate the activity, talents, enthuſiaſm, and ſucceſs, with which the Italians have long cultivated Muſic, I ſhall not do it with that malignant ſpirit of compariſon, which never praiſes one nation or individual, except at the expence of another. And it is but juſtice to ſay, that earlier proofs of correct Counterpoint, learned Fugue, and ingenious contrivance, can be produced by the Netherlanders, Germans, French, and Engliſh, than by the natives of Italy; who ſeem at firſt to be ſtimulated to the ſtudy of Counterpoint, in different parts of Italy, by the precepts and examples of foreigners. Tinctor was at the head of the Neapolitan ſchool, and Joſquin of the Roman, about the ſame time as we meet with the name of Arrigo Tedeſco, in the writings of Politian, and other Florentine authors of the fifteenth Century. I always imagined, that this laſt muſt have been a German Compoſer, but was unable to meet with any ſpecimens of his works, till I diſcovered from a paſſage in Glareanus *(n)*, that ARRIGO TEDESCO, and HENRY ISAAC, were the ſame perſon. "Politian," ſays this author, "cele-"brates Henry Iſaac; but by a corrupt name, and fooliſhly "calls him Arrigo." But it is common with the Italians, in ſpeaking of foreigners, to uſe only their Chriſtian names; or, if any cognomen be added, it is that of their country.

Glareanus has preſerved ſeveral of Henry Iſaac's compoſitions, "in which," he ſays, "great genius and erudition are "diſcoverable. Henry Iſaac," continues he, "embelliſhed "the Eccleſiaſtical Chants, in which he found any majeſty or "force, with ſuch Harmony, as made them ſuperior to any "new ſubjects of modern times. He was particularly fond "of making one part ſuſtain a note, while the reſt were "moving about, like the waves of the ſea, againſt a rock, during "a ſtorm." However, we are enabled to judge by a Score of the

(*n*) P. 348.

Compoſitions

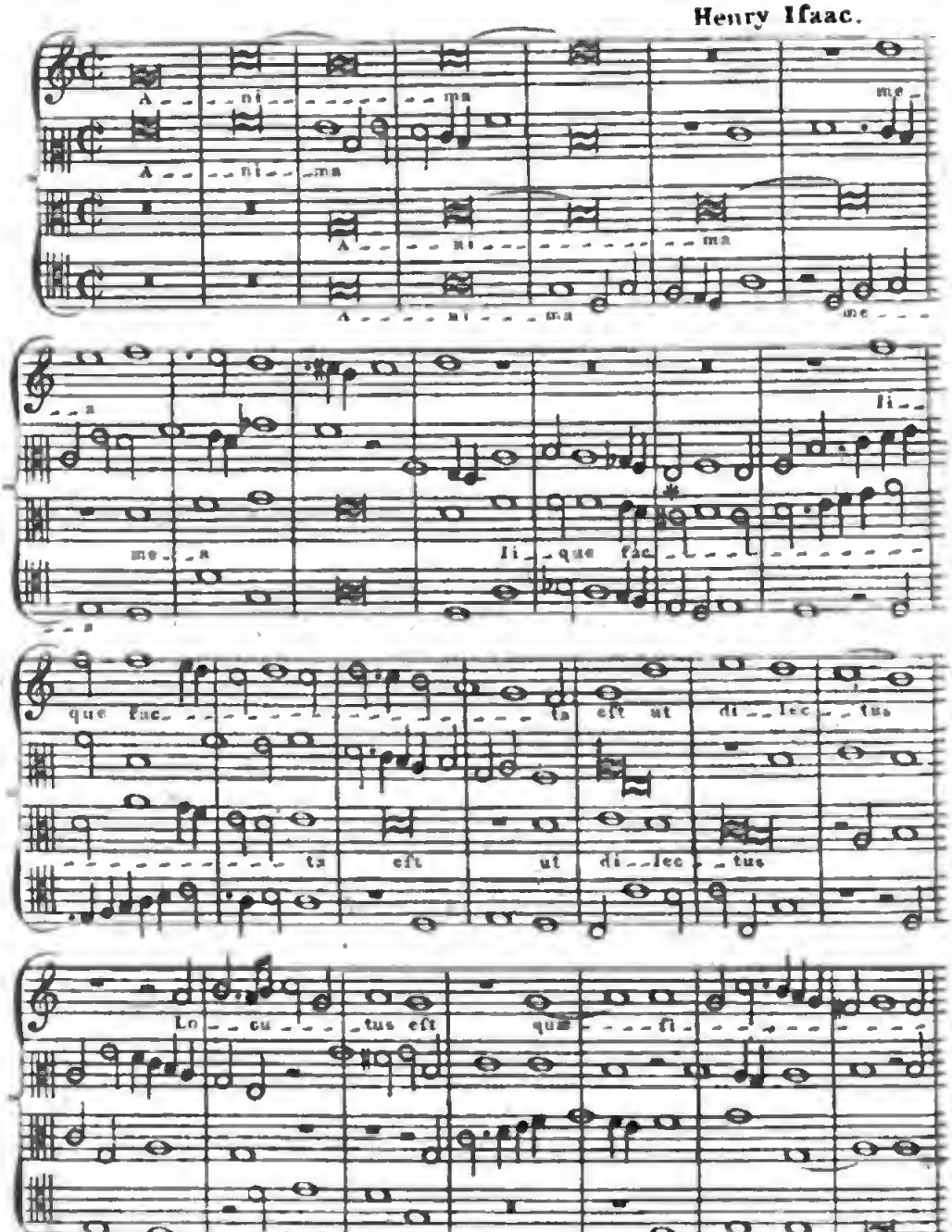
Compoſitions of this author, upon whom Glareanus beſtows ſuch warm praiſes, how remote the Art of Muſic was from perfection, when his *Dodecachordon* was written. There is, indeed, ſome ingenuity in the imitations of a movement, in four parts, inſerted in this book (*n*), but no grace in the melody, or remarkable ſweetneſs in the Harmony: the one is rendered uncouth, and the other crude, by too cloſe an adherence to the mode, which he is pleaſed to call *Mixolydian* (*o*).

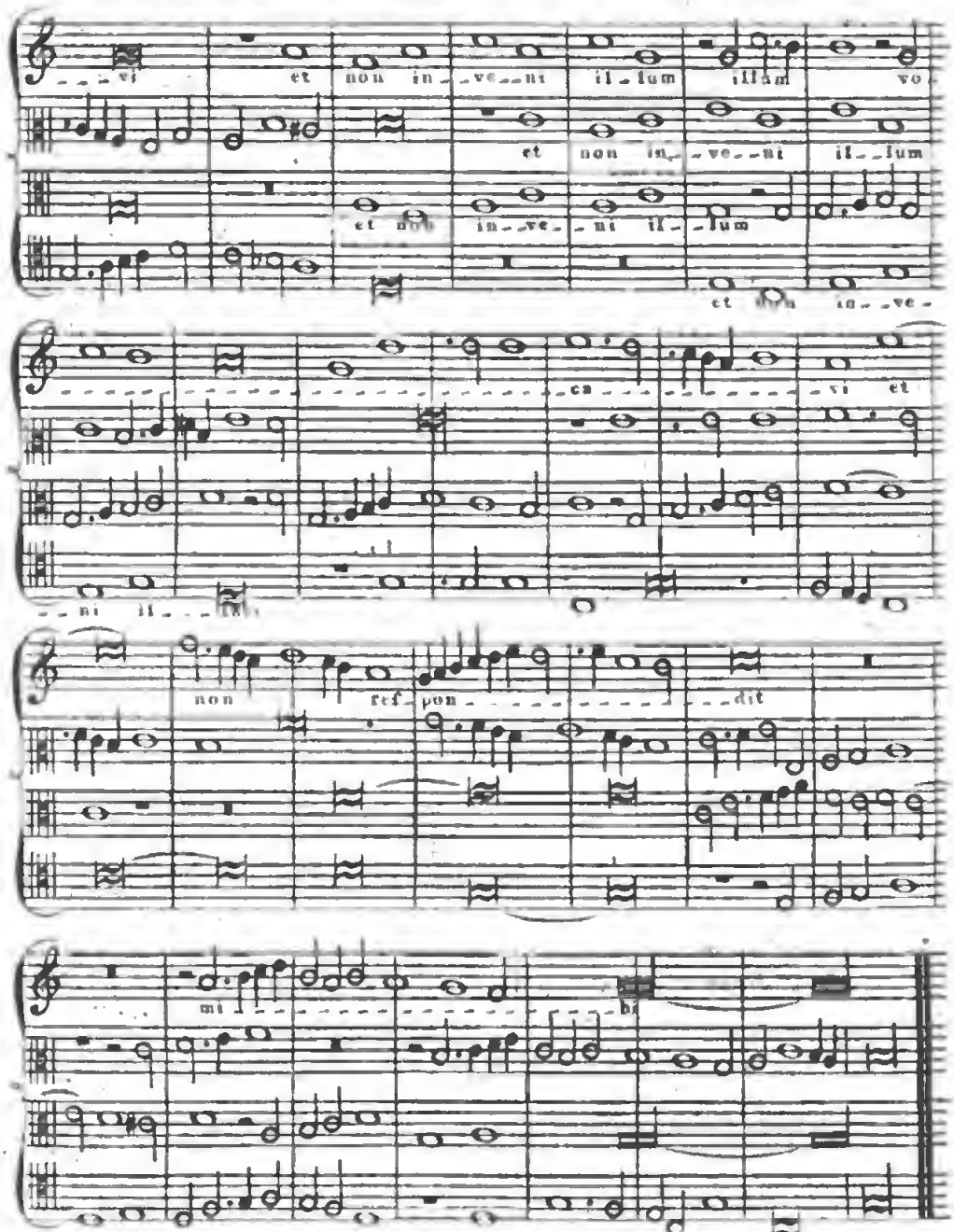
The following Compoſition, however, will ſhew the progreſs which Counterpoint had now made, if we remark how frequently this author uſes *diſcords*, of which he has preſſed a conſiderable number into his ſervice; particularly a naked ninth, which I do not remember to have ſeen before.

(*o*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) *Exemplum — cujus exordium plus quam dici poteſt admirandam habet gravitatem, non abſque ſumma aurium voluptate.* P. 346.

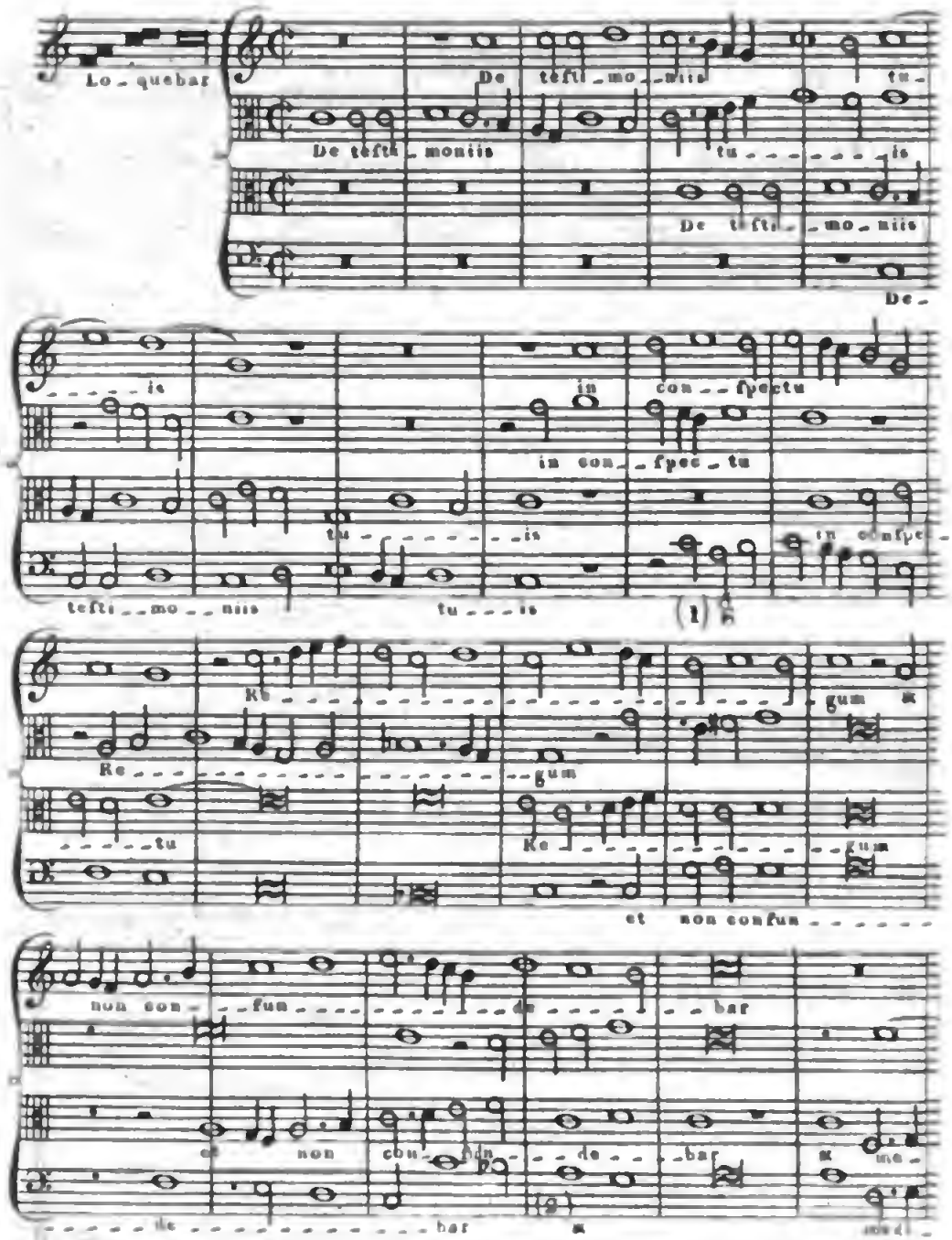
Henry Ifaac.

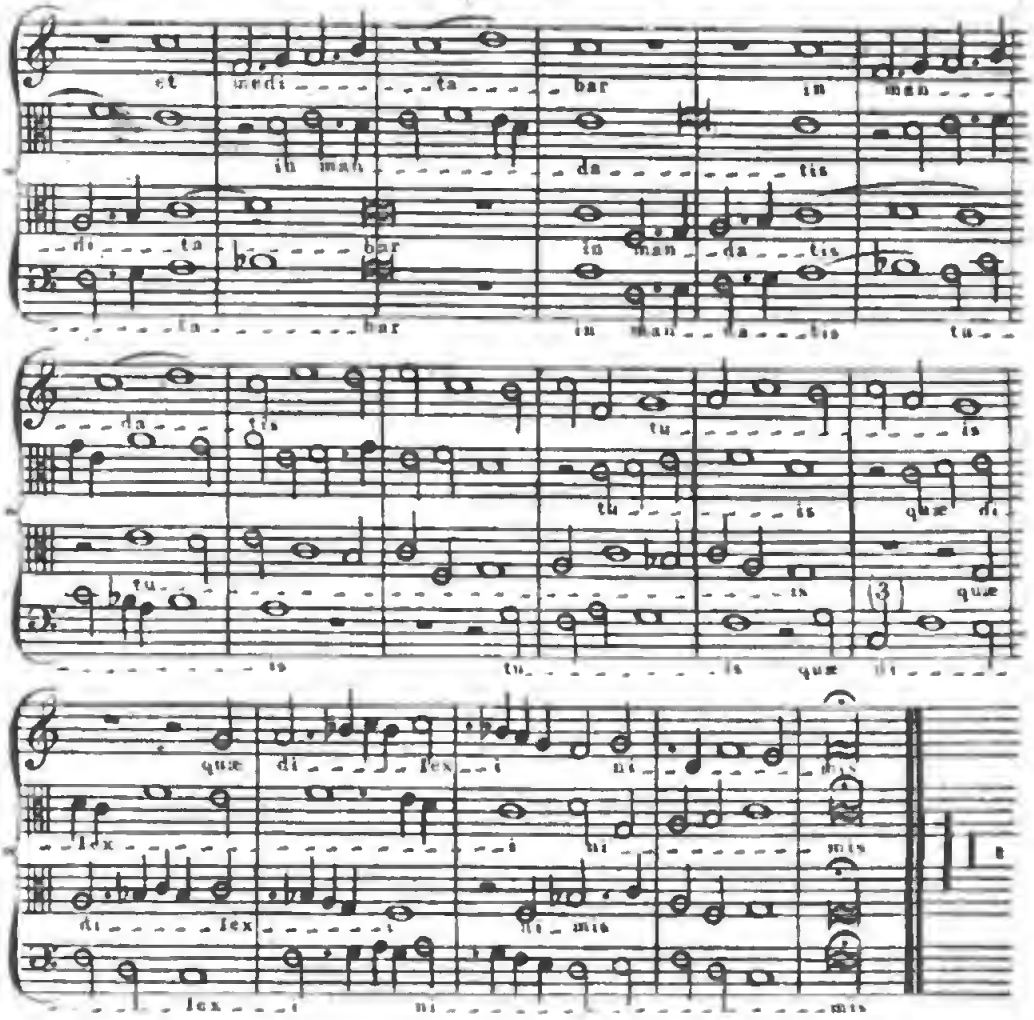

A - - - ni - - - - - - - ma
me -
A - - - ni - - ma
A - - - ni - - - - - - - ma
A - - - - - ni - - - ma
me - - -
me - a
li -
li - que fac - - - - - - - - - -
que fac - - - - - - - - -




The moſt pleaſing production of HENRY ISAAC that has been preſerved ſeems to be the following, which, if we may believe GLAREANUS, is in the true LYDIAN MODE of the Antients.

**Example from Henry Isaac, of the ancient Lydian Mode, according to Glareanus.**






(1) As I regard Henry Iſaac to have been a more ancient Compoſer than Benedictus (ſee Page 617.) the $\frac{6}{3}$, if I may depend on my Memory, occur here for the firſt time.

(2) Though the Harmony of $\frac{6}{4}$, which is here given to the Baſe A, ſeems uncouth and unwarrantable to the Eye, yet it will not offend the Ear in this place; and it is curious to find ſo early a Contrapuntiſt venturing upon a Combination of ſounds, that would be audacious in a Modern.

(3) Here if the $\frac{6}{2}$ were accompanied by a 3$^{d}$ ſound it muſt be the 4$^{th}$, which would perhaps be the 1$^{st}$ time of admitting ſuch a Chord; as the $\frac{5}{2}$ were long uſed before the $\frac{4}{2}$.

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The next eminent Contrapuntiſt, in point of time, to Okenheim, Joſquin, and Henry Iſaac, is JACOB HOBRECHT, or OBRETH, a Netherlander, who initiated Eraſmus, when a youth, in the ſecrets of his art, as Damon was formerly the Muſic-maſter of Socrates (*q*). Glareanus, the diſciple of Eraſmus, ſays that he had frequently heard his Preceptor ſpeak of Hobrecht as a Muſician who had no ſuperior, and ſay, that he had ſuch a rapid and wonderful facility in writing, that he compoſed an excellent Maſs in one night, which was very much admired by the learned (*r*). Indeed, in ſcoring his Maſs *Si Dedero*, which was printed at Venice in 1508 (*s*), it appears, though the movements are ſomewhat too ſimilar in ſubject, that the Counterpoint is clean, clear, and maſterly. And this is the chief praiſe that is juſtly due to moſt of the compoſitions of the ſame period; which, in other reſpects, ſo much reſemble each other, that the ſpecimens already given exhibit almoſt all the variety of melody and meaſure which the productions of a whole century can furniſh. Indeed, as air and grace were not at this time the objects of a Compoſer's purſuits, they ſhould not be ſought or expected. Thoſe, however, who have heard modern Melody, Harmony, and Modulation, to a degree of ſatiety, and admire the Fugues, Canons, and other ingenious contrivances of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, would have great pleaſure in the performance or contemplation of ſuch Muſic as this, which is become *new* by exceſs of antiquity. Few or none of the paſſages have been retained in Modern Muſic; and the harmony and modulation having been regulated by the eccleſiaſtical tones, or modes, which have been ſo long exploded in this country, every thing would be as new to a *Dilettante* of the preſent age, as if he only now heard Muſic for the firſt time; ſo that, thoſe who can tolerate nothing but what is *ancient*, and thoſe, who are in

(*q*) See vol. i p. 416.
(*r*) Dodecachord p. 456.
(*s*) *Miſſar. diverſ. auct.* l. 2.

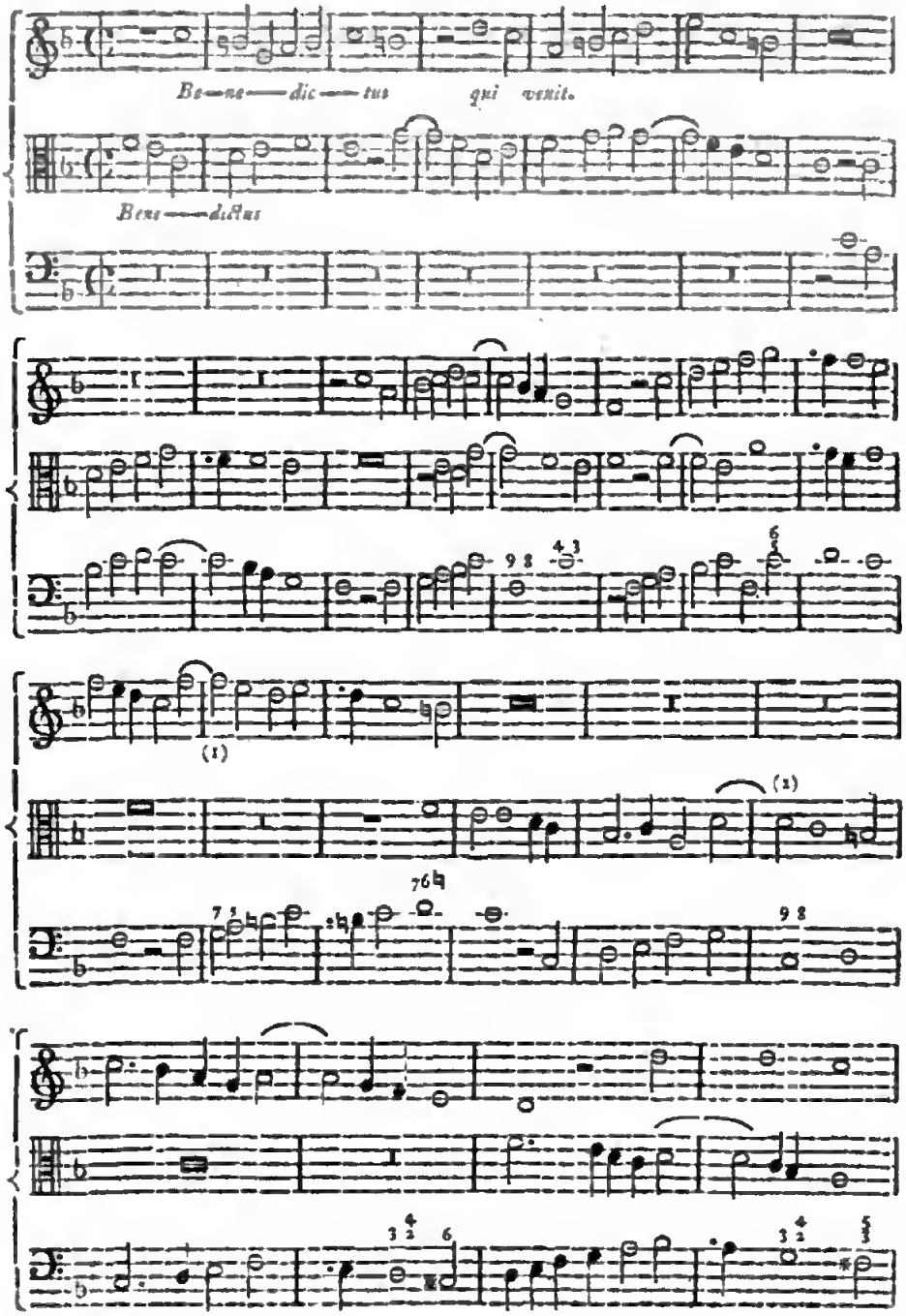
conſtant ſearch of *ſomething new*, will, in theſe authors, find Muſic equally adapted to their ſeveral taſtes, and be likewiſe furniſhed with an excuſe for their faſtidiouſneſs.

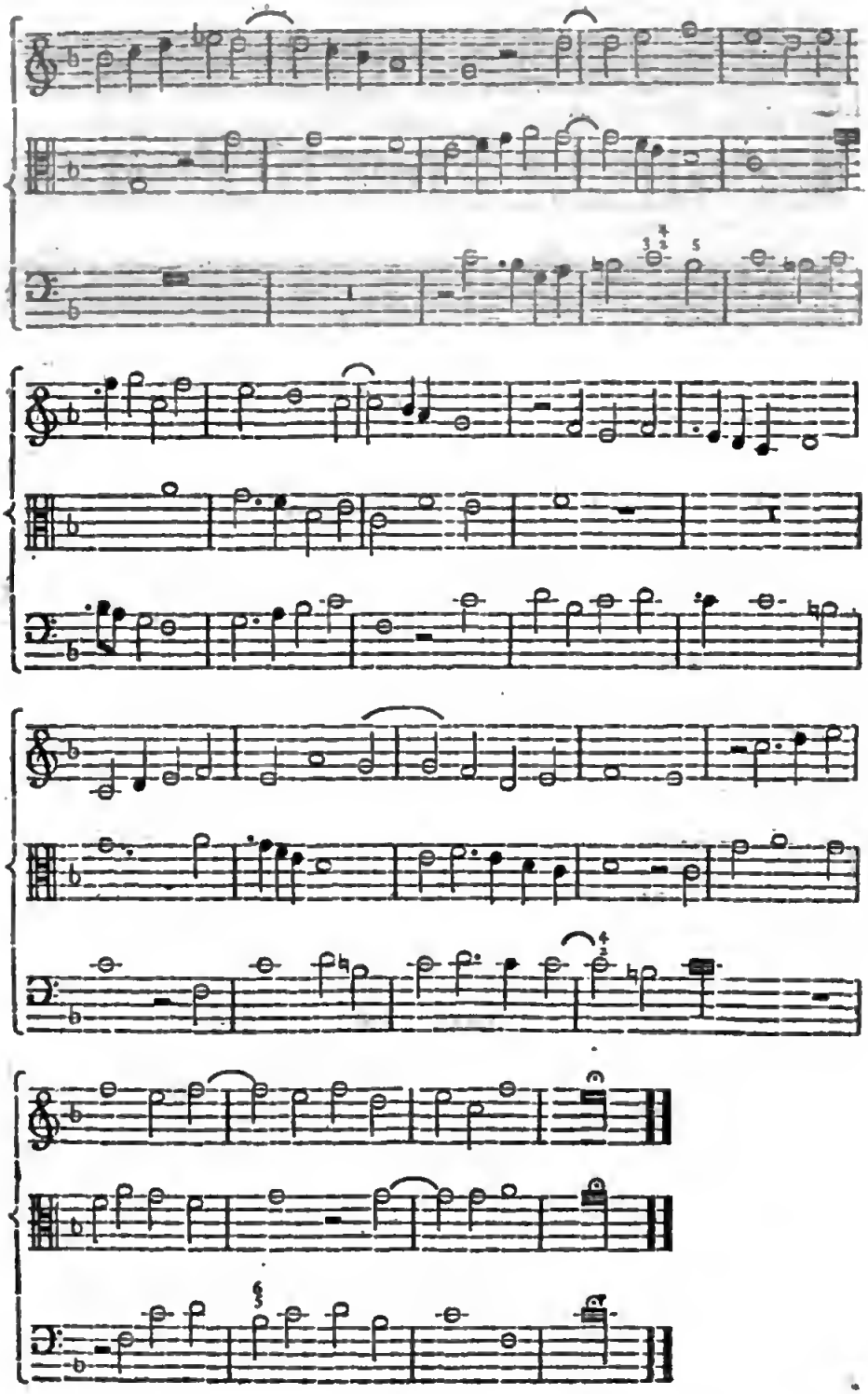
One of the moſt voluminous Compoſers of the period under conſideration, was PIERRE DE LA RUE, or, as he is called by writers in Latin, PETRUS PLATENSIS. What country gave him birth, is now difficult to aſcertain; Walther calls him a Netherlander, ; Glareanus, a Frenchman; others ſuppoſe him to have been a Spaniard. It is, however, certain, that he was in high favour with prince Albert, and princeſs Iſabella, of the Low Countries; that a work under his name was publiſhed at Antwerp, with this title: *El Parnaſſo Eſpanol de Madrigales y Villancicos à quatro, cinco y ſeis voces*; beſides Maſſes and Motets to Latin words; and that he was a very learned Contrapuntiſt.

Many of his compoſitions for the church are ſtill extant in the Muſeum Collection of Maſſes and Motets, ſome of which were publiſhed as early as the year 1503, immediately after the invention of Muſical Types. The following *Benedictus*, from his Maſs *de beata Virgine*, is ſelected as a ſpecimen of his ſtyle, and free uſe of the four principal diſcords, of ſecond, fourth, ſeventh, and ninth. In the fourteenth Bar of this movement, likewiſe, the fifth, though ſomewhat aukwardly, is made a diſcord by the ſixth (*t*).

(*t*) At No. (1) the ſeventh, for the firſt time that I have obſerved it, in only two parts, is reſolved upon the fifth. And at No. (2) the ninth which is wholly unaccompanied by a concord, muſt have been very unuſual, at this early period of Counterpoint.

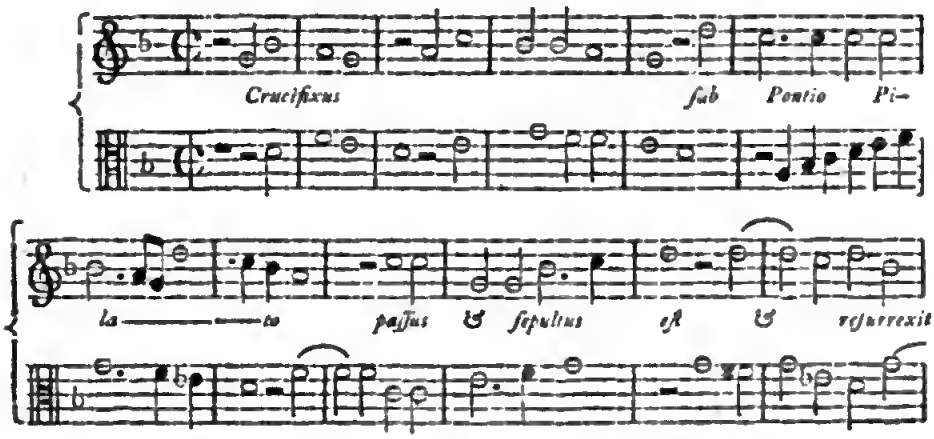
## PIERRE DE LA RUE.





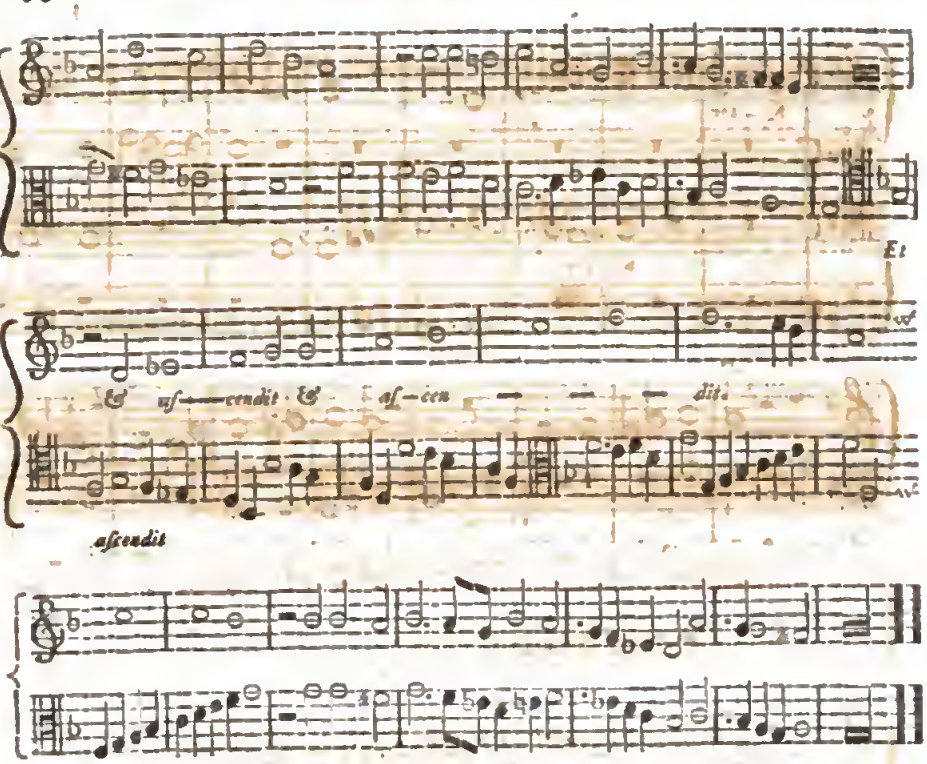
The moſt ancient Contrapuntiſt of the French ſchool, of whoſe Compoſitions I have been able to find any remains, is ANTHONY BRUMEL, cotemporary with Joſquin, and ſcholar of Okenheim. I ſcored an entire Maſs by him, called Δριγξ, I know not why, unleſs it be the name, or initial word of a German drinking Song. It is printed in the firſt book of *Miſſarum diverſorum*, in the Muſeum collection. He does not appear to have had much invention; however, his harmony in general, is pure, and melody and notation more clear and ſimple than was common at the period when he flouriſhed. Glareanus ſeems to characteriſe him juſtly, when he ſays, that he was a very able Contrapuntiſt, but was poſſeſſed of more learning than genius (*u*). The ſame author informs us (*x*), that at the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, when he was arrived at an extreme old age, he compoſed a Kyrie Eleiſon in competition with Joſquin, in which not only in the Tenor, but in all the parts, he introduced the ſubject, aſcending, and deſcending, with wonderful ſkill. There is much more plain and ſimple Counterpoint in his Maſs, which I have ſcored, and leſs Fugue, Canon, or imitation, than I have ever ſeen in a compoſition of the ſame length and period. The following ſhort *Duo* has ſome faint glimmerings of expreſſion, beſides the merit of harmony and contrivance.

*Duo.*



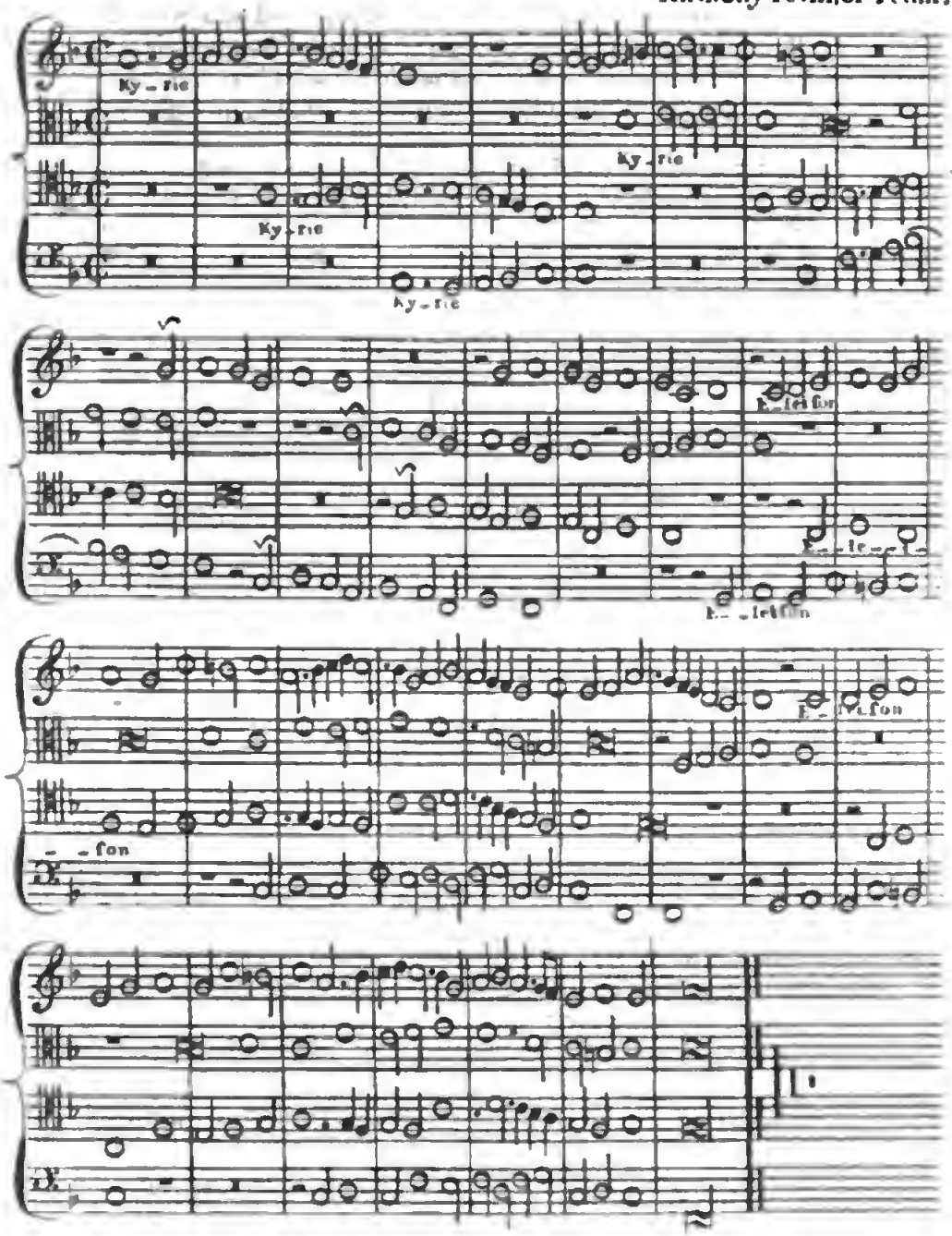

(*u*) Antonius Brumel *dignus qui inter eximios Symphonetas numeretur, magis tamen diligentiâ & arte valuit, quam naturæ indulgentia.* Dodecachordon, P. 456.

(*x*) P. 152.



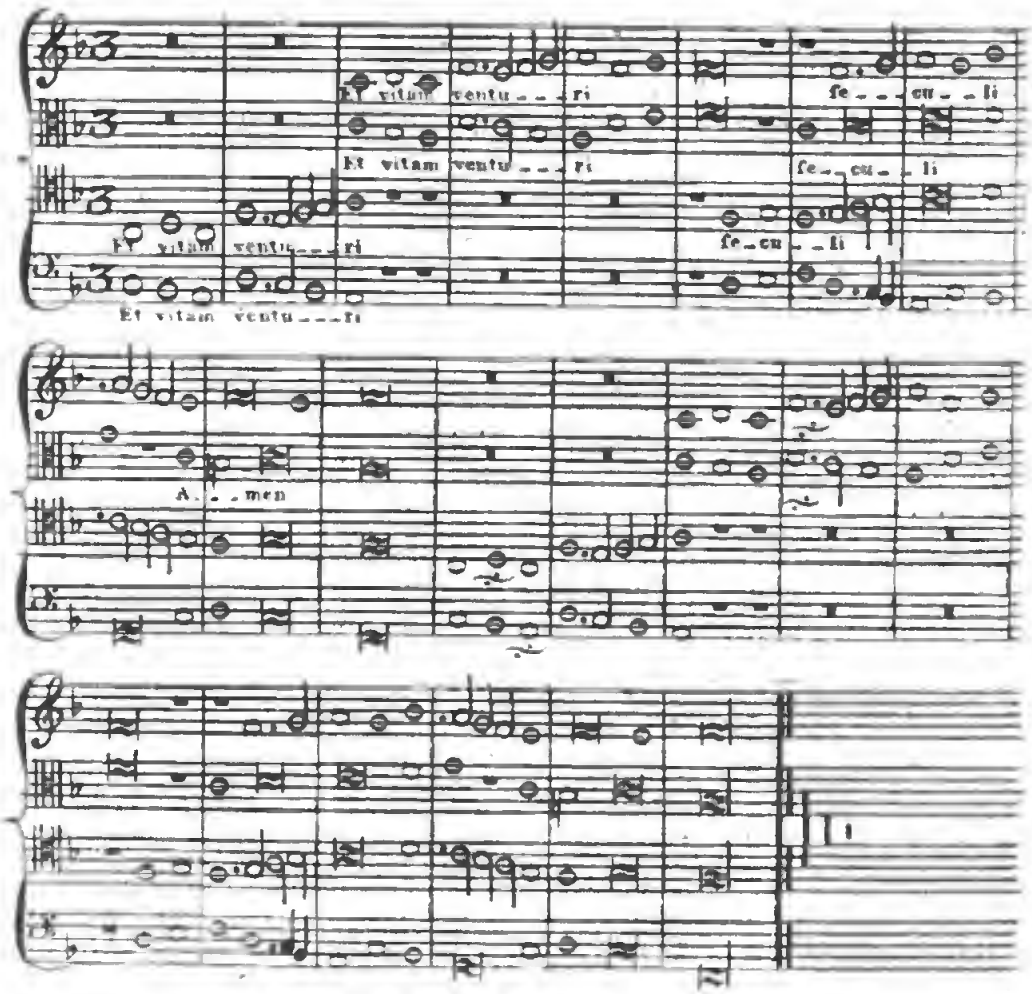

There is a Mass in the same collection by Gaspar, an old composer, probably a native of France, whose name occurs in Franchinus among the *most delightful* Contrapuntists of his time. The composition of this Mass, which is upon the subject of an old Song, *n'as tu pas*, is excellent, with respect to harmony; and the points of Imitation are such as would not disgrace Palestrina, or even a much more modern author, as to Melody, though printed in 1508, and probably composed much sooner.

Anthony *Feum*, or *Fevin*, a native of Orleans, is mentioned by Glareanus with great encomiums, as the successful emulator of Josquin, and a young man whose modesty was equal to his genius. There are three of his Masses in the Museum Collection, which, in scoring, I find excellent, particularly that which is called *Sancta Trinitas*, the second Movement of which I shall give, as a specimen of his abilities.


Ky - rie
Ky - rie
Ky - rie
Ky - rie
- fon

The Points in this Movement are pleaſing, and Introduced in a Maſterly manner: MORLEY, who tells us in his Liſt of Authors, at the end of his INTRODUCTION, that he had conſulted the works of FEVIN, has made great uſe of the point, which is led off at this Mark, ✓ in one of his 3 part Songs, beginning "Leaſe myne Eyes"

The other Movements are all on agreable Subjects, and treated in a clear and able manner, but are too long for inſertion; however the cloſe of one of them being in triple time, is curious, and beautiful, for the age in which it was Compoſed.



Among the firſt Maſſes that were printed, there is one by Philip Baſiron, which is dry, aukward, and devoid of invention and contrivance. Its extreme difficulty of notation, from the frequency of ligatures, and obſcurity of obſolete prolations, encourages a belief that the author preceded Joſquin; but as none of his works remain, except the Maſs in this collection, it cannot be determined when, or where he lived, no mention having been made of him by Glareanus or Walther.

This author was peculiarly fond of unlimited *Pauſes*, in the middle of his Movements, having ſometimes four together, and once, in the *Credo*, at the words *& homo factus eſt*, he has eight ſucceſſively. As every thing has been tried in Muſic, at all times, that was likely to pleaſe, ſurpriſe, or impreſs the public with the idea of an author's ſuperior genius, taſte, or ſcience; ſo there has been at every period, ſome faſhionable folly, extravagance, or affectation, among Muſicians: for whenever a happy novelty has been ſtarted, by a man gifted with real genius, immediately another, with none, has given it to the public in a larger doſe, with as little diſcretion as a cook, who, hearing that an ounce of ſome particular ingredient had rendered a new invented diſh extremely palatable, ſhould think it would be ſtill more exquiſite, if he doubled the quantity.

There is no other Compoſer of this high period whoſe Maſſes have been preſerved in the ſame collection as thoſe of the great Contrapuntiſts already mentioned, to whom we ſhall aſſign a ſeparate niche, except JOHN MOUTON. Glareanus calls him a Frenchman, but Lud. Guicciardini claims him as a native of the Netherlands. Wherever he was born, it is certain that he ſpent the chief part of his life in the ſervice of the French Court, during the reigns of Lewis the Twelfth, and Francis the Firſt. He was a diſciple of Joſquin (*y*), and maſter of Adrian Willaert, not his ſcholar, as Printz, and others after him, have aſſerted.

(*y*) See the notes on *Rabelais Moderne*, *To.* V. *2de partie*, P. 54.

Notwith-

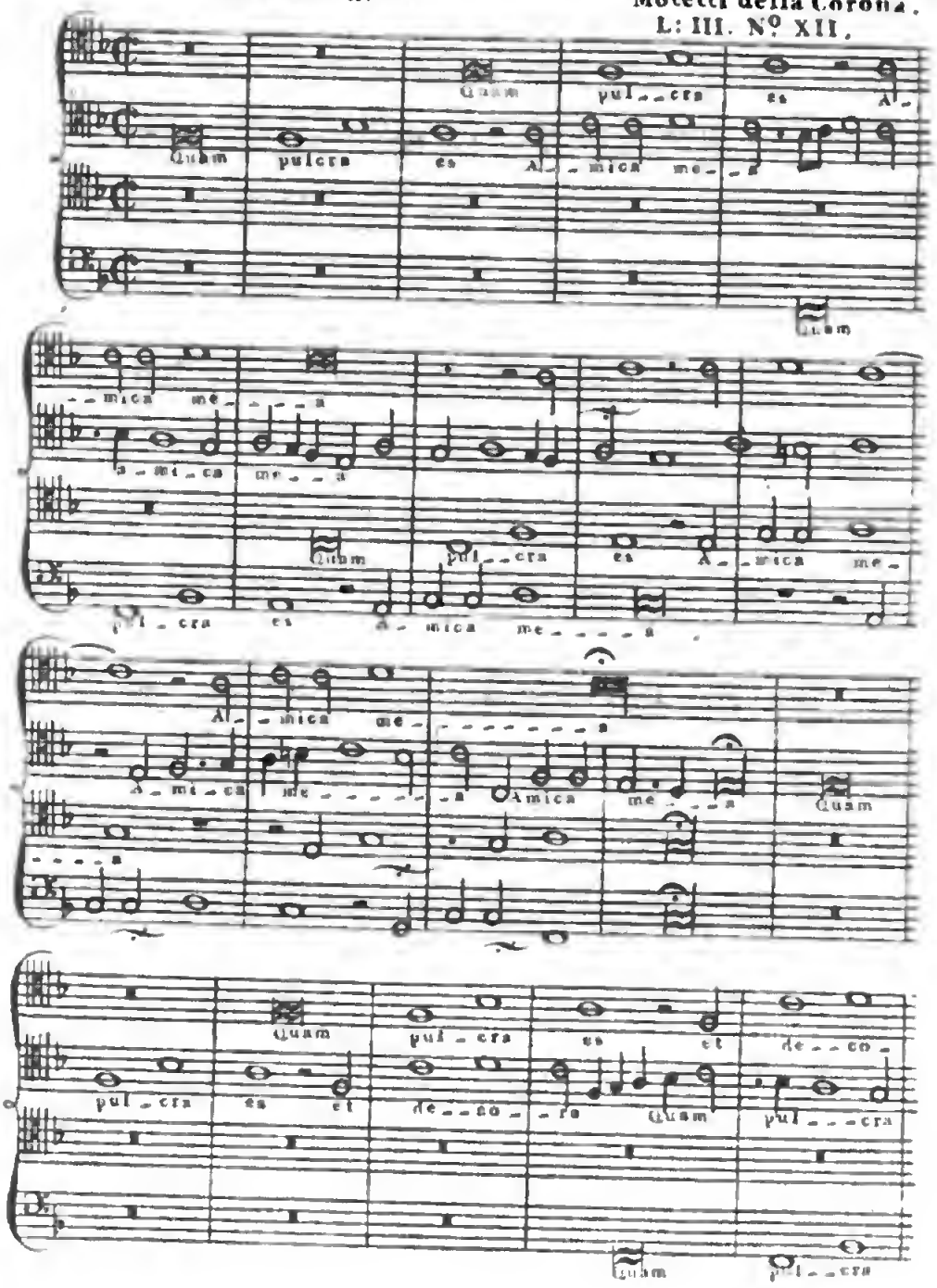
Notwithſtanding the rapture with which Glareanus ſpeaks of this Compoſer's Maſſes, they ſeem to me inferior in melody, rhythm, and deſign, to thoſe of Joſquin, De la Rue, and Fevin. It is in his fourth Maſs that I firſt met with two Flats at the Clef, and an accidental Flat upon A. In ſcoring this Compoſition, conſiſting of fourteen movements, I can diſcover no variety of meaſure or ſubject; nor is the want of Melody compenſated by richneſs of harmony, ingenuity of contrivance, or learning of modulation. His Motets, however, if not more nervous and elaborate than thoſe of his cotemporaries, are more ſmooth and poliſhed: but he lived in a court.

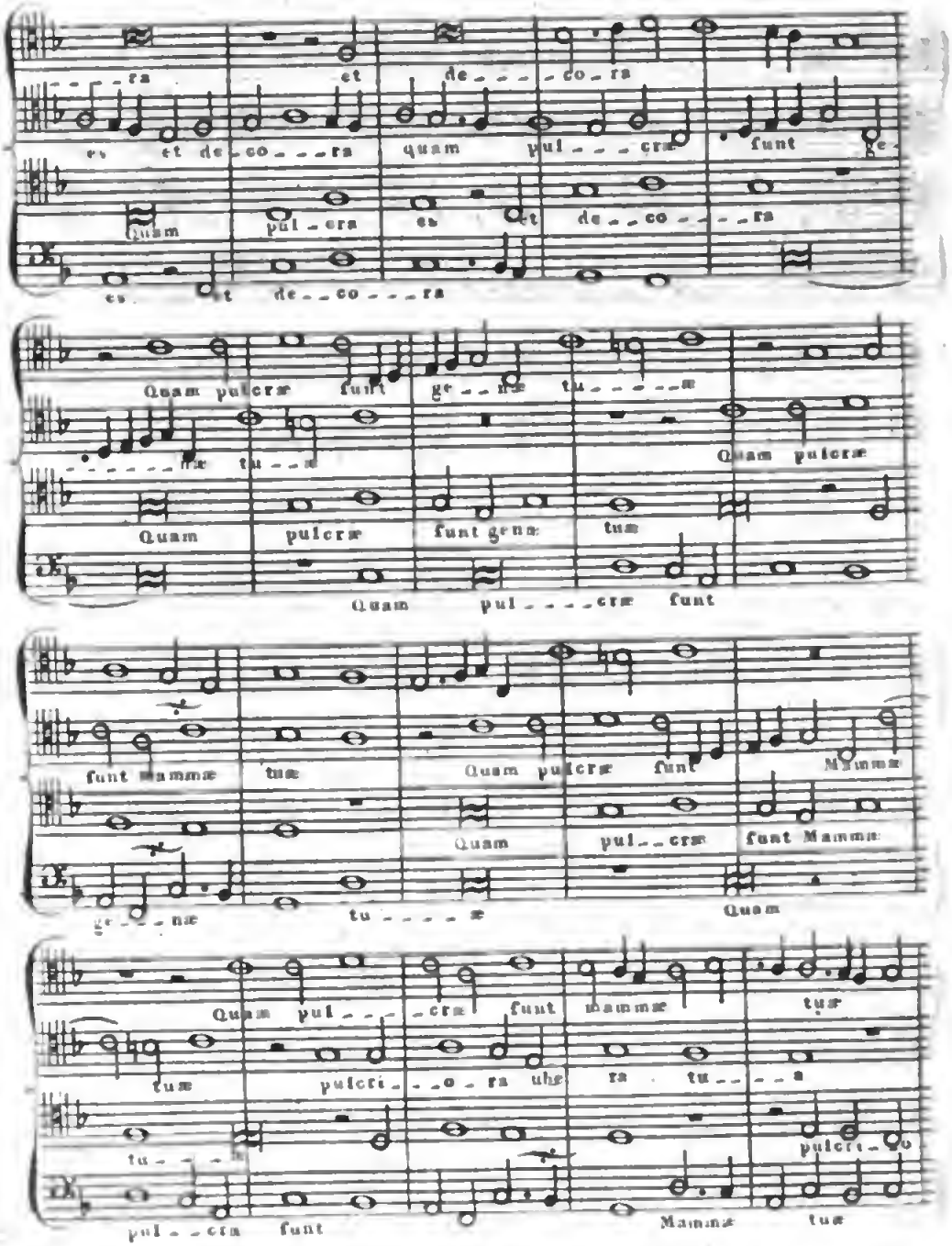
His Motet, *Non nobis Domine*, is not only pleaſing, but maſterly. It was compoſed in 1509, for the birth of Renée, the ſecond daughter of Lewis the Twelfth, by Anne of Bretagne, as appears in the body of the Motet (z); and this is ſufficient to confute the opinion of Mouton having been the ſcholar of Adrian Willaert, who, according to his own account, went into Italy very young, during the pontificate of Leo the Tenth *(a)*.

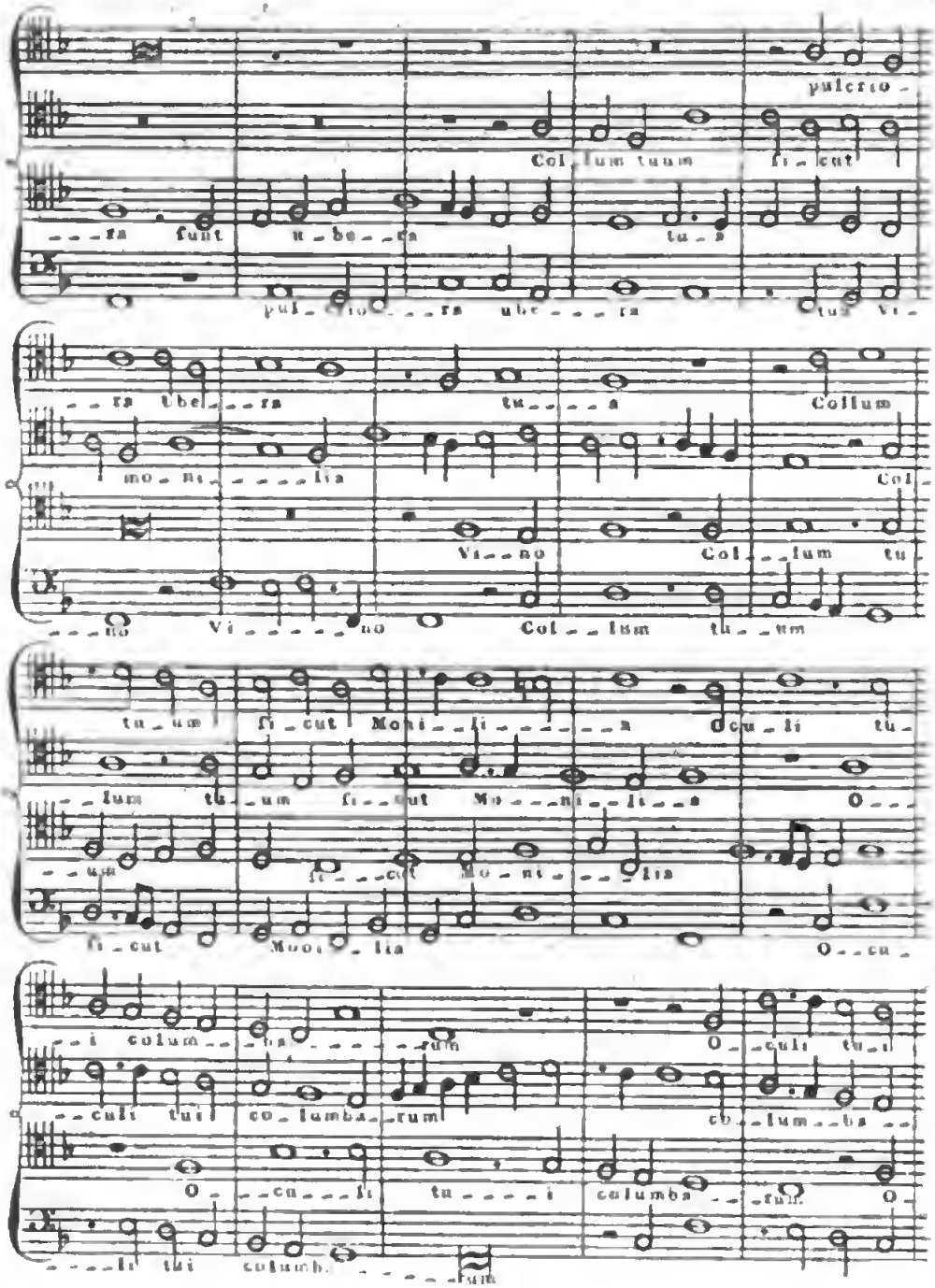
He compoſed another Motet in 1514, on the death of Queen Anne de Bretagne, but the beſt of his Compoſitions that I have ſeen, is the Motet *Quam pulchra es Amica mea*, from the Song of Solomon. It is compoſed for three Tenors and a Baſe; the ſubjects of Fugue are pleaſing, and treated with abilities. It is unfortunately too long for the whole to have a place in this volume; but, as examples of his ſtyle, I ſhall inſert the firſt movement, and a ſhort *Duo* from one of his Maſſes.

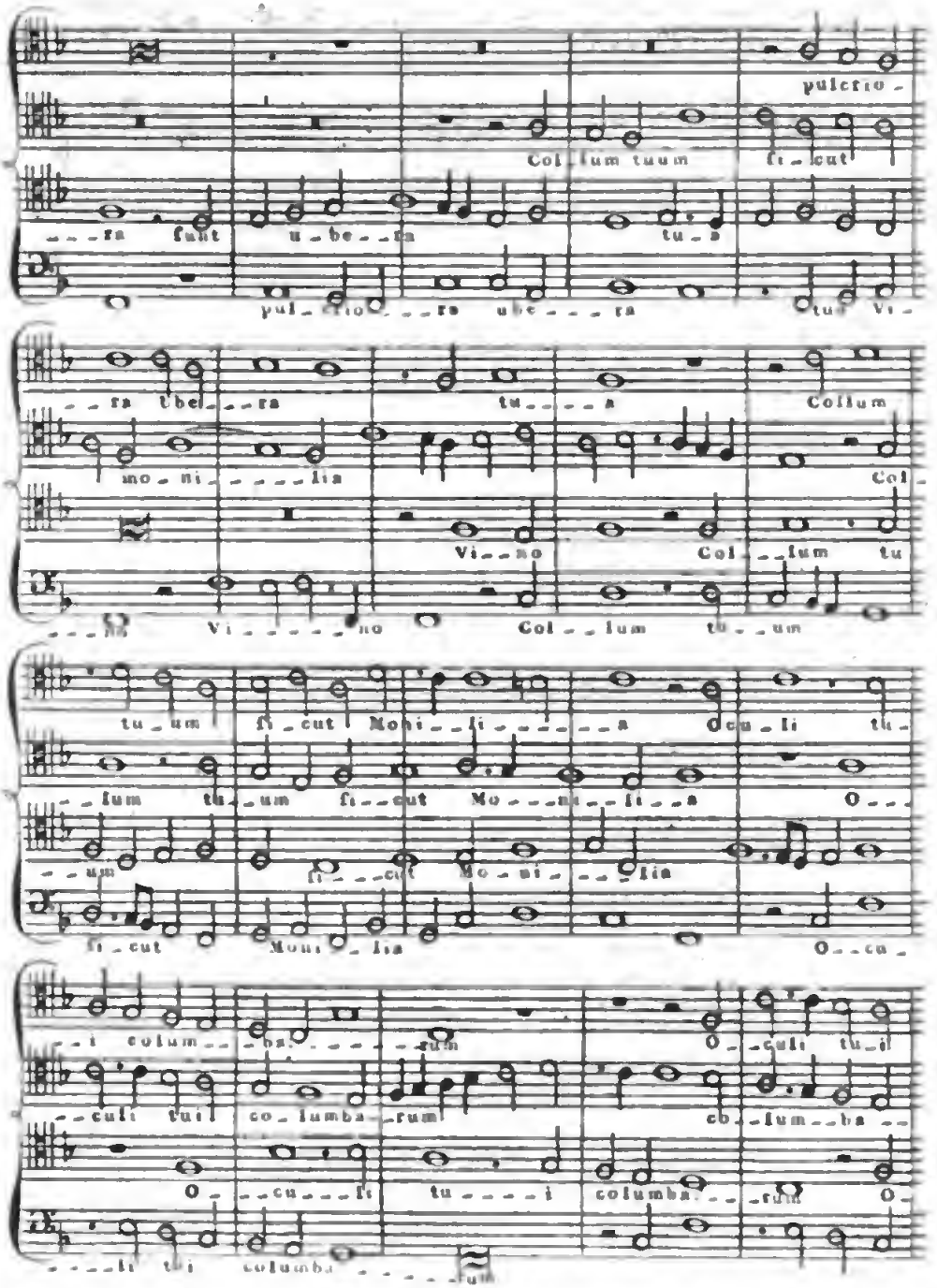
(z) This princeſs was married during the reign of Francis the Firſt, to the Duke of Ferrara, after whoſe death ſhe became a Hugonotte. Clement Marot, the poet, was her Secretary; ſhe died at Montargis, 1575.

(a) Zarlino, *Iſt. 4ta parte*, P. 346.


Quam pulcra es Amica mea
Quam pulcra es Amica mea
Amica mea
Amica mea
Quam pulcra es et decora
Quam pulcra es et decora
Quam pulcra


ra et de co ra
es et de co ra quam pul cræ sunt ge
Quam pul cra es et de co ra
es et de co ra
Quam pulcræ sunt ge næ tu æ
Quam pulcræ
Quam pulcræ sunt genæ tuæ
Quam pul cræ sunt
sunt Mammæ tuæ
Quam pulcræ sunt
Mammæ
Quam pul cræ sunt Mammæ
ge næ
tu æ
Quam
Quam pul cræ sunt mammæ tuæ
tuæ pulcri o ra ubæ
ra tu a
pulcri o
pul cra sunt
Mammæ tuæ


pulcrio -
Col lum tuum si - cut
- - - ra sunt u - be - - ra tu - a
pul - crio - - - ra ube - - - ra tua Vi -
- - ra Ube - - ra tu - - - - a Collum
mo - ni - - - - - lia Col -
Vi - - no Col - - lum tu -
- - - no Vi - - - - - - no Col - - lum tu - - um
tu - um si - cut Moni - - li - - - - - - a Ocu - li tu -
- - lum tu - - um si - - cut Mo - - - ni - - li - - a O - - -
- - um si - - - cut Mo - ni - - - lia
si - cut Moni - lia O - - cu -
- - i colum - - - ba - - - - - - rum O - - culi tu - i
- - culi tui co - lumba - - rum co - - lum - - ba - -
O - - - cu - - - li tu - - - - i columba - - rum O -
- - - - li tui columb - - - - - - rum


pulcrio-
Col-lum tuum si-cut
---ra sunt u-be--ra tu-a
pul-crio---ra ube---ra tua Vi-
--ra ube--ra tu---a Collum
mo-ni-----lia Col-
Vi--no Col--lum tu
---no Vi-----no Col--lum tu--um
tu-um si-cut Moni--li-------a Ocu-li tu-
--lum tu--um si--cut Mo---ni--li--a O---
--um si---cut Mo-ni---lia
si-cut Moni--lia O--cu-
--i colum--ba-------rum O--culi tu-i
--culi tui co-lumba--rum co--lum--ba--
O---cu---li tu----i columba---rum O-
----li tui columba-----rum

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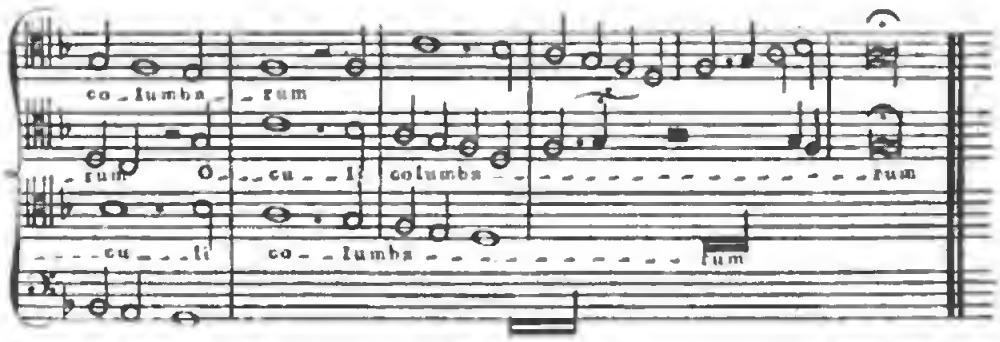
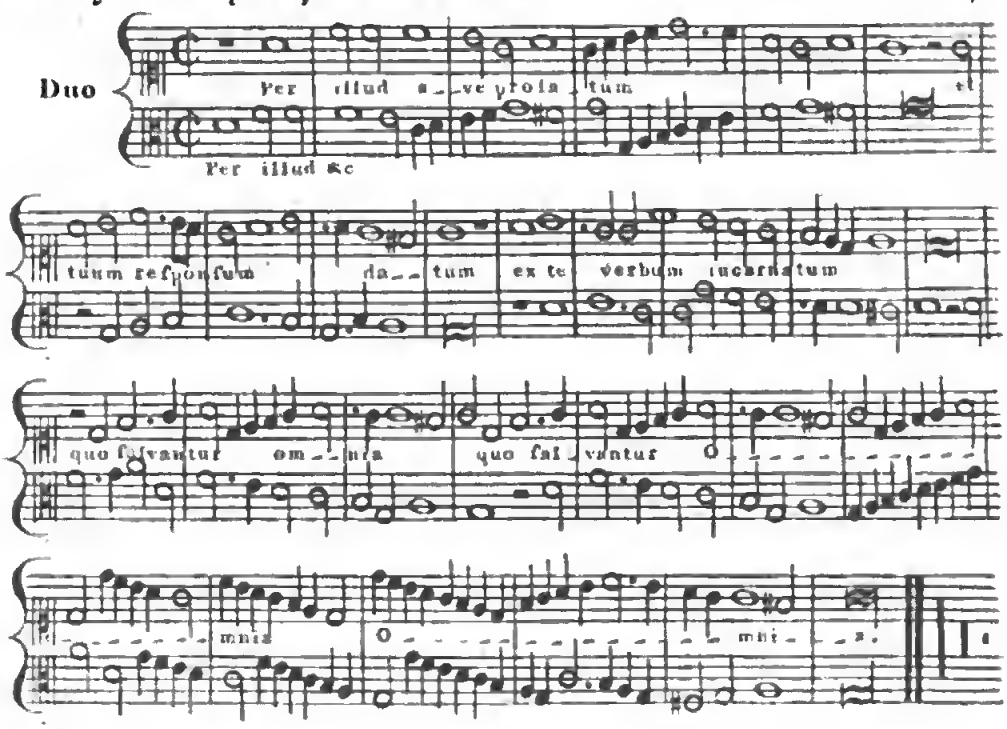



**Mixolydii exemplum, Johannis Mouton.** **Ex Glariano. P. 347.**

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## ENGLAND.

Having endeavoured to deſcribe the progreſs of Counterpoint on the Continent, and to do juſtice to the genius and abilities of its firſt ſucceſsful cultivators, of whoſe productions we have any remains, it is time, from ſuch records and memorials as the diligence of reſearch has diſcovered, to give an account of its ſtate, during the ſame period, on our own Iſland; and it has already been ſhewn, from the MS. Muſical Tracts, and Specimens of Compoſition of remote times, which have been preſerved, that the natives were neither inſenſible to the charms of Muſic, nor negligent in its cultivation.

The examples of Counterpoint in other countries, which have hitherto been exhibited, are entirely confined to *Church Muſic*, and, of any other kind, I have been able to find but little, either in print or MS. of higher antiquity than near the middle of the ſixteenth Century; yet I have not only ſeen Maſſes in four, five, and ſix parts, compoſed by the natives of England, which are equally ancient with thoſe on the continent, but *Secular Songs*, in our own language, of two and three parts, and in good Counterpoint, of the fifteenth, and beginning of the ſixteenth Century.

A very curious and valuable muſical MS. is preſerved, which once appertained to Dr. ROBERT FAYRFAX, an eminent Engliſh Compoſer, during the reigns of Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth; it was afterwards in the poſſeſſion of General Fayrfax, and upon his demiſe made a part of the Thoreſby collection, at the ſale of which, it was purchaſed by Mr. White (*b*).

It conſiſts of a collection of the moſt ancient Engliſh Songs, to which the Muſic has been preſerved. The writing is very clear and intelligible, for the period when it was tranſcribed,

(*b*) This MS. is ſtill the property of the worthy Mr. John White, of Newgate-ſtreet; who is likewiſe in poſſeſſion of a valuable collection of ancient rarities, as well as natural productions, of the moſt curious and extraordinary kind; no one of which, however, is more remarkable, than the obliging manner in which he allows them to be viewed and examined by his friends.

though the time of the muſical characters, from the want of Bars, and the uſe of ligatures and prolation, with a mixture of red notes for diminution, is ſometimes difficult to aſcertain.

Having been allowed by the preſent proprietor of this MS. to tranſcribe what part of it I pleaſed, I have ſcored the whole, by which I am enabled to judge of the progreſs which had been made in harmony by my countrymen, and to familiarize myſelf with the prevailing caſt of their melody, at the beginning of the ſixteenth Century.

The Compoſers of theſe Songs are William of Newark, —— Sheryngham, Edmund Turges, Tutor, or Tudor, Gilbert Baneſter, —— Browne, Richard Davy, William Cornyſhe junior, Syr Thomas Phelyppes (*c*), and Robert Fayrfax. But little is known now concerning theſe Muſicians, except that Turges is a name which occurs among the Muſicians of Henry the Sixth *(d)*. Tudor was author of ſeveral Compoſitions in the Muſic Book of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry the Eighth. Cornyſhe was of Henry the Seventh's chapel; and Fayrfax was admitted to a Doctor's degree in Muſic, at Cambridge, 1511; but as he is not ſtyled Doctor in this MS. we may reaſonably ſuppoſe his Compoſitions in it, to have been anterior to his receiving that honour in the Univerſity.

I ſhall ſelect a few of the Songs in this MS, and inſert them as ſpecimens of our early Lyric Compoſitions.

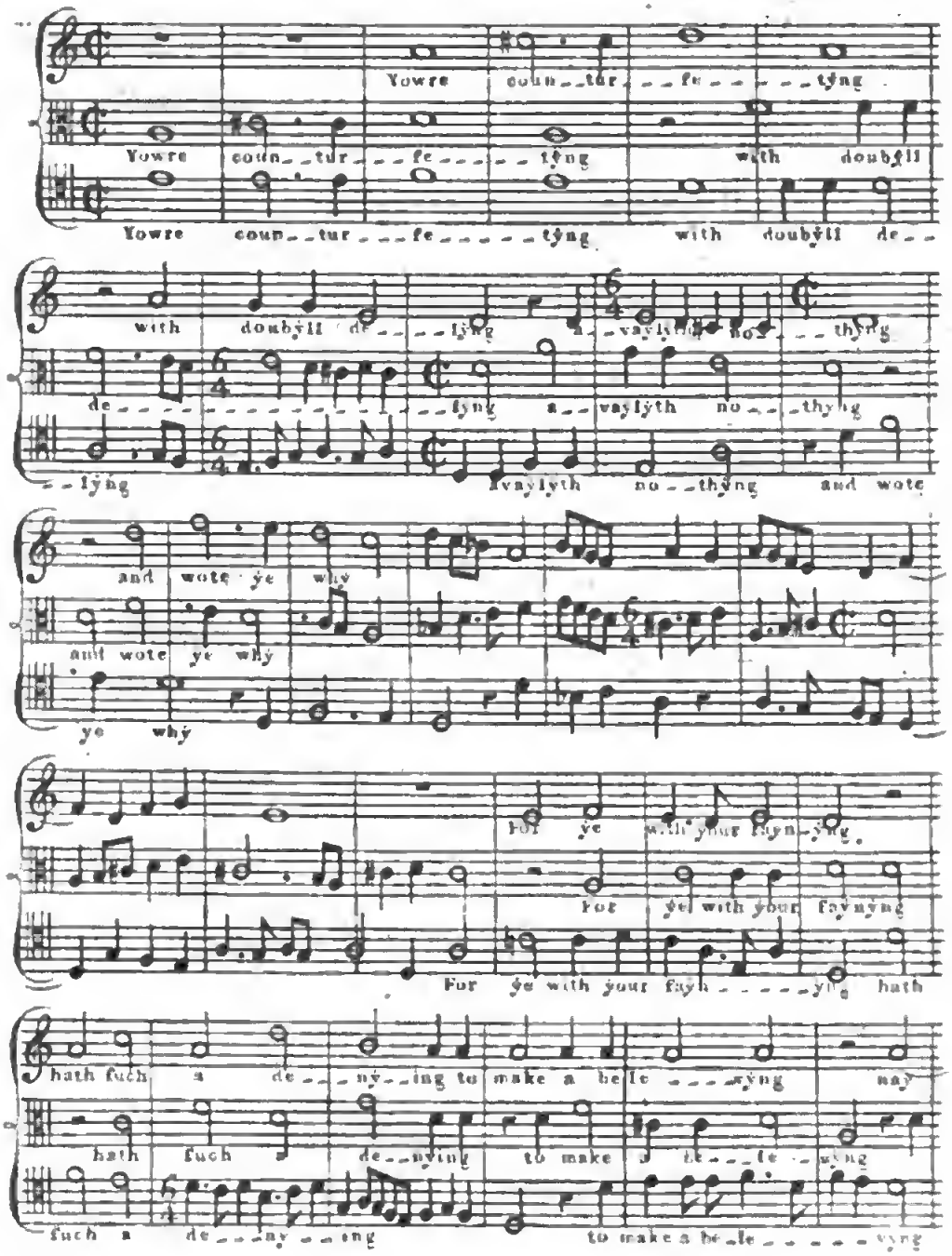
(*c*) *Sir* was a title formerly given to perſons in orders, as well as to Knights: and Fuller, in his Church Hiſt. book vi. inſtances a great number of this claſs among the incumbents of Chauntries, in the Cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of Edward the Sixth; and ſays, that, "ſuch "Prieſts as have the addition of *Sir* be- "fore their Chriſtian names, were men "not graduated in the Univerſity, *being* "in *orders*, but not in *degrees*; whilſt "others entitled *Maſters*, had commenced "in the Arts." P. 352.

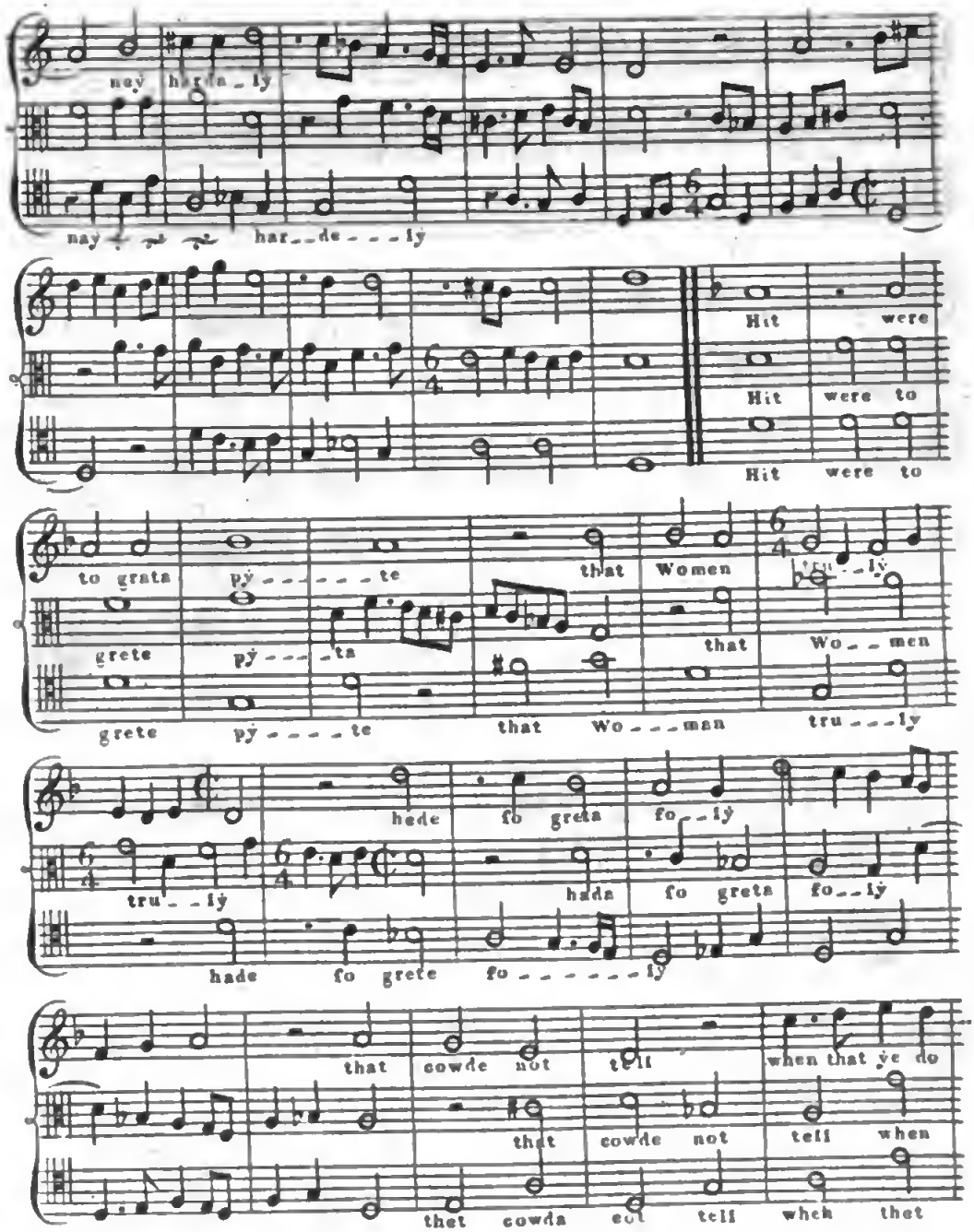
This explains and gives conſiderable antiquity to a four-part *Round*, that was firſt printed by John Playford, in *Catch that Catch can*, or a Collection of Catches, Rounds, and Canons, publiſhed by John Hilton, 1652.

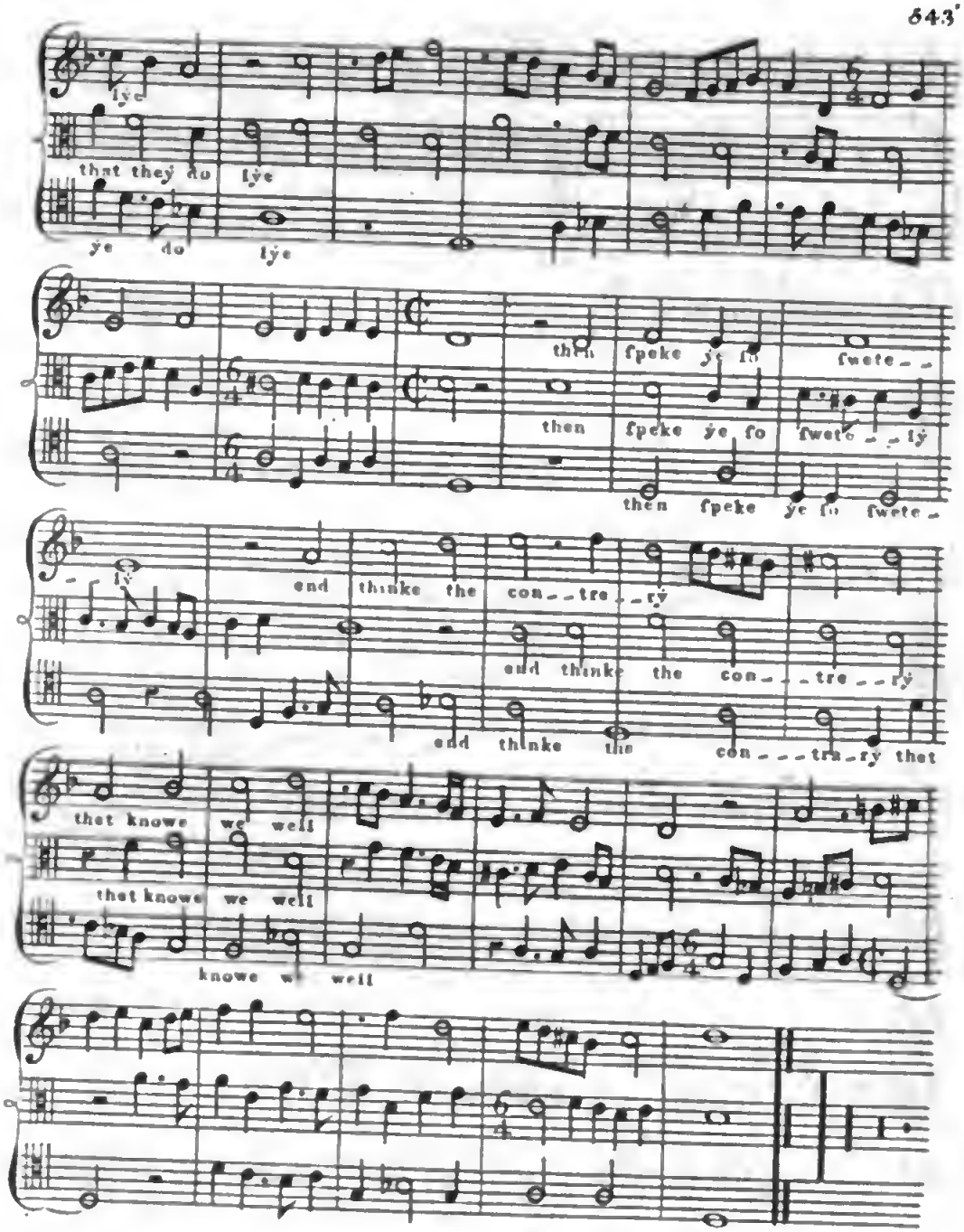
"Now I am marri'd, *Sir John* I'le not curſe:
"He join'd us together for better for worſe;
"But if I were ſingle, I muſt tell you plaine,
"I would be advis'd ere I marri'd againe."

(*d*) See Gloſs. to the late Edit. of Chaucer, at the word *Harpour*.

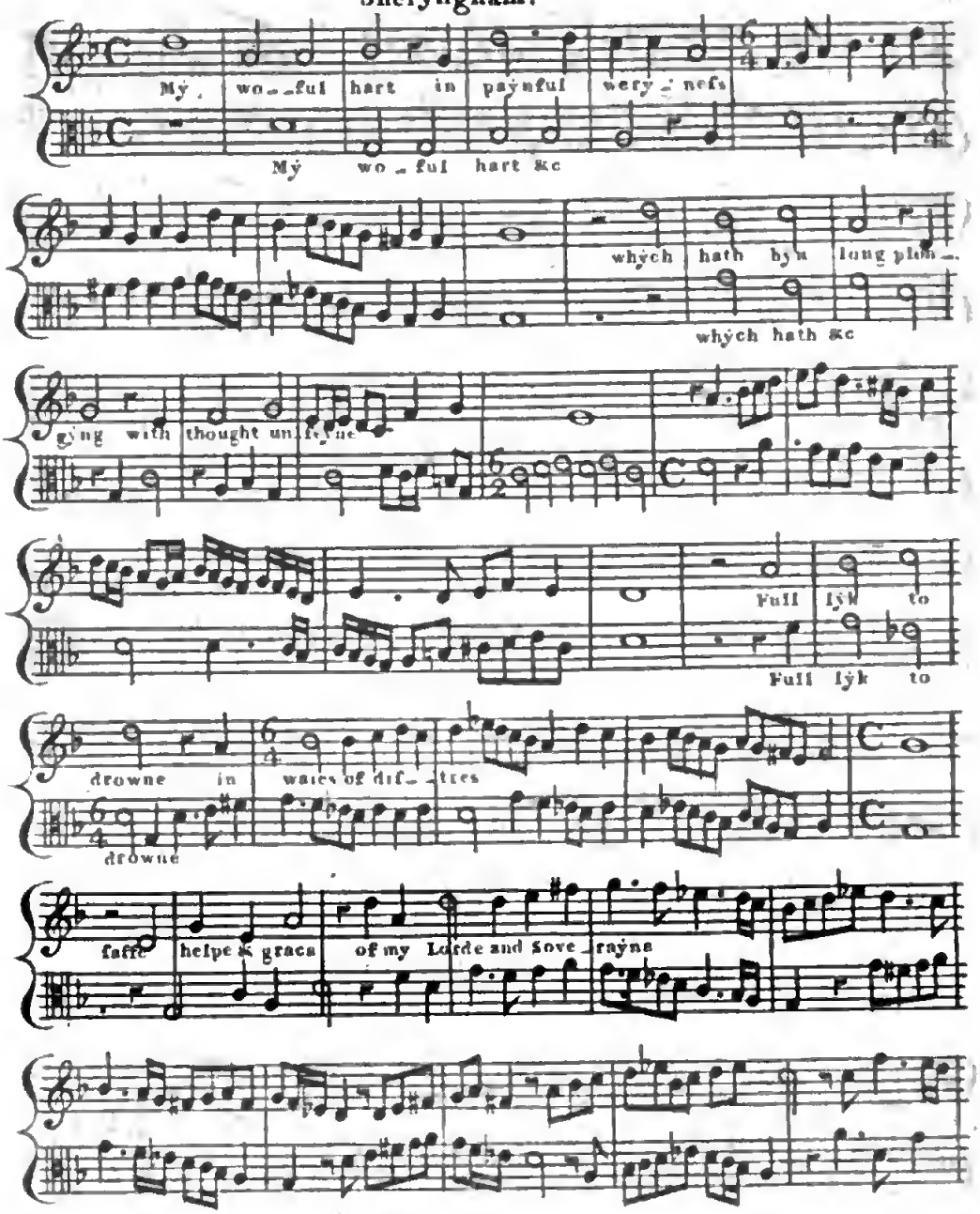
**William Newark.** **From the Fayrfax M.S.**




nay harde ly
nay har de ly
Hit were
Hit were to
Hit were to
to grete pyte
grete pyte
that Women truly
that Woman truly
hede fo grete fo ly
hade fo grete fo ly
that cowde not tell when that ye do
that cowde not tell when
thet cowde not tell when thet


lye
that they do lye
ye do lye
then fpeke ye fo fwete-
then fpeke ye fo fwete-ly
then fpeke ye fo fwete-
ly
end thinke the con--tre-ry
end thinke the con--tre-ry
end thinke the con---tra-ry that
that knowe we well
that knowe we well
knowe we well

## Sherýngham.

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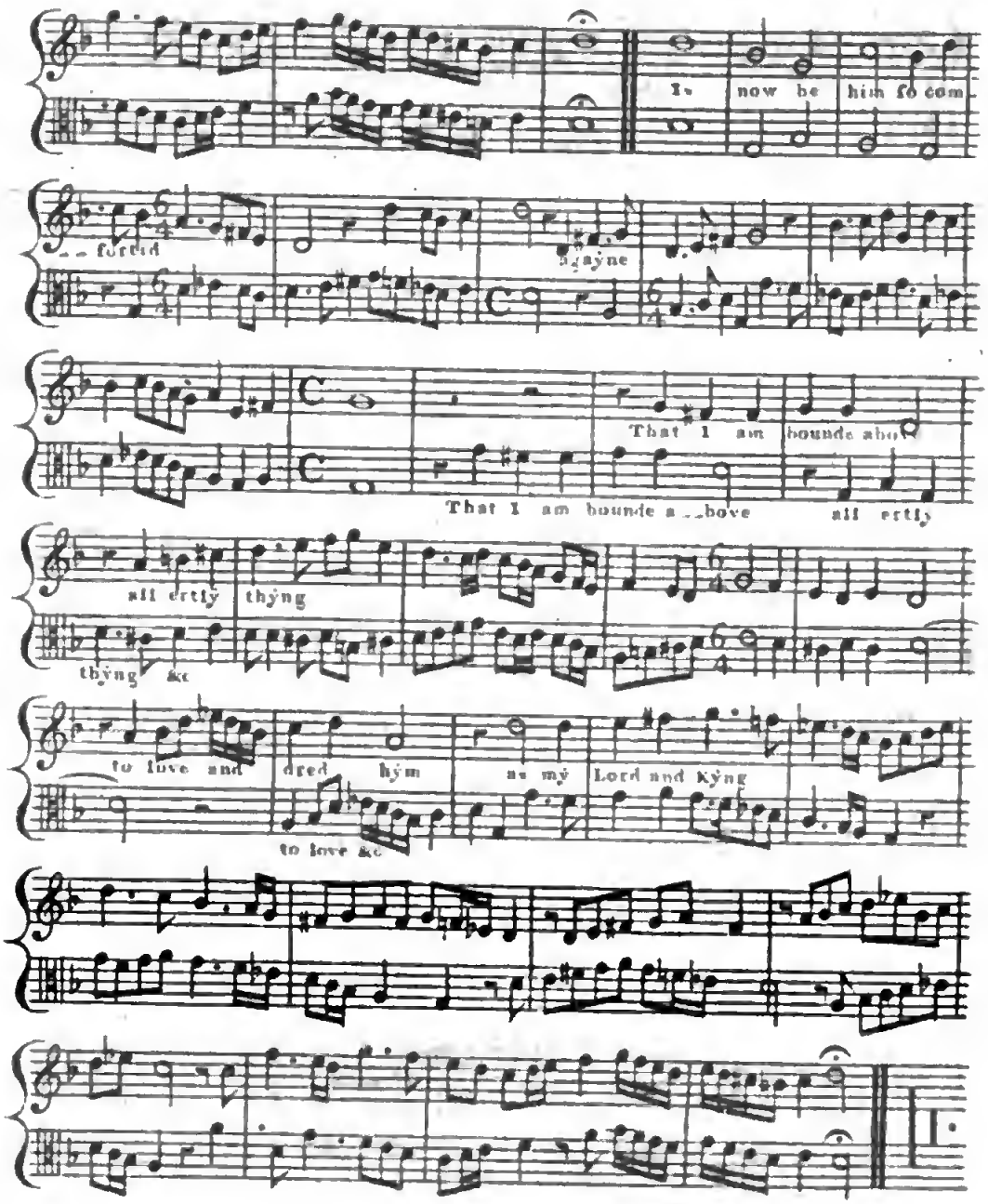
Is now be him so com-
-- forted
agayne
That I am bounde above
That I am bounde a--bove all ertly
all ertly thyng
thyng &c
to love and dred hym as my Lord and Kyng
to love &c

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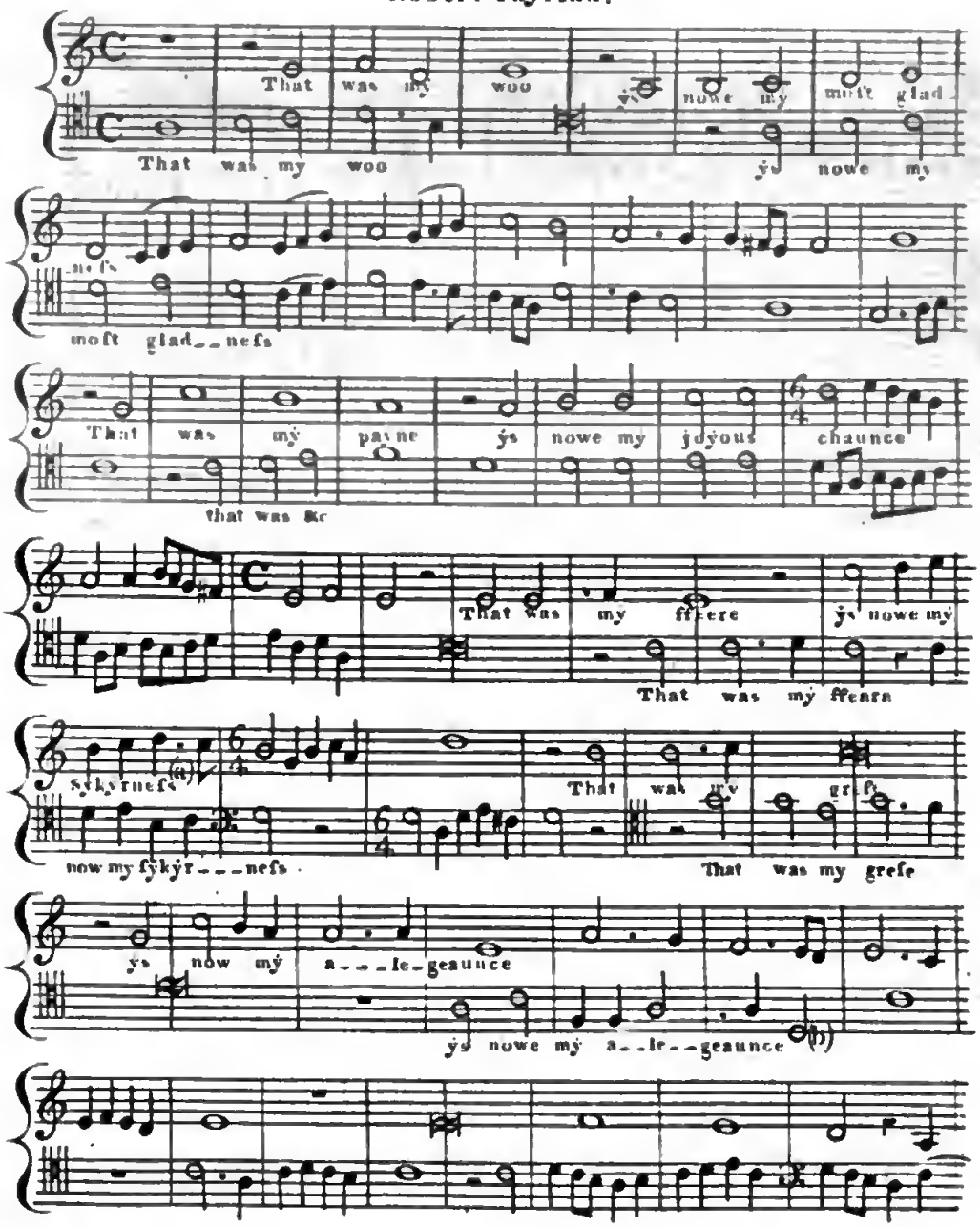
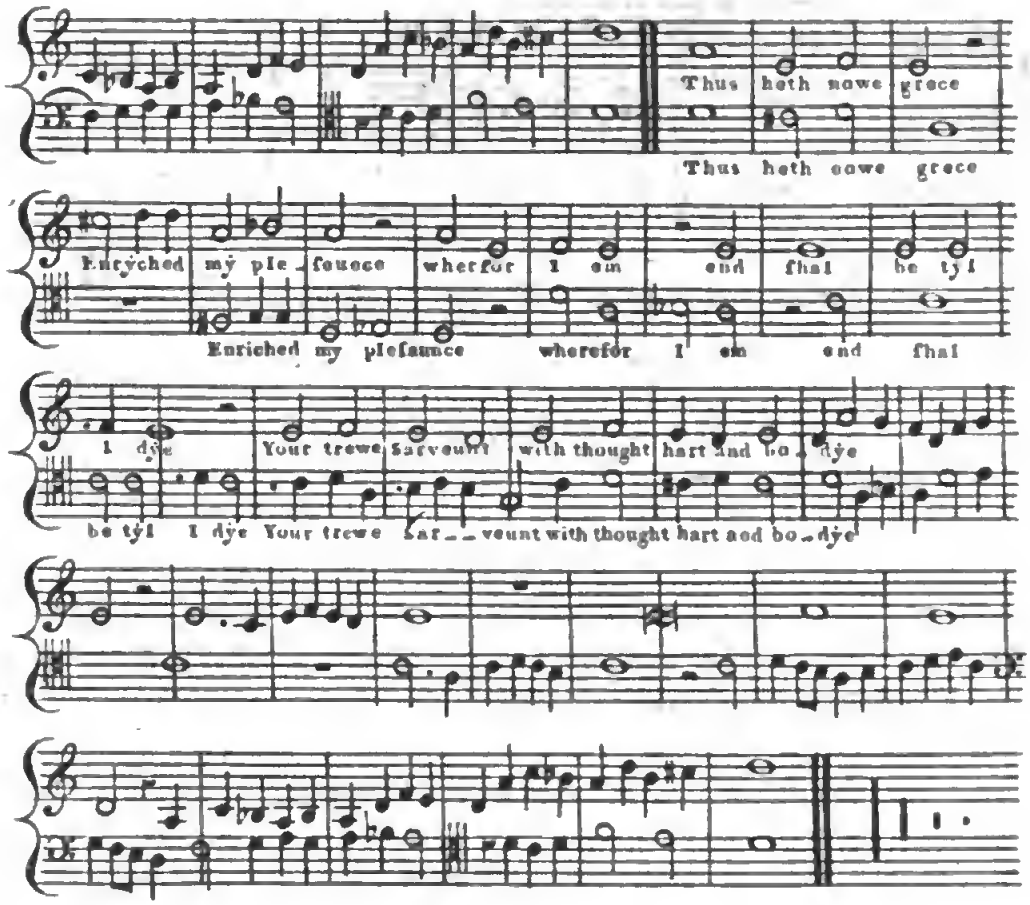
## Robert Fayrfax.




(a) ſecurity.

(b) Alleviation.

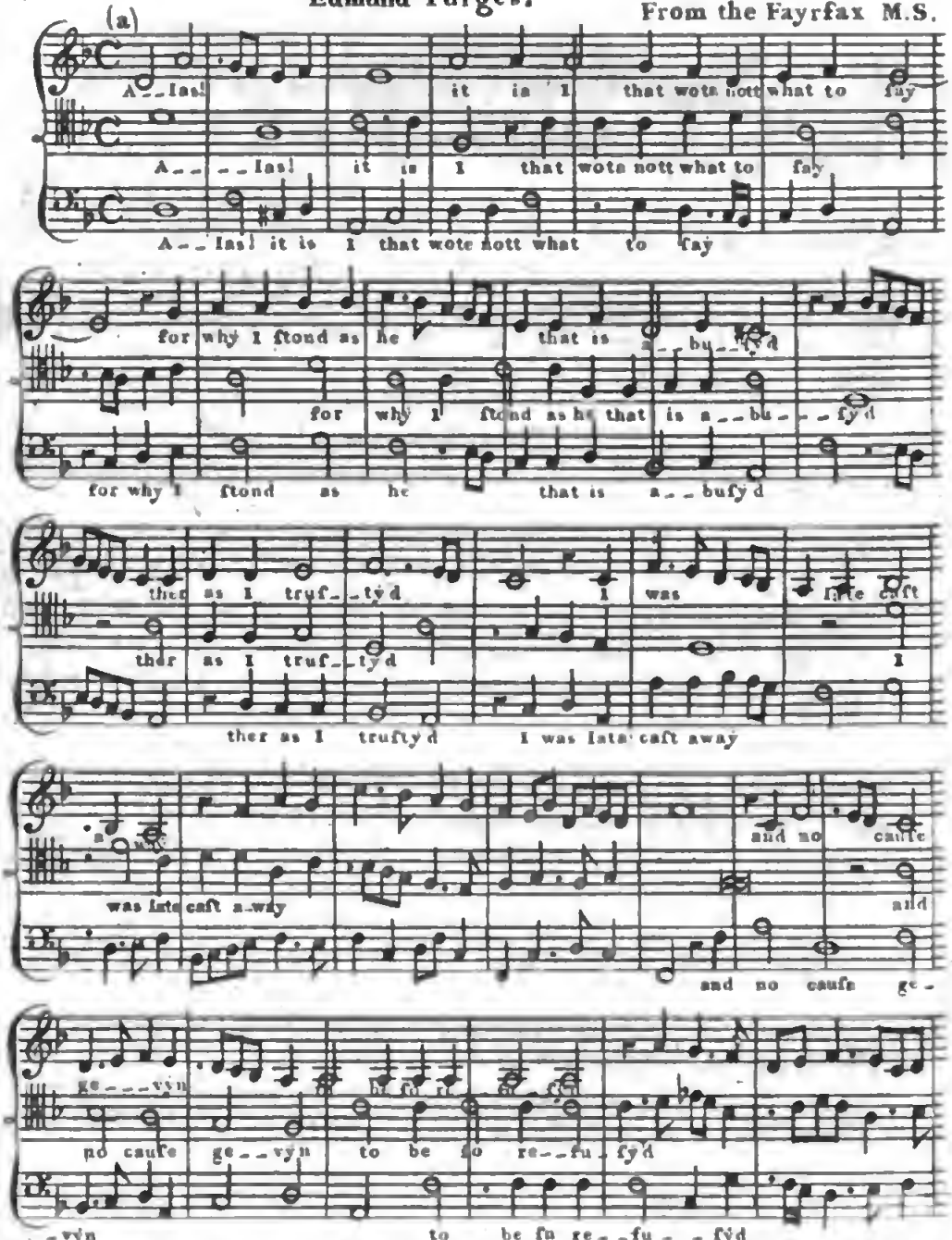



This Song has been very incorrectly tranſcribed, in the Fayrfax M.S. I have tried to reſtore many paſſages, without being certain that I have ſucceeded; particularly where the Baſe Clef occurs: thoſe, however, who wiſh to know how it ſtands in the Original, have only to eraſe that Clef.

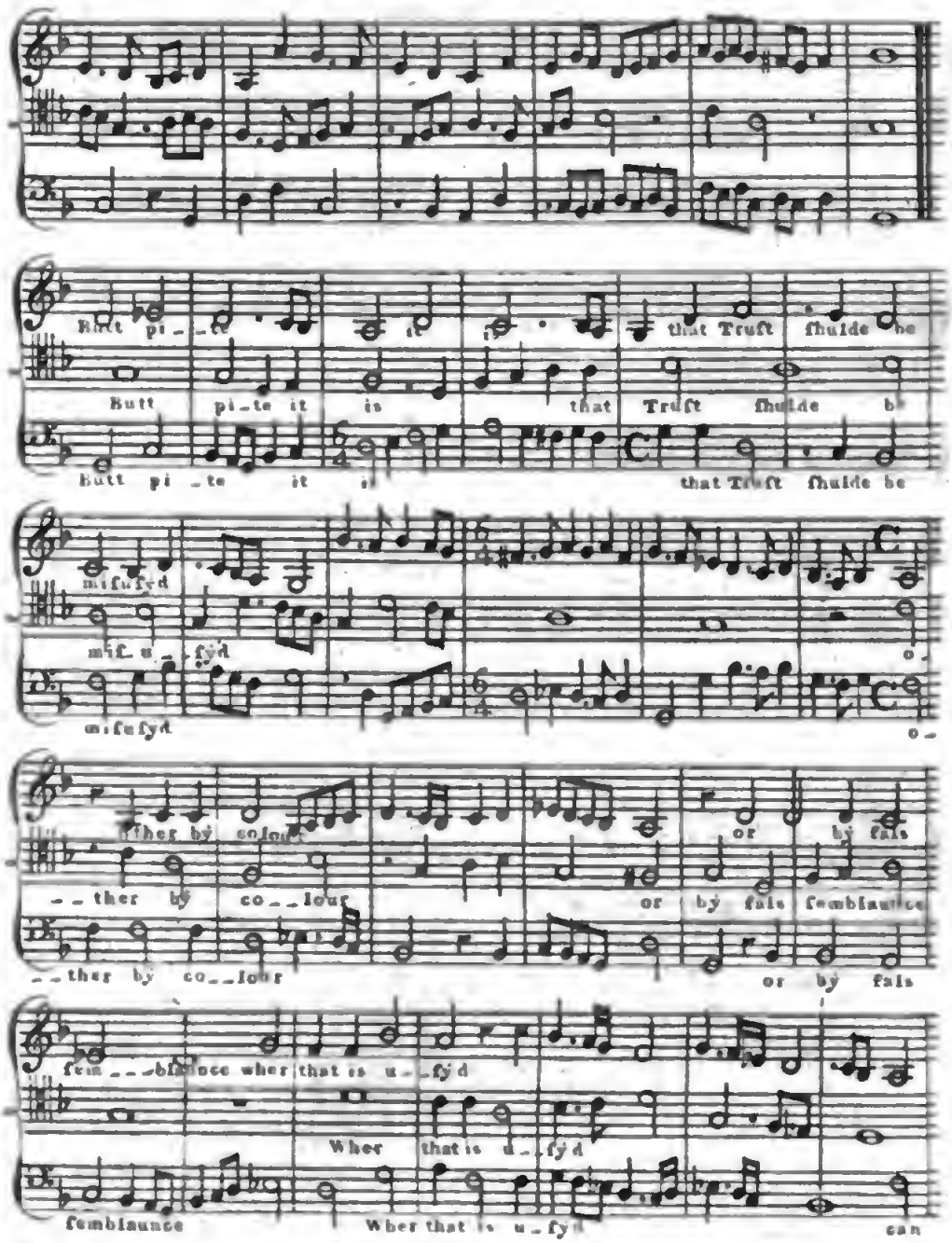
The Words of this Song ſeem to have been addreſsed to HENRY the VII on his aſcending the Throne, after the battle of Boſworth 1485.

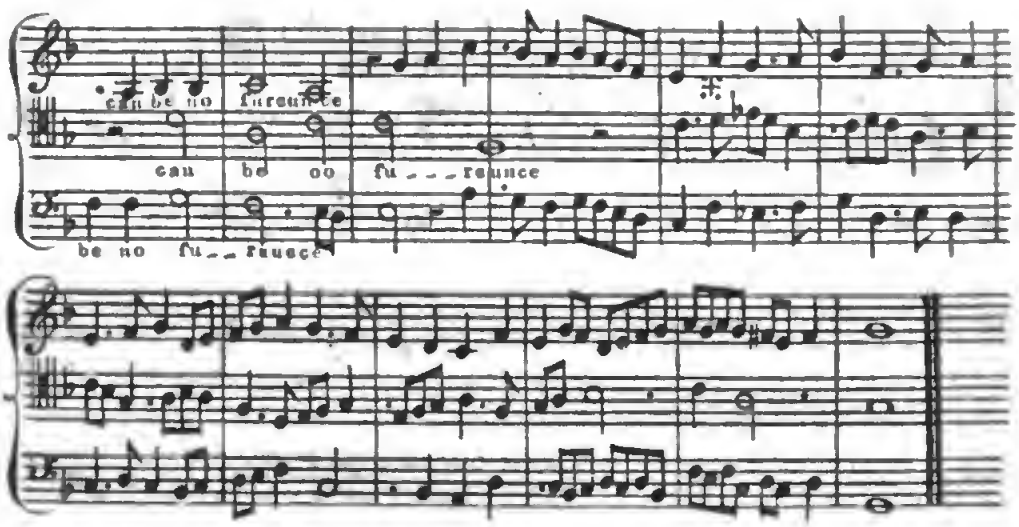
## Edmund Turges.

From the Fayrfax M.S.

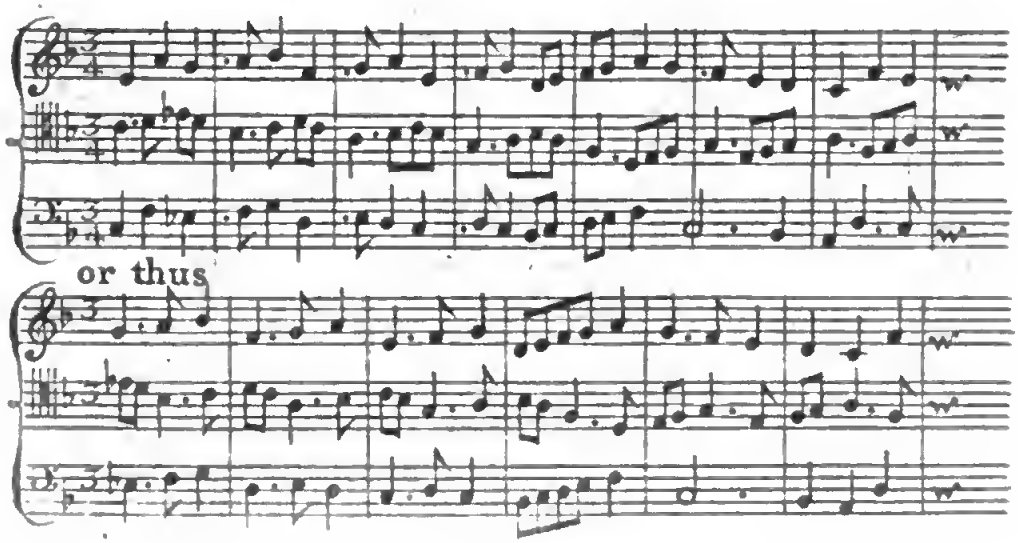



(a) This part in the M.S. is written in the Mezzo Soprano Cleef of C on the 2d line, the principal Melody ſeems to have been given to the Tenor.


Butt pi_te it is that Truft fhulde be
Butt pi_te it is that Truft fhulde be
Butt pi_te it is that Truft fhulde be
mifufyd
mif u_fyd
mifufyd
o_
o_
_ther by co_lour or by fals
_ther by co_lour or by fals femblaunce
_ther by co_lour or by fals
fem_blaunce wher that is u_fyd
Wher that is u_fyd
femblaunce
Wher that is u_fyd
can




All the Compofers in Europe, about the end of the Fifteenth Century, feem to have had a paffion for MIXED MEASURES; and there is not one Song in the Fayrfax M.S. without inftances of one part moving in COMMON TIME while another is in TRIPLE: a contrivance that occafions nothing but confufion to the Ear, which is utterly unable to form a determined Idea of the MEASURE in which any one of the parts is moving. But at the latter end of each Strain of this Song, ſtill more confufion is occafioned, by all the parts continuing to perform, in COMMON TIME, paſſages that are abſolutely in TRIPLE MEASURE: ſee at this mark ✠ where the accent ſeems to require that the Notes ſhould be executed thus.



Most of these Musicians seem to have been merely *secular* Composers, as I have met with none of their names, except that of Fayrfax, among those for the Church. Cornyshe, indeed, seems more a secular Composer than the rest; and, if we may judge of his private character, by the choice of his poetry from Skelton's Ribaldry, he may be supposed a man of no very refined morals, or delicacy of sentiment. His compositions, however, though clumsy and inelegant, if selecting such words be forgiven, are not without variety or ingenuity, for so early a period of Counterpoint. He seems the first who had the courage to use the Chord of the Sharp 7th of a Key, with a false 5th. He frequently changes the measure, like the French, in their old operas, and still more like them, composes in a kind of Rondeau, returning several times to the same short Strain: Purcell near two hundred years later, did the same.

The Music, indeed, of these Ditties, is somewhat uncouth, but it is still better than the poetry.

The Saxons, who dispossessed the Britons of the greatest part of the Island, we find, from Bede's account of Cædmon (*e*), had poetry, though not rhyme, in the seventh Century; for he repeatedly calls the compositions of Cædmon, *carmina*, *poemata*, and in one place *versus* (*f*). No traces, however, of rhyme, or metre, can be found in our language, till some years after the Conquest, at which time, French was forced upon us, and, till the reign of Edward the Third, it was the practice in all schools, to construe Latin into Norman French; a language which was fashionable at our court, even before the time of William the Conqueror; as Edward the Confessor, who had been brought up in the court of Normandy, encouraged many Normans to follow him into England.

In the thirty-sixth year of Edward the Third, however, a law was made, "That all pleas in the court of the King,

(*e*) *Eccles. Hist.* l. iv. c. 24.

(*f*) These words in the Saxon translation are rendered leoþ, leoþ ſonger, or ſonger, and ſeſſ: and *ars canendi* is translated leoþ cræft, or ſang cræft. Essay on the Lang. and Versif. of Chaucer. p. 46.

" or of any other Lord, ſhall be pleaded and adjudged in the " *Engliſh tongue:* and the reaſon recited in the preamble was, " that the French tongue was too much unknown." And yet for near ſixty years afterwards, the proceedings in parliament appear to have been in French (*g*).

The Engliſh of Robert of Glouceſter, who flouriſhed about 1265, during the reigns of Henry the Third, and Edward the Firſt (*h*), is more Saxon than Norman; however, it would not be very difficult to read, if the characters in which it is printed had been thoſe in preſent uſe, inſtead of Saxon, with which it abounds. The language of Treviſa, 1385 (*i*), is not very unintelligible, if the ȝ be regarded as a *g*, for which I believe it was originally meant. About the firſt year of Henry the Sixth, 1422, French and Engliſh ſeem pretty equally ballanced, and to have been uſed indifferently; however, very little improvement was made in our language and verſification from the time of Edward the Fourth, to that of Henry the Eighth. Indeed, few Engliſh Songs are to be found, which were ſet to original Muſic during that period; it having been the faſhion for the great, to ſing none but French words, as appears by the Muſic Book of Prince Henry, ſon of Henry the Seventh, in which all the Songs are in French, Italian, or Latin.

It was ſo much the cuſtom for our old poets to write *new words* to *old Tunes*, that there was little buſineſs for a Compoſer. Theſe Tunes, like thoſe of the *Improviſatori* of Italy at preſent, being very ſimple, and little more airy than the Chants of the Church, required no teaching, and were an eaſy and ready vehicle for the Bard who wiſhed to get at the heart of his audience, or, at leaſt, to engage its attention, by the blandiſhments of

(*g*) Ib. P. 25.

(*h*) His Hiſtory of England, in Verſe, was publiſhed by Hearne, 1724.

(*i*) " Treviſa was a painful and faithful " tranſlator of many and great books " into Engliſh, as *Polichronicon*, written " by Ranulphus of Cheſter, Bartholomæus *de rerum proprietatibus*, &c. But " his maſter-piece was the tranſlation of " the Old and New Teſtament. He died " 1397." Fuller's Church Hiſtory of Britain.

his

his own art, not thoſe of another. For Metrical Romances, and Hiſtorical Ballads of great length, this kind of plain and familiar Melody was beſt adapted; as it had ſcarce any other effect, than juſt to render the tone of the Narrator's voice a little *longer* and *louder*, and conſequently more articulate and diſtinct, than in common ſpeech.

It is related by Gio. Battiſta Donado (*k*), that the Turks have a limited number of Tunes, to which the poets of their country have continued to write for many ages (*l*): and the Vocal Muſic of our own country ſeems long to have been equally circumſcribed; for, till the laſt Century, it ſeems as if the number of our ſecular and popular Melodies did not greatly exceed that of the Turks; and in Virginal Books, we find no attempts at invention, in point of Air or Melody: the buſineſs of our beſt Compoſers for keyed-inſtruments, ſuch as Bird, Morley, Bull, Giles Farnaby, and Gibbons, being to make variations upon old and well-known tunes; a faſhion which was carried to ſuch exceſs, that theſe melodies, which were in themſelves ſo eaſy, that "Plowmen whiſtled them o'er the furrow'd land," by a mere multiplication of notes, without accent, grace, or meaning, became ſo difficult, that the greateſt players in Europe of the preſent age, who are ſo frequently accuſed of levity, caprice, and tricks, are utterly unable to perform them; and yet this has been pointed out as the period of perfection, and true ſimplicity in Muſic, while modern Muſicians are ſaid "by a variety of treble Inſtruments, and a vicious taſte, to have given harmony its mortal wound (*m*)."

We

(*k*) This author was a Venetian Senator, and Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, 1688.

(*l*) *L'habbiano (la Muſica) i Turchi, ſolo per tradizione che paſſa la memoria ne' ſucceſſori, e che conſiſtono in venti quattro arie: cioè ſei Malenconiche, ſei allegre, ſei furibonde, ſei meſtiſſue, e pure amoroſe.*

(*m*) Notes to Walton's Angler, p. 238, edit. of 1760. If in the variety of treble Inſtruments, the Violin tribe is included, the *murder* of Harmony is unjuſtly charged upon the moderns; as the moſt imperfect Inſtruments, with reſpect to tuning, that are now in uſe, were likewiſe thoſe of the period of muſical perfection, ſo much celebrated. Among theſe I include the Organ, Harpſichord, Hautbois, Baſſoon, and all Inſtruments played *with Keys*, or *blown by Reeds*. As to the Flute, and Lyre,

We are told (*n*) that Sir Thomas Wyatt was the firſt who introduced Italian numbers into Engliſh verſification: this may have contributed to improve our Lyric poetry; but to confeſs the truth, from the few poets of the firſt claſs throughout Europe, who, at this period, condeſcended to write Madrigals, and Songs for Muſic, it ſeems that the rage for Canon, Fugue, multiplied parts, and diſſimilar Melodies, moving at the ſame time, had ſo much employed the Compoſers, and weaned the attention of the hearers of theſe learned, or, as ſome call them, Gothic contrivances, from Poetry, that the words of a Song ſeem to have been only a *Pretence for ſinging* (*o*); and as the poets of the two or three laſt centuries were in little want of Muſic, Muſicians, in their turn, manifeſted as little reſpect for Poetry; for in theſe elaborate compoſitions, the words are rendered utterly unintelligible by repetitions of particular members of a verſe; by each part ſinging different words at the ſame time; and by an utter inattention to accent.

But however inelegant, uncouth, and imperfect our Lyric compoſitions may have been, till after the middle of the ſixteenth Century, our Counterpoint and Church Muſic arrived at a perfection with reſpect to art, contrivance, and correctneſs of harmony, about that time, which at leaſt equalled the beſt of any other country.

A ſet of books, containing Maſſes and Services to Latin words, ſome of which were compoſed in the time of Henry the Seventh, and *all* before the Reformation, is preſerved in the Muſic School at Oxford. Theſe Volumes contain Compoſitions by John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, Avery Burton, John Marbec, William Kaſar, Hugh Aſhton, Thomas Aſhwell, John Nor-

Lyre, the moſt ancient of all, with the Harp, Lute, Guitar, or Cithara, their imperfections in every Key, except one, need not here be pointed out; but the *Viols* of all kinds, which were ſo much in uſe during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth Centuries, being fretted, could admit of no variety of modulation, without new tuning, or falſe intervals; and it would have been more juſt to have praiſed, than cenſured modern inſtrumental Muſic, on account of intonation, if for no other excellence, the chief part of which being executed by VIOLINS and VIOLONCELLOS, admits of a perfection in the harmony of every Key, which, till theſe inſtruments became in general uſe, was utterly unknown to the ears of mankind.

(*n*) Miſcel. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 8.

(*o*) Franklin's Philoſ. Eſſays, p. 478.

man,

man, John Sheppard, and Dr. Tye. The pieces by the three or four laſt, are entered in a more modern hand, with different characters, and paler ink. The chief part of the compoſitions are tranſcribed in a large, diſtinct, and fine hand, and character, but Bars not having been yet introduced, and being all *ad longam*, *alla breve*, or in *tempo di Capella*, the ligatures, prolations, and moods, render theſe books extremely difficult to read, or tranſcribe in Score (*p*). However, by dint of meditation and perſeverance, I have arranged the parts under each other, of ſeveral movements by all theſe founders of our Church Muſic, particularly John Taverner, Dr. Fayrfax, and Dr. Tye; having ſcored an entire Maſs by each of them: as they are the moſt ancient and eminent of theſe old Maſters, in whoſe Compoſitions the ſtyle is grave, and harmony, in general, unexceptionable, if tried by ſuch rules as were eſtabliſhed during their time; but with reſpect to invention, air, and accent, the two firſt are totally deficient.

The Compoſitions, however of theſe early Engliſh Maſters, have an appearance of national originality, free from all imitation of the Choral productions of the Continent, which have been already deſcribed. Few of the arts of Canon, Inverſion, Augmentation, or Diminution, were as yet practiſed by them: ſhort Points of Imitation are ſometimes diſcoverable, but they ſeem more the effects of chance than deſign: and to characteriſe the chief of theſe Compoſers in the order they have been named; Taverner and Fayrfax have but little deſign and no melody in their compoſitions; and it ſeems as if they ſhould not have been ranked, as they are by Morley (*q*), with thoſe of a much higher claſs, at a later period.

I can venture to give a character of TAVERNER, from an *actual ſurvey* of his principal works, which have been preſerved, and which I have taken the pains to ſcore. This author is in general

(*p*) Anthony Wood ſays, they were thought illegible by the Muſicians of his time.

(*q*) P. 150.

very

very fond of ſlow Notes, ſo that all his pieces that I have ſeen, are *ad longam*, or, at quickeſt, *alla breve*. Long Notes in Vocal Muſic, unleſs they are to diſplay a very fine voice, have little meaning, and are wholly deſtructive of Poetry and accent; but our old Compoſers have no ſcruples of that kind; and being as great enemies to *ſhort* ſyllables, as to *ſhort Notes*, exerciſed the lungs of a Singer as frequently upon one as the other.

As the firſt eſſays at harmony were made in extemporary Diſcant, upon a *Plain-Song*, ſo in written Counterpoint, it was long a favourite and uſeful exerciſe, to build the ſeveral parts of a movement upon ſome favourite Chant, making it the groundwork of the Compoſition. And this cuſtom anſwered ſeveral purpoſes: it excited ingenuity in the conſtruction of the parts; it regulated and reſtrained the modulation within the eccleſiaſtical limits; and as the Plain Song had been long uſed in the Church, by the prieſts and people, it was ſtill eaſy for the muſical members of the congregation, to join the Chorus in ſinging this ſimple and eſſential part, while the Choriſters and Choirmen by profeſſion, performed the new and more difficult Melodies, which had been ſuperadded to it by the Compoſer. The firſt Reformers, or at leaſt their followers, who were perhaps no great Muſicians, wiſhed to baniſh every ſpecies of Art from the Church; and either retaining ſmall portions of ancient Chants, or making melodies, in the ſame plain and ſimple ſtyle, for their Hymns and Pſalms, threw aſide all figurative Harmony and florid Counterpoint; and ſung in Notes of equal duration, and generally in mere uniſon, thoſe Tunes which are ſtill retained by the Calviniſts, and in moſt of the reformed Churches of Chriſtendom. At the latter end of the fifteenth, and during the whole of the ſixteenth Century, as ſome Chant or Tune was the foundation upon which the Harmony of almoſt every Movement of a Maſs or Motet was built, the following Compoſition by our countryman Maiſter John Taverner, is given, not only as a ſpecimen of his abilities in Counterpoint, but of the cuſtom which generally prevailed during his time, of writing upon a *Plain-Song*.

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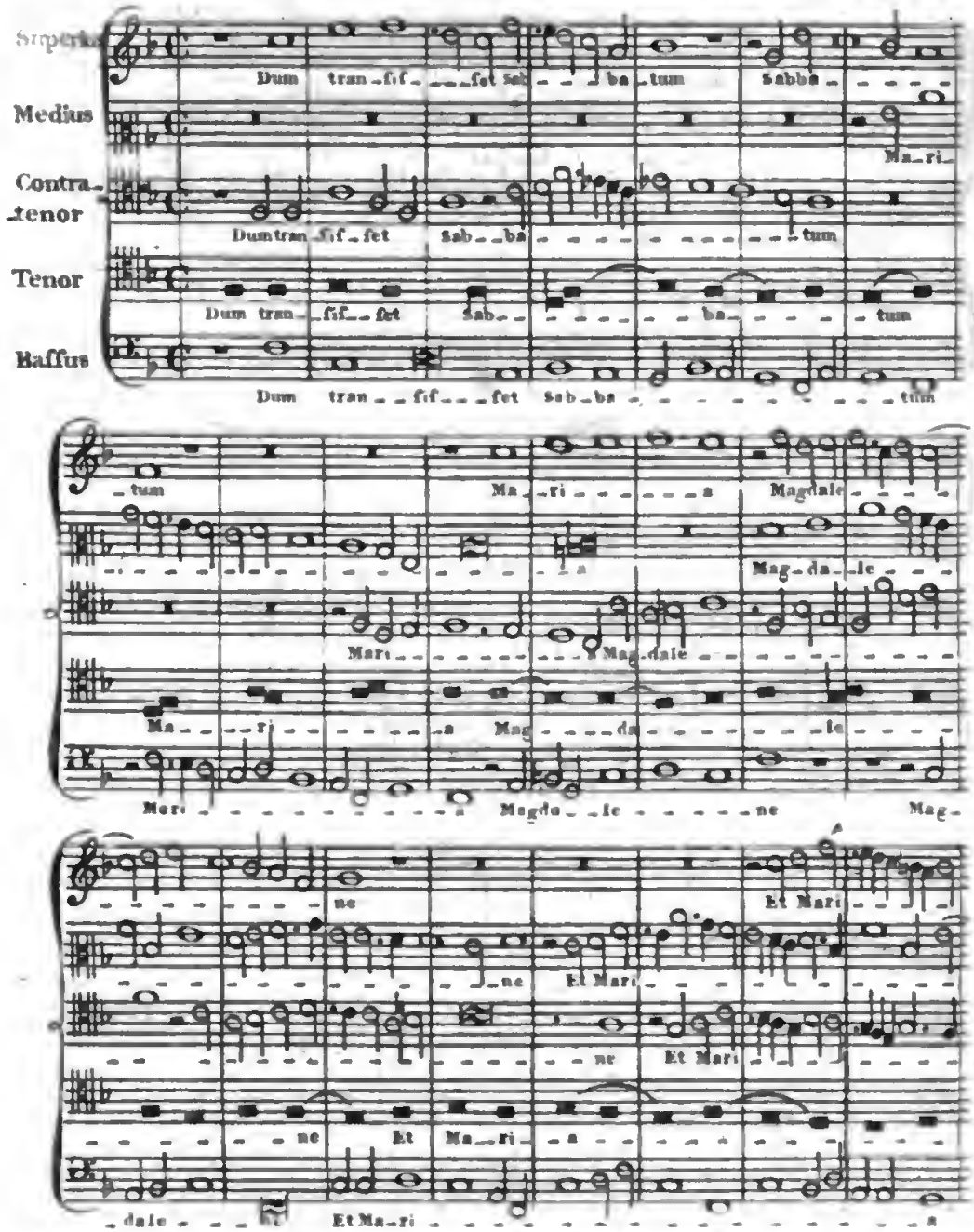
John Taverner. From M.S.S. in Ch:Ch:Oxon.

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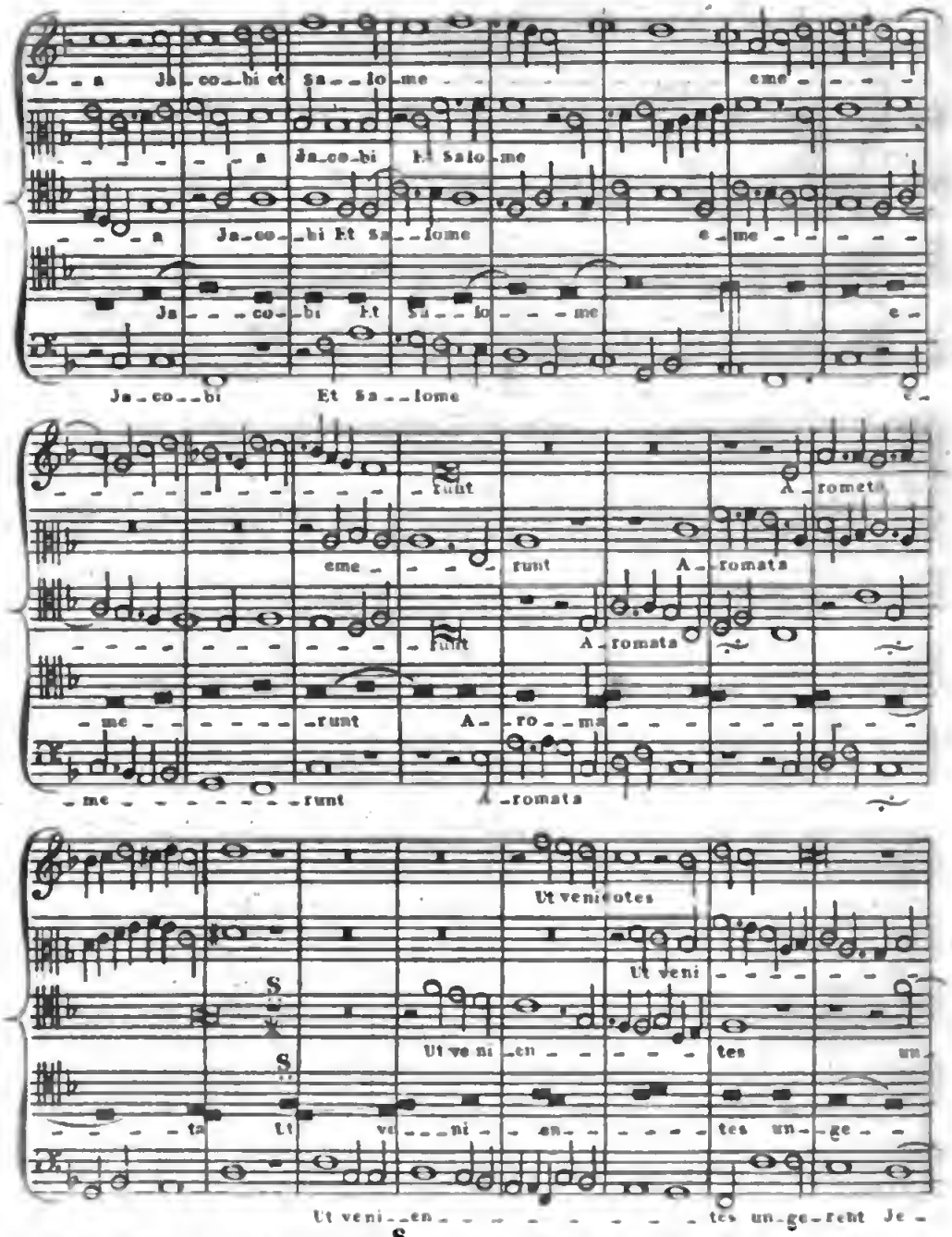
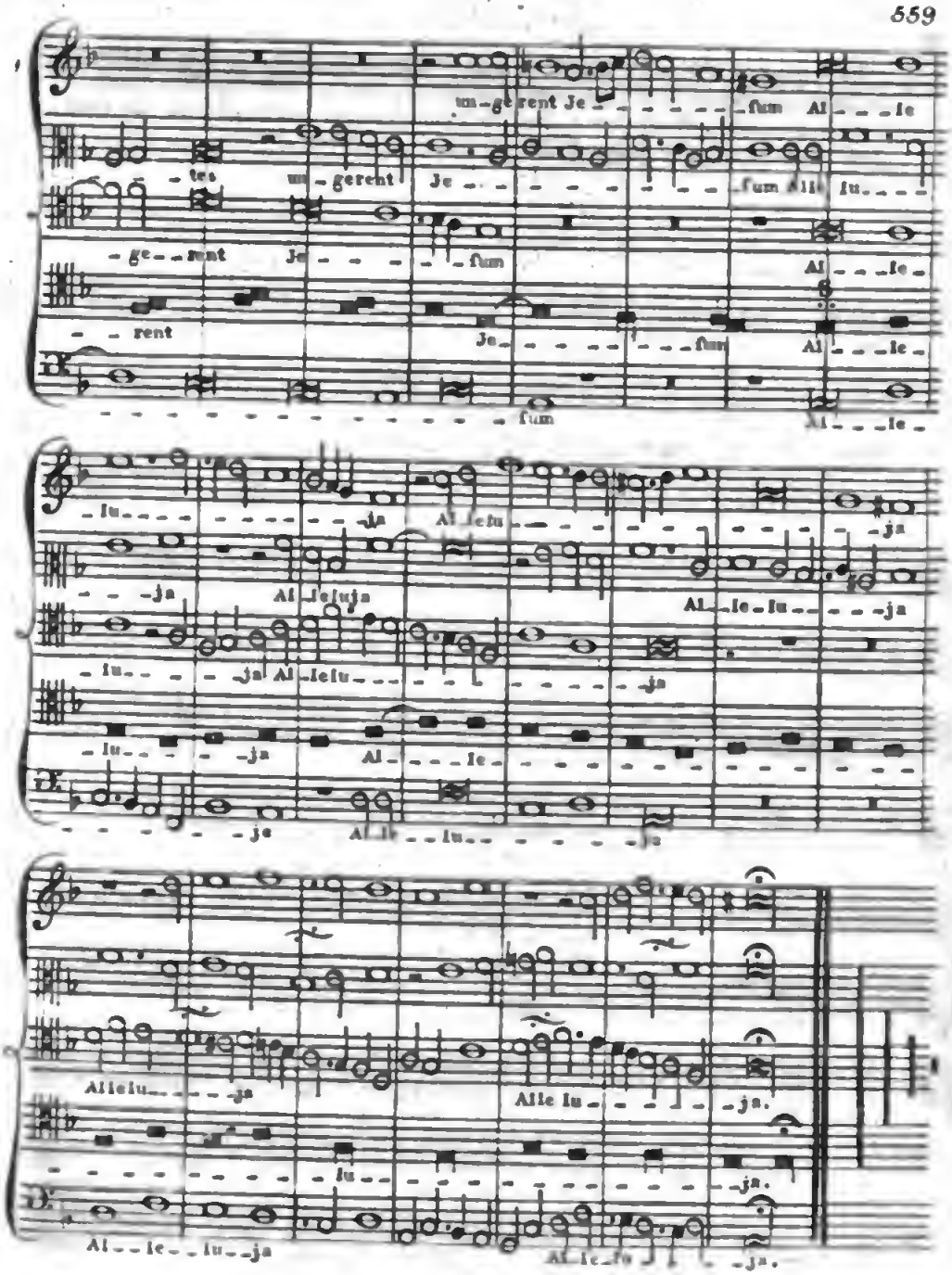
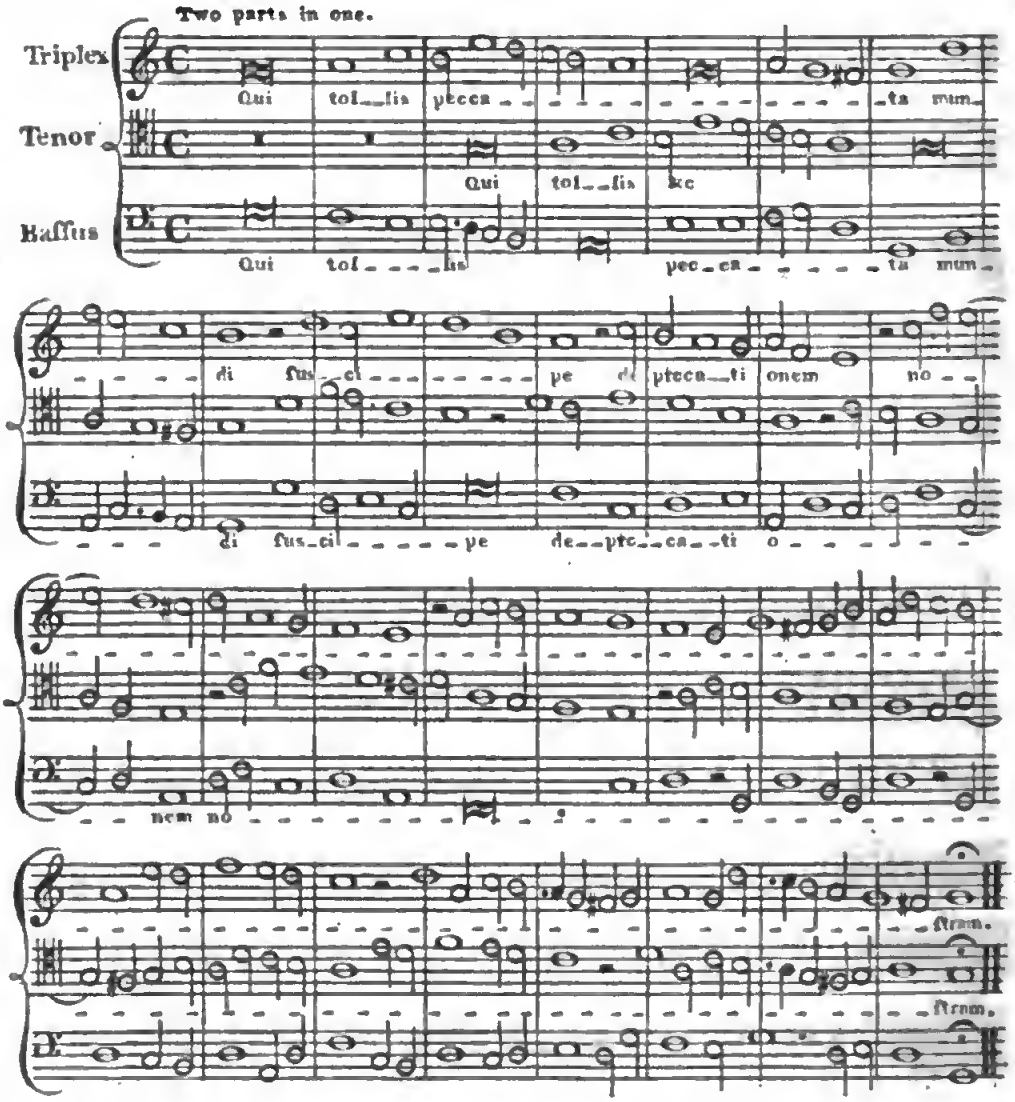



* I see no other use in this SIGNUM, S throughout the Movement, then to indicate the beginning of a new Subject in the Words and Music, like the MOSTRA, proposed by the late Mr. AVISON, for the same purpose; and this is all that it implies, in the examples from other old Authors,

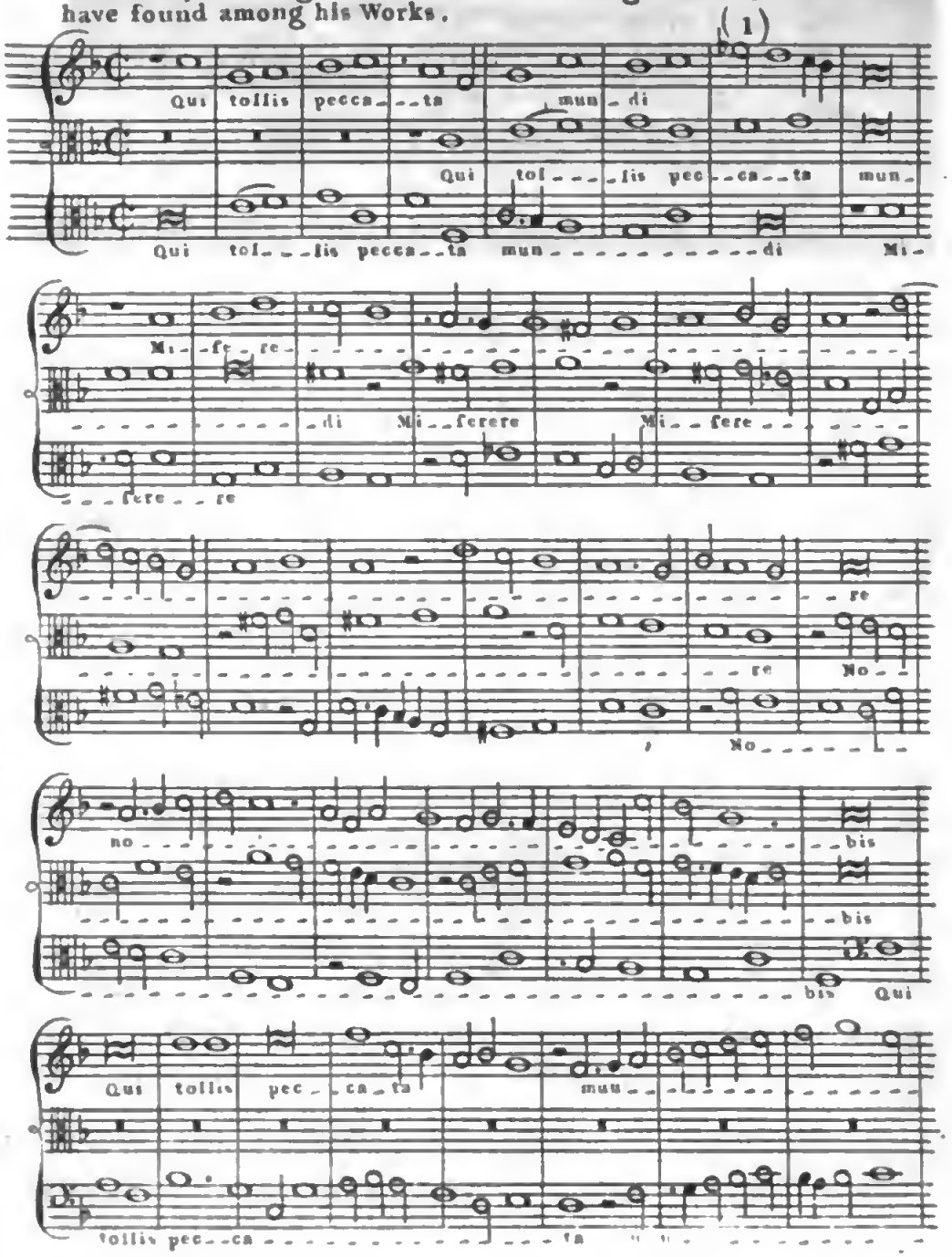


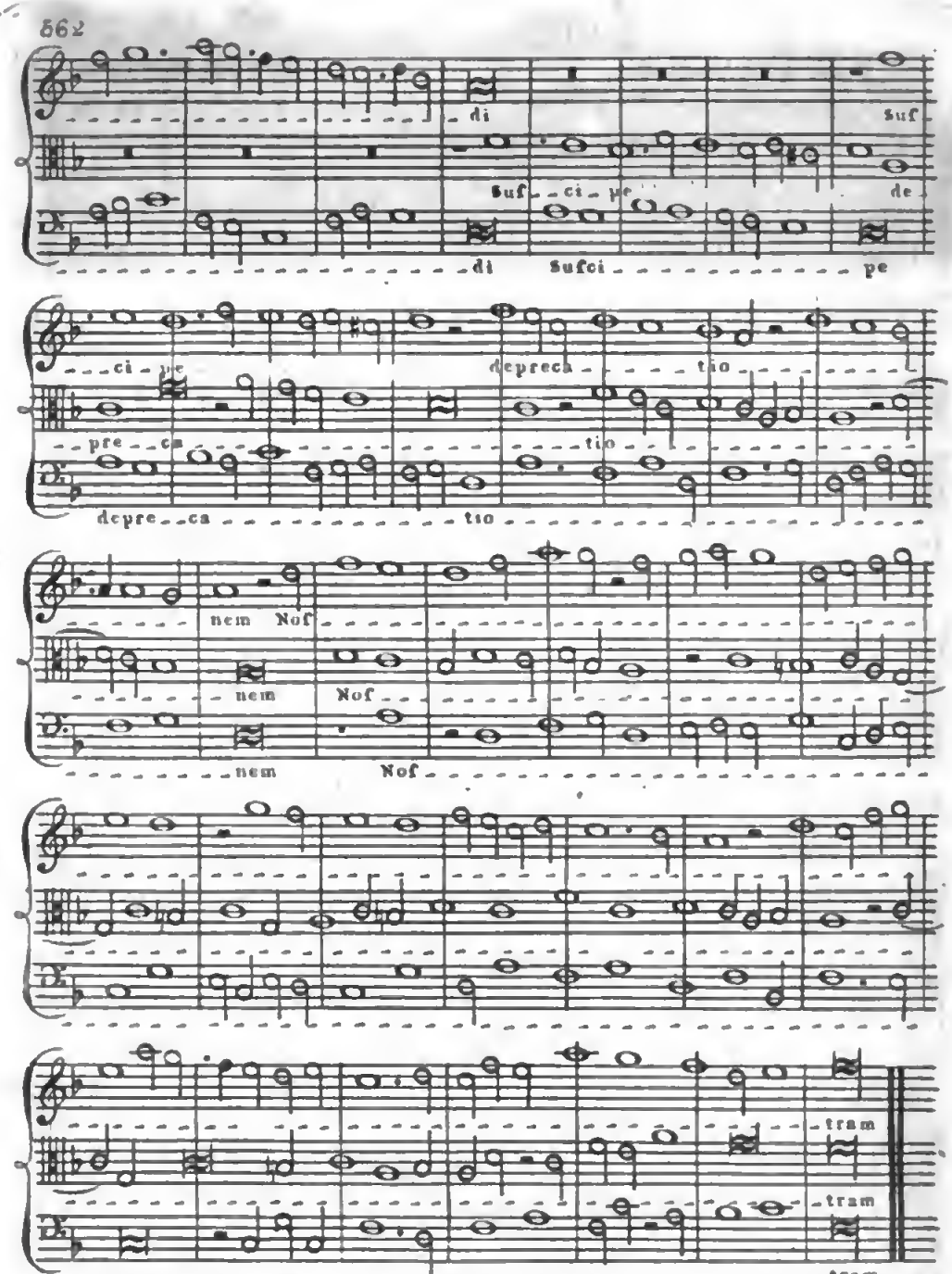

where no CANON is in question.

The only CANONS I found in the Old Maſses preſerved in the Muſic-School at Oxford, which amount to 18, are in a Maſs by Taverner, which he calls O MICHAEL: the following is the beſt of all the Compoſitions which I have ſeen of this Author.


Two parts in one.
Triplex
Tenor
Baſſus
Qui tol_lis pecca_ _ _ _

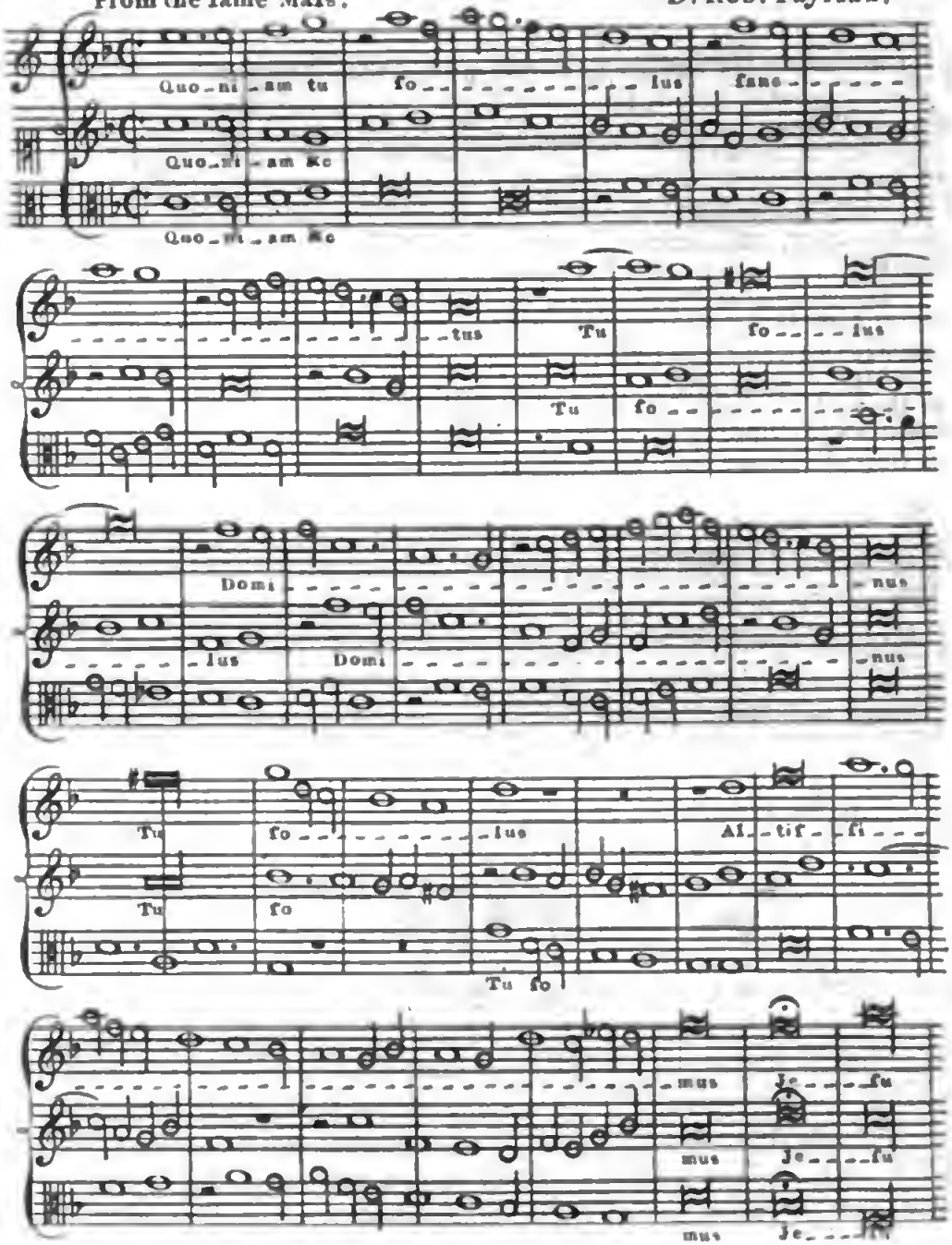
The following Movement, by Dr. Fayrfax, are ſelected from his Maſs, Alexander, in the ſet of ancient Choral Books belonging to the Muſic-School at Oxford, as having more clearneſs and deſign, than any others that I have found among his Works.

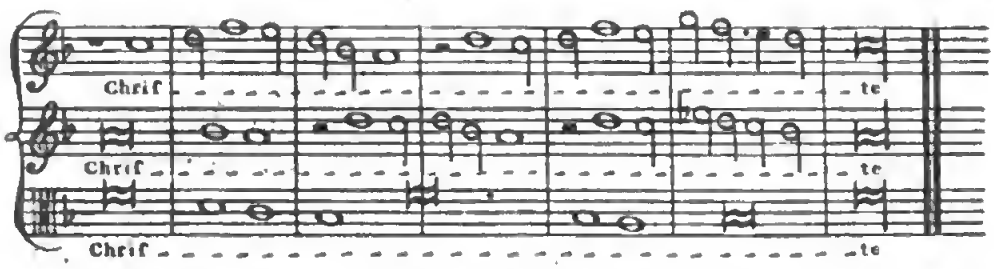





(1) This E♭ is a mere Appoggiatura, and a 4th to B♭, wholly unprepared. But Notes of this kind, written as if essential to the Harmony, frequently occur in old Music. NB. This Note belongs to the preceding Page.

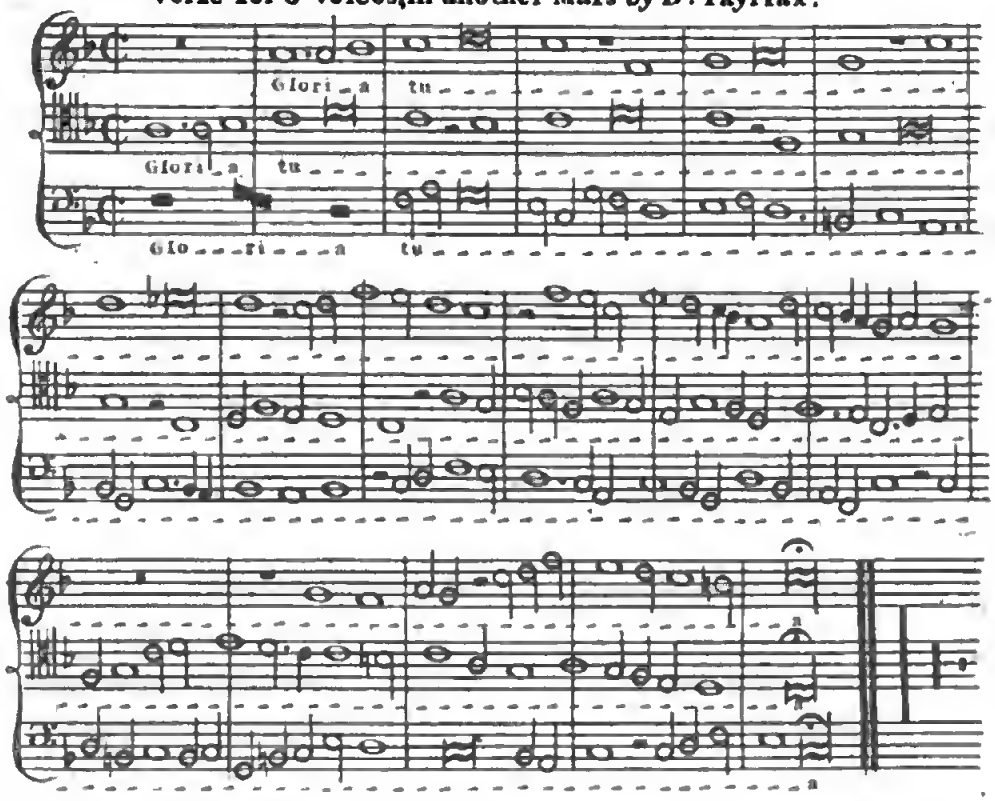
From the ſame Maſs. Dr. Robt. Fayrfax.






The Movements in Triple Time, of these Old Masters, in which it was the Custom to set the Kyrie of every Mass, are the most unlike Music of the present times, and the most difficult to decipher; on account of the Ligatures, mixture of black Notes, perfection and imperfection of the White, occasioned by the Modal sign, and by position, which render the Notation very embarrassing. Dr Tye, in England, and Palestrina, in Italy, seem to have been the first to quit these Measures.

Verse for 3 Voices, in another Mass by Dr Fayrfax.



There is nothing characteriſtic in the compoſitions of Avery Burton; and in thoſe of Marbec, of this collection, I can diſcover no ſuperiority, in Counterpoint, to the general caſt of compoſition in Henry the Eighth's reign, which was not only deficient in Meaſure and Melody, but in deſign and contrivance. Here Marbec appears as a Roman Catholic Compoſer, the words he has ſet to Muſic being part of the Maſs, in Latin; but we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him hereafter, in the character of a Proteſtant, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf very early, as a friend to the Reformation. William Kaſar, Hugh Aſhton, Thomas Aſhwell, and John Norman, may ſtill reſt in that peace and obſcurity, which they have long enjoyed; as their garb is too uncouth, as well as antique, to bear the inſpection of modern critics.

If we were to judge of JOHN SHEPHARD, by a ſpecimen that has lately been given of his abilities, he would ſeem the moſt clumſy Contrapuntiſt of them all (*r*), and not only appear to be leſs dexterous in expreſſing his ideas, but to have fewer ideas to expreſs; yet, in ſcoring a Movement by this author, from a ſet of MS. books, belonging to Chriſt-Church College, Oxon, he appears to me ſuperior to any Compoſer of Henry the Eighth's reign: in this production, with which we ſhall preſent the reader (*s*), we have a regular deſign, and much ingenuity in the texture of the parts; three of which having carried on a Fugue for ſome time, in the fifth above, and eighth below the ſubject, are joined by two other parts, which form almoſt a Canon between the Superius and ſecond Baſe, to the end of the Movement.

(*r*) In the Counter-tenor part, Bar the ſixteenth, there is a curious leap of a ſharp ſeventh, from A, down to B♭, and then another up to C, the ninth above. *See Hiſt. of the Science and Practice of Muſic*, vol. ii. p. 524.

(*s*) See among the plates, at the end of this Volume, Compoſition, No. I.

This ſhews the fallacy and injuſtice of determining an author's character by a ſingle production; of whom, when more can be found, the beſt ſhould be choſen. Anthony Wood tells us that Shephard ſupplicated for the degree of Doctor of Muſic at Oxford, in 1554, having, before that time, been a Student in Muſic for the ſpace of twenty years; but leaves it doubtful whether his requeſt was granted.

Of DOCTOR TYE, who ſurvived the Reformation, and contributed greatly to the perfection of our Cathedral Muſic, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; however, as an example of his ſtyle and abilities before that event, we ſhall give a movement from his Maſs *Euge bone*, in the Oxford Muſic-School Books, which is much more clear, correct, and accented, than any other compoſition in the collection (*t*).

I have ſcored ſeveral Movements of ſuch Maſſes and Services of our other old maſters, as were compoſed to Latin words, before the Reformation; but muſt confeſs, that the reward I received for my labour was very inconſiderable. Indeed, none of the rules of Harmony are violated, by theſe venerable Contrapuntiſts, but there is ſuch a total want of Deſign, Subject, Melody, and attention to the Accent and Meaning of the Words, that the Notes ſeem to be thrown upon paper at random; nor could they be more devoid of meaning, if the ſounds of ſueh keys as theſe pieces are written in, had iſſued from a mill, or been ballotted for in the Laputan manner. But Johnſon and Parſons muſt not be involved in this cenſure.

ROBERT JOHNSON, an Eccleſiaſtic, and a learned Muſician, was one of the firſt of our Church Compoſers, who diſpoſed his parts with intelligence and deſign. In writing upon a plain Song, moving in ſlow Notes of equal value, which was ſo much practiſed in theſe times, he diſcovers conſiderable art and ingenuity, in the manner of treating ſubjects of Fugue

(*t*) See No. II. among the Specimens of Compoſition at the end of the Volume.

and

and Imitation; as will be evident from a Compoſition (*u*), upon the ſame Chant, and to the ſame words, as that upon which Taverner worked, in the example given above (*x*), but, in this production, Johnſon ſeems greatly his ſuperior.

ROBERT PARSONS, of Exeter, then of the Royal Chapel, and afterwards Organiſt of Weſtminſter-Abbey, was admirable in this kind of writing. The building Harmony upon an ancient eccleſiaſtical chant, was no more than *written Diſcant*, which is ſtill an exerciſe for young Contrapuntiſts in the Conſervatorios of Naples, and practiſed in Italy, by all writers for the Church. During the ſixteenth Century, many of our great Harmoniſts diſplayed wonderful ſcience and abilities in theſe laborious undertakings, and like ſome of the proud ſovereigns that were led in triumph by the ancient Romans, preſerved an appearance, at leaſt, of dignity and independence, even *in chains*. There are ſome excellent compoſitions by Parſons in the MSS. of Chriſt Church College, Oxford, particularly an *Ave Maria*, and an *In Nomine (y)*; but as we have already exhibited ſeveral ſpecimens of Church Muſic, which do honour to the harmonical Skill of our countrymen, if not to their Taſte, I ſhall now preſent the reader with a Song by this Author, in which, though the Melody and Poetry are ſomewhat rude, the Harmony and Modulation will be found rich and curious (*z*).

If the Songs in the Fayrfax MS. be excepted, but little of our ſecular Muſic of the beginning of the ſixteenth Century is preſerved; however, there muſt have been great plenty of it, ſuch as it was; for we find that the Nobility kept a number of Muſicians in their ſervice, under the denomination of *Minſtrels*, and that theſe travelled about to the houſes of great perſonages, as well as to the neighbouring monaſteries. The ſalaries of the Earl of Northumberland's Minſtrels, and the fees given to

(*u*) See No. III. at the end of the Volume.

(*x*) P. 557.

(*y*) This was an ancient Chant to that part of the Maſs, beginning *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, upon which the Engliſh maſters of the ſixteenth century had great delight in exerciſing their ſcience and ingenuity.

(*z*) See No. IV. at the end of the Vol.

thoſe of other noblemen who viſited his caſtles, have been regiſtered in the Earl's Houſhold Book; from which I ſhall extract ſuch paſſages as immediately concern my ſubject (*a*).

In the year 1512, and third of Henry VIII. a memorandum is made (*b*), that three Mynſtralls were retained as part of the Earl of Northumberland's houſhould; viz. a Taberett, a Luyte, and a Rebec. And afterwards (*c*), that "Every "Mynſtrall if he be a Taberett ſhall have iiij l; every Luyte "and Rebec xxxiij. iiij d; and to be payd in houſholde if they "have it not by patent or warraunt."

Sect. XLIII.—"REWARDIS uſede cuſtomable to be geven "yerely to STRALGERS, as PLAYERS, MYNSTRAILLS, ande "others, as the ſome of every rewarde, particularly with the "conſideration why and wherefore it is geven, with the names "of the PARSONS to whom the ſaid rewardes be geven, &c.

"FURST, My Lorde uſith and accuſtomyth to gyf to the "Kings Jugler if he have wone, when they cuſtome to come "unto hym yerely—viz. viiij d.

"ITEM, My Lorde uſith and accuſtomyth to gyf yerely "the Kynge or the Queenes Barwarde, if they have one, "when they cuſtom to com unto him yerely—vj s. viij d.

"ITEM, My Lorde uſith and accuſtomyth to gyfe yerely "to every Erlis Mynſtrellis, when they cuſtome to come to "hym yerely, iij s. iiij d. Ande if they come to my Lord "ſeldome, ones in ij or iij yeres, than vj s. viij d.

"ITEM, My Lord uſith and accuſtomyth to gyfe yerely to "an Erls Mynſtrall, if he be his ſpeciall Lorde, Frende, or "Kynſman, if they come yerely to his Lordſchipe . . . . .

(*a*) Theſe very curious domeſtic annals were printed and preſented to the friends of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and the learned editor, in 1770, under the following title: *The Regulations and Eſtabliſhment of the Houſhold of* Henry Algernon Percy, *the fifth* Earl of Northumberland, *at his Caſtles of* Wreſill *and* Lekinfield, *in Yorkſhire, begun* 1512.

(*b*) Sect. v. p. 45.

(*c*) P. 48.

And

" And if they come ſeldom, ones in ij or iij yeres — vi s. " viij d (*d*).

" ITEM, My Lorde uſith and accuſtomyth to gyf yerely a " Dookes or Erlis Trumpetts, if they eom vj together to his " Lordſhipp, viz if they eome yerly, vi s. viij d. ande if " they come but in ij or iij yeres, than—x s.

" ITEM, My Lorde uſeth and accuſtometh yerely, when " his Lordſhipp is at home, to gyf to iij of the Kyngs " Shames, when they come to my Lorde yerely—x s (*e*).

" ITEM, My Lorde uſith ande accuſtomyth to gyf yerely, " when his Lordſchipp is at home, to his Mynſtraills that be " daly in his Houſhold, as his Tabret, Lute, and Rebee, upon " new yeres-day in the mornynge, when they doo play at my " Lordis chambre doure, for his Lordſchipe and my Lady, " xx s. viz. xiij s. iiij d. for my Lorde, and vi s. viiij d. for " my Lady, if ſche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at her " owen. And for playing at my Lordis Sone and heir " Chaumbre doure the Lord Percy, ij s. And for playinge at " the Chaumbre doores of my Lords yonger Sonnes my yonge " Maiſters, after viij the pece for every of them — xxiij s. " iiij d (*f*).

" ITEM, My Lorde uſith and accuſtomyth to gyf yerely " when his Lordſhipe is at home upon New-yeres day, to his " Lordſhipis vj Trompettes, when they doo play at my Lords " Chaumbre Doure, the ſaid New-yers-day in the Mornynge " xx s. viz. xiij s. iiij d. for my Lord, vj s. viij d. for my

(*d*) P. 339.

(*e*) I am in poſſeſſion of other proofs that the Minſtrels of the principal Nobility and Gentry viſited the houſes of their patrons friends on great Feſtivals, or, at leaſt, annually, which I tranſcribed from the houſhold-account-book of the L'Eſtrange family, now in the poſſeſſion of Nicholas Styleman, Eſq. of Snettiſham, Norfolk. This regiſter was begun in 1508, the laſt year of Henry the Seventh, and continued till 1544. It is entirely in the hand-writing of the lady of Sir Thomas L'Eſtrange, who was a daughter of Lord Vaux.

" To the Duke of Suffolke's *Trompetts*, " and to my Lord Privy Scalles *Min-* " *ſtrelles*.

" To my Lord of Rutland's *Myn-* " *ſtrelles*.

" To Mr. Hogans *Mynſtrels*, and my " lord Fitzwaters *Jogeler*, &c." P. 341.

(*f*) P. 343.

" Lady

" Lady, if ſche be at my Lords fyndynge and not at hir owen—
" xx s (g) "

This Earl's Chapel-eſtabliſhment in 1512 was equal to that of a Cathedral; for we find it recorded in the ſame family-kalendar, that the " Gentillmen of the Chappell conſiſted of " x Parſons—As to ſay—Two at x Marc a pece—Three at iiij l. " a pece—Two at v marc a pece—oone at xl s. and oone at xxs. " viz. ij *Baſſes*, ij *Tenors*, and vj *Countertenors*—*Childeryn* of " the Chapell vj after xxv s. the pece (*h*)."

In 1514 the number of Performers on the eſtabliſhment was augmented: " Item, it is thought by my Lord and his Councell, " that there ſhall be yerely ij Gentillmen of the Chappel " COUNTERTENORS, more than ordynarie appointed " in the Booke of Orders of Houſholde (*i*). Bicauſe it is " now percyvid there was to fewe Gentillmen before in nomber " appoynted in the Booke of Orders to kepe both Mattyns, Ladie Maſſe, Highe Maſſe, and Evyn-Songe (*k*), to ſerve the " Queare, and to kepe the iiij Rector Choryes upon pryncipal " feeſts, who are ordeynde to be had for that cauſe."

Though a perſon is appointed in one part of theſe regulations (*l*), to play on the *Orgaynes*, yet, in general, this office was not the department of a ſingle individual, but of every Choir-man, " oon after an outher, ande" it is ordered, that " every man that is a player ſhall keepe his cours weikely (*m*)."

The nobility of theſe times, in imitation of Royalty, had, among other officers of their houſhold, a *Maſter of the Revels*,

(*g*) P. 344.
(*h*) P. 47.
(*i*) Where ſo many *natural Countertenor* Voices, which are ſo difficult to find at preſent, were procured at this remote period, it is not eaſy to diſcover. Sometimes, however, there was a different arrangement in the Earl's Chapel; as we find it compoſed, p. 374, of 3 Baſſes, 4 Tenors, and 4 Countertenors, with 6 Boys; at this time, one of the Countertenors was *Maiſter* of the *Childer*.

(*k*) The *Evyn-Song* was now ſung at 3 o'clock, as we find by an order for the domeſtics to meet " at 10 of the clok to " awaite at dynner till oon, that dynner " be doon; and to remain in the Great " Chaumbre daily at afternoon from oon " unto *thre of the Clok*, that they ryng to " *Evyn-Song*."
(*l*) P. 44.
(*m*) P. 369.

" for

" for the overſeyinge and orderinge of *Playes* and *Interludes* " and dreſſing that is plaid in the xii Dayes of Creſtenmas (*n*)." Of theſe, the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel ſeem to have been the principal performers; for which, and for acting upon other great feſtivals, they are aſſigned particular rewards: " Item, " my Lorde vſeth to gyf yerely when his Lordeſhip is at home, " in reward to them of his Lordſchip Chappel, that doith " play upon Shroftewſday at night, x s." And when they performed in the Dramatic Myſteries, ſuch as " the play of the " Nativity at Creſtenmas (*o*), or of the Reſurrection upon Eſ- " turday (*p*)," they were allowed xx s. The boys had alſo an extraordinary compenſation " of vj. viij d. for occaſionally " ſinging in the reſponde callede *Exaudivi* at the Matyns- " tyme for xj thouſand Vergyns uppon Alhallowday—and " *Gloria in excelſis* uppon Criſtenmas-Day in the Mornynge." This magnificent nobleman dying 1527, his ſon, the ſixth Earl, whoſe paſſion for Ann Bullen is ſuppoſed to have occaſioned his diſgrace at court, ſeems to have been treated with great inſolence and indignity by Cardinal Wolſey, who, by an extraordinary ſtretch of power, to which the Earl thought it prudent to ſubmit, demanded his Choral Books, for the uſe of his own Chapel. Letters concerning this requiſition are ſtill preſerved in the family, in which the Earl ſays, " I do per- " ceayff my Lorde Cardinalls pleaſour ys to have ſuch Boks as " was in the Chapell of my lat Lord and ffayther (wos ſoll " Jhu pardon). To the accomplychment of which, at your " deſyer, I am conformable, notwithſtandinge I truſt to be able " ons to ſet up a Chapell off myne owne.—I ſhall with all " ſped ſend up the Boks unto my Lords Grace, as to ſay iiij " *Antiffonars* (Antiphoners), ſuch as I think wher not ſeen a " gret wyll—v *Gralls* (Graduals)—an *Ordeorly* (Ordinal)—a " *Manuall*—viij *Proſſeſſioners* (Proceſſionals)."

(*n*) P. 341.
(*o*) P. 343.
(*p*) P. 345.

Indeed

Indeed the magnificence of Cardinal Wolſey's own Chapel-eſtabliſhment, as deſcribed by Cavendiſh, his cotemporary and domeſtic, ſeems to have ſurpaſſed that of the Roman Pontiff himſelf.

" Firſt, he had there a Deane, a great Divine, and a man of " excellent learning; a Sub-dean, a Repeatour of the Quire, a " Goſpeller and Epiſtollor; of ſinging Prieſts, ten, a Maſter of " the Children. The ſeculars of the Chapell, being ſinging-" men, twelve; Singing-children, ten, with one ſervant to " waite upon them. In the Veſtry, a Yeoman and two " Grooms; over and beſides other retainers that came thither " at principal feaſts. And for the furniture of his Chapell, it " paſſeth my weak capacity to declare the number of the " coſtly ornaments and rich jewels that were occupied in the " ſame. For I have ſeen in proceſſion about the hall 44 rich " Copes, beſides the rich Candleſticks, and other neceſſary or-" naments to the furniture of the ſame (*q*)."

Our vindictive and voluptuous monarch, Henry the Eighth, had ſtudied Muſic very ſeriouſly in his youth, according to Lord Herbert of Cherbury: who tells us in his life, that, " his " education was accurate, being deſtined to the Archbiſhoprick " of Canterbury, during the life of his elder brother, Prince " Arthur.—By theſe means, not only the more neceſſary " parts of learning were infuſed into him, but even thoſe of " ornament, ſo that beſides being an able Latiniſt, Philoſo-" pher, and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a " King) a curious Muſician; as two entire Maſſes compoſed " by him, and often ſung in his Chapel, did abundantly " witneſs (*r*)."

(*q*) The Life of Wolſey, by his Gentleman-Uſher Cavendiſh, ſeems firſt to have been publiſhed by the author, ſoon after the Cardinal's deceaſe; it was next printed in 1667; and laſtly, in 1706. See Strype's *Eccleſ. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 128. Stow has given an account of the Cardinal's Chapel, *verbatim*, from Cavendiſh. *Survey of London*, edit. 1618, p. 137.

(*r*) Burnet, though he denies, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, part i. p. 11. that Henry was ever intended for the Church, yet allows that he was better educated than any other prince had been for many ages; and that he was "a good " Muſician, as appears by two whole " Maſſes which he compoſed;" but adds, that " he never wrote well, but ſcrawled, " ſo that his hand was ſcarce legible."

Hollingſhead

Hollingſhead likewiſe (*s*) informs us, in deſcribing the manner in which Henry employed his time, during his progreſs from one palace to another, that "He exerciſed himſelf daylie "in ſhooting, ſinging, dancing, wreſtling, caſting of the "barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in ſetting of "Songes, and making of Ballades."

The attention that was paid to Choral Muſic during the reign of this Prince, before his breach with the Roman Pontiff, may be collected from a ſet of regulations given to the royal houſhold about the year 1526, by Cardinal Wolſey; in which it is ſaid, that "when the King is on journies or progreſſes, only ſix "ſinging boys, and ſix Gentlemen of the Choir, ſhall make a "part of the royal retinue; who daylie in abſence of *the reſidue* "of the Chapel, ſhall have a Maſſe of our Ladie before noon, "and on Sondaies and holidaies, Maſſe of the daie, beſides our "Lady-Maſſe, and an Anthempne in the afternoon: for which "purpoſe, no *great carriage* of either veſtiments or bookes "ſhall require (*t*)."

It is generally allowed that Henry could not only perform the Muſic of others, but was ſufficiently ſkilled in Counterpoint to compoſe the pieces that go under his name (*u*). To be able to ſing a part in the full pieces of the times, was thought a neceſſary accompliſhment in this age, not only for a private gentleman (*x*), but a prince. Sandoval, in his Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth *(y)*, tells us, that "he was a great friend to

(*s*) Chron. iii. 806.

(*t*) "ORDINAUNCES made for the "Kioges Houſhold and Chaumbres." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. K. 48. fol. For this information I am obliged to Mr. Warton's *Hiſt. of Poet.* vol. iii p. 158.

(*u*) See ao Anthem io Boyce's collection. He was likewiſe author of a Motet, of which Dr. Hayes of Oxford, is in poſſeſſion of a genoine copy, in which the firſt Movement is in a meaſure wholly different from a Score of the ſame compoſition that has been lately printed.

(*x*) See *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 22. 133. Firſt Edit. publiſhed by Dr. Harrington, of Bath; himſelf ao excellent judge of Muſic, and Compoſer of ſeveral Catches that are juſtly admired for their humour and contrivance.

(*y*) *Hiſtoria de la vida del Emperador* Carlos Quinto *por el maeſtro don Fray* Prudencio *de* Sandoval, *ſu Coronißa, Obiſpo de* Pamplona. *Fol.* 1614.

" the ſcience of Muſic, and after his abdication, would have " the Church-offices only accompanied by the Organ, and " ſung by fourteen or fifteen Fryers, who were good Muſi- " cians, and had been ſelected from the moſt expert Per- " formers of the order. He was himſelf ſo ſkilful, that " he knew if any other ſinger intruded, and if any one made " a miſtake, he would cry out, ſuch a one is wrong, and " immediately mark the man. He was earneſt too, that no " Seculars ſhould come in; and one evening, when a Con- " tralto, from Placentia, ſtood near the deſk with the Singers, " and ſung one verſe with them eminently well, before he " could ſing another, ſome of the barbarians ran, and told the " Prior to turn him out of the Choir, or, at leaſt, bid him hold " his tongue."

" The Emperor underſtood Muſic, felt, and taſted its " Charms: the Fryers often diſcovered him behind the door, " as he ſate in his own apartment, near the high altar, beating " time, and ſinging in parts with the performers; and if any " one was out, they could overhear him call the offender names, " as *Redheaded Blockhead*, &c. A Compoſer from Seville, of " my own acquaintance, continues his Biographer, whoſe " name was Guerrero (z), preſented him with a book of Mo- " tets and Maſſes; and when one of theſe Compoſitions had " been ſung, as a ſpecimen, the Emperor called his Confeſſor, " and ſaid, ſee what a thief, what a plagiariſt, is this ſon of a —! " why here, ſays he, this paſſage is taken from one Compoſer, " and this from another, naming them as he went on. All this " while the Singers ſtood aſtoniſhed, as none of them had " diſcovered theſe thefts, till they were pointed out by the " Emperor (*a*)."

Brantome

(z) Not *Guerino*, as he is called by Bonet. *Hiſt. de la Muſique.*

(*a*) This paſſage is ſo curious, that I ſhall here give it in the original.

" *Era muy amigo de la Muſica, y que le* " *dixeſſen los oficios en Canto de Organo con* " *tal, que no canteſſen ſino Frayles, que ſi* " *bien eran catorze o quinze los Muſicos,* " *porque ſe avian llevado alli los mejores de* " *la orden, conocia, ſi entre ellos cantava* " *otro, y ſi erravan dezia: fulano errò, y* " *en tanto los conocia, y queria, que no can-* " *taſſen*

Brantome (*b*) tells us, that "both Charles the Ninth, and his "brother, Henry the Third, in imitation of their father, uſed "frequently to quit their places at Maſs, in order to join the "Choirmen in performing the ſervice at their deſks; and were "able to ſing either the Treble or Countertenor very correctly. "Charles was very fond of theſe Singers, particularly of M. de "Laurens, who had a very fine voice. His ſucceſſor alſo ſung "very well, but was pleaſed with a different kind of Muſic." The French Hiſtorians ſpeak of the attachment to Church Muſic, of ſeveral of their ſovereigns, from the time of Pepin and Charlemagne, to the monarchs juſt mentioned, many of whom uſed to put on a ſurplice, in order to ſing with the Canons, and Chanters, by profeſſion.

The favourites of unfortunate Princes, in turbulent and convulſive times, are generally involved in the calamities of their patrons, particularly, if, from a principle of affection or gratitude, they manifeſt a zeal for their ſervice: but it is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the ſhort ſpace of twenty-nine years, the favourite Muſicians of three Queens upon the ſame iſland, ſhould fall ſacrifices to ſuſpicion and vengeance.

Mark Smeaton, a Muſician, in the ſervice of Anna Bullen, and groom of her chamber, was executed, May 12th, 1536 (*c*). Thomas Abel, who taught Muſic, and Grammar, to Queen Ca-

"*triſſen ſiglares entre ellos que unas viſperas vino un contra alto de Placencia muy bueno y llegoſe al faciſtol con los Cantores, y Cantò con ellos aa verſo muy bien: pero no tornò a cantar el ſegundo porluego vino uno de los barbaros corriendo, y dixo al Prior, que echaſſe aquel Canto fuera del Coro, y aſſi ſi le vuo de dezir que callaſſe. Y entendida la Muſica, y ſentia, y guſtava della, que muchas vezes les eſcuchavan Frayles detras de la puerta, que ſalia de ſu apoſento al altar mayor, y le veyan llevar el compas, y cantar a conſonancia con los que cantavan en Coro, y ſi alguno ſi errava dezia conſigo miſmo: O bideputa bermejo, que a quel errò, o otro nombre ſemejante. Preſentole un Maeſtro de Capilla de Sevilla, que yo conoci, que ſe dezia Guerrero, un libro de Motetes que el avia Compueſto, y de Miſſas, y mandò que cantaſſen una Miſſa por el, y acabada la Miſſa embio a llamar al Confeſſor, y dixo: O bideputa que ſotil ladron es eſſe Guerrero, que tal paſſò de fulano, y tal de fulano burlò: de que quedaron todos los Cantores admirados, que ellos no lo avian entendido haſta que deſpues lo vieron.*' Segunda parte, *p.* 828. § vii.

(*b*) *Tom.* ix. p. 459.

(*c*) "Smeaton was prevailed on by the

tharine, wife to Henry the Eighth, having written a treatiſe, *De non diſſolvendo* Henrici & Catharinæ *Matrimonio*, was hanged and quartered, July 30th, 1540. And David Rizzio, Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, was murdered in her preſence, March, 9th, 1565 (*d*).

With reſpect to this laſt, it need only be remarked, that his aſſaſſination was no proof of guilt; for ſo ferocious, ſavage, and vindictive were the times, and ſo frequent the plots, conſpiracies, and murders, that if the death of each individual who was treacherouſly ſlain, had been entered in the Kalendar of Scotland, it would have been as crowded as the rubric of the Romiſh Church (*e*). If, however, we compare the frail and ſuſpicious character of theſe domeſtic ΑΟΙΔΟΙ, with that of the philoſophical and conſcience-keeping Bards of the Trojan times, who were a ſort of domeſtic Chaplains, or muſical *Dragons*, perhaps peculiarly qualified for their employment, we ſhall find a great degeneracy in their manners and morals. It has already been related in the Firſt Volume (*f*), that when Ægiſthus wanted to corrupt Clytemneſtra, he was obliged to put to death the Bard, that Agamemnon had left as her *Dueño*, by leaving him in a deſert iſland (*g*).

" vain hope of life, to confeſs a criminal " correſpondence with the Queen; but " even her enemies expected little ad- " vantage from this confeſſion: for they " never dared to confront him with her." Hume's *Hiſt. of Engl.* Heo. VIII. chap. v. " The Queen ſaid, he was never in " her chamber, but when the King was " laſt at Wincheſter; and then he came " in to play on the *Virginals*. She ſaid, " that ſhe never ſpoke to him after that, " but on Saturday before May day, when " ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the window, " and then ſhe aſked him, why he was ſo " ſad? he ſaid, it was no matter: ſhe an- " ſwered, you may not look to have me " ſpeak to you, as if you were a noble- " man, ſince you are an inferior perſon. " No, no, Madam, ſaid he, a look ſuf- " ficeth me." Burnet's *Hiſt. of the Reform.* vol. i. book iii. p. 199.

(*a*) Hume, who ſeems to treat this tranſaction with more reaſon, philoſophy, and candour, than any other hiſtorian among his countrymen, ſays, " The fa- " vourite was of a diſagreeable figure, but " was not paſt his youth; and though the " opinion of his criminal correſpondence " with Queen Mary, might ſeem of itſelf " *unreaſonable*, if not *abſurd*, a ſuſpicious " huſband could find no other means of " accounting for that laviſh and impru- " dent kindneſs, with which ſhe honoured " him." *Hiſt. of Engl.* Eliz. chap. ii. 1ſt edit. p. 466.

(*e*) The controverted point of Rizzio having been the author of the Scots Tunes which go under his name, will be diſcuſſed hereafter, when *National Muſic* comes to be conſidered.

(*f*) P. 354.

(*g*) *Odyſſ.* r. 265, *& ſeq.*

At

At the time that Henry had determined to emancipate himſelf and the nation from Papal reſtraints and uſurpations, paſſion, perhaps, operated more than reaſon; and a regular and general plan of Reformation, ſo far from being digeſted, ſeems never to have been in meditation, during his life time; at leaſt, with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical Muſic, no other change was made than that of applying it to Engliſh words.

The alterations, according to Burnet, which the Biſhops, who were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, made in the Maſs, "were inconſiderable, and "ſo ſlight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the "Miſſals, Breviaries, or other offices; for a few raſures of the "Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of Thomas à "Becket's office, and the offices of other Saints, whoſe days "were, by the King's injunctions, no more to be obſerved, "with ſome other deletions, made, that the old books did ſtill "ſerve (*h*)."

Collier (*i*), tells us, that Archbiſhop Cranmer himſelf firſt adjuſted the tranſlation of the Litany to a Chant. In a letter, written by this Prelate to Henry the Eighth, 1545, which is preſerved in the Paper-office, he tells his Majeſty, that according to his Highneſs's commandment, he had tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, certain proceſſions to be uſed upon feſtival days. "The judgment whereof I refer wholly to your Majeſty, and "after your Highneſs has corrected it, if your Grace com-"mands ſome devout and ſolemn note to be made thereunto (as "is to the proceſſion which your Majeſty has already ſet forth "in Engliſh) (*k*), I truſt it will much excitate and ſtir the hearts "of all men to devotion and godlineſs. But in my opinion, "the Song that ſhall be made thereunto, would not be full of "Notes, but as near as may be, for every ſyllable a note, ſo "that it may be ſung diſtinctly and devoutly, as be in the *Mat-*

"*tins*,

(*h*) *Hiſt. Reform.* vol. i. p. 294.
(*i*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. ii p. 206.
(*k*) This parentheſis alludes to the Prayers, Proceſſions, and Litanies, which the King had tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, the preceding year, and ſent to the Arch-

" *tins*, and *Even-Song*, *Venite*. The Hymns *Te Deum*, *Bene-*
" *dictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the *Pſalms* and
" *Verſicles*: and in the Maſs, *Gloria in Excelſis*, *Gloria Patri*,
" the *Credo*, the *Perſice*, the *Pater Noſter*, and ſome of the
" *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve feſta dies*, the
" *Latin* note, as I think, is ſober and diſtinct enough. Where-
" fore I have travel'd to make the verſes in *Engliſh*, and have
" put the *Latin* note unto the ſame. Nevertheleſs, thoſe that
" be cunning in Singing, can make a much more ſolemn Note
" thereto, I made them only for a proof, to ſee how Engliſh
" would do in a Song."

But the whole Engliſh Cathedral ſervice, including the Preces, Prayers, and Reſponſes, were ſet to muſical Notes and firſt publiſhed in 1550, by JOHN MARBECK, Organiſt of Windſor. The premature reforming zeal of this Muſician, nearly made a martyr of him, in the time of Henry the Eighth. He had indeed, the honour of being condemned to the ſtake, with three other perſons, who were burnt for Hereſy, but was pardoned by the interceſſion of Sir Humphry Foſter (*l*).

His notation of the Engliſh Cathedral ſervice was publiſhed under the following title.

# The Booke of Common-Praier, noted.

1550.

Imprinted by Richard Grafton, Printer to the Kinges Majeſtie, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.*

As this book is become very ſcarce, I ſhall preſent the reader with a conſiderable extract from it.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the uſe of his province; with an order for their being ſaid and *ſung* in all Churches, which is preſerved in Burnet. *Hiſt. Reform* vol. i. p. 331. and *Collect.* Book iii. No. xxviii.

(*l*) Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*, and Burnet, *Hiſt of the Reform.* give a circumſtantial detail of the troubles in which Marbeck was involved, on account of religion.

" In this Booke is conteyned ſo muche of the Order of Common Pray-er as is to be ſong in Churches: wherein are uſed only theſe iiii. fortes of Notes.

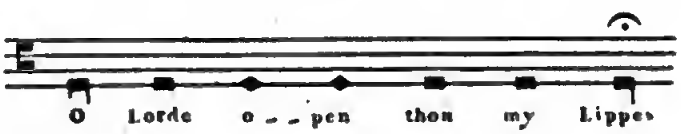
The firſt Note is a ſtrene Note. (a) and is a Breve. The ſecond is a ſquare Note, and is a Semy-Breve. The iii a Pycke and is a Mynymme. & where there is a Prycke by the ſquare Note, that Prycke is half as muche as the Note that goeth before it. The iiii is a Cloſe, and is only uſed at the end of a Verſe."

(a) ſtreined, or ſtretched out: perhaps from its being the longeſt Note, uſed in Chanting. Junius makes ſtrene and ſtrain ſynonimous.

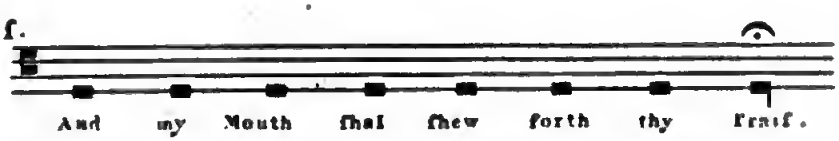
## Mattins.

### The Quere with the Prieſt.

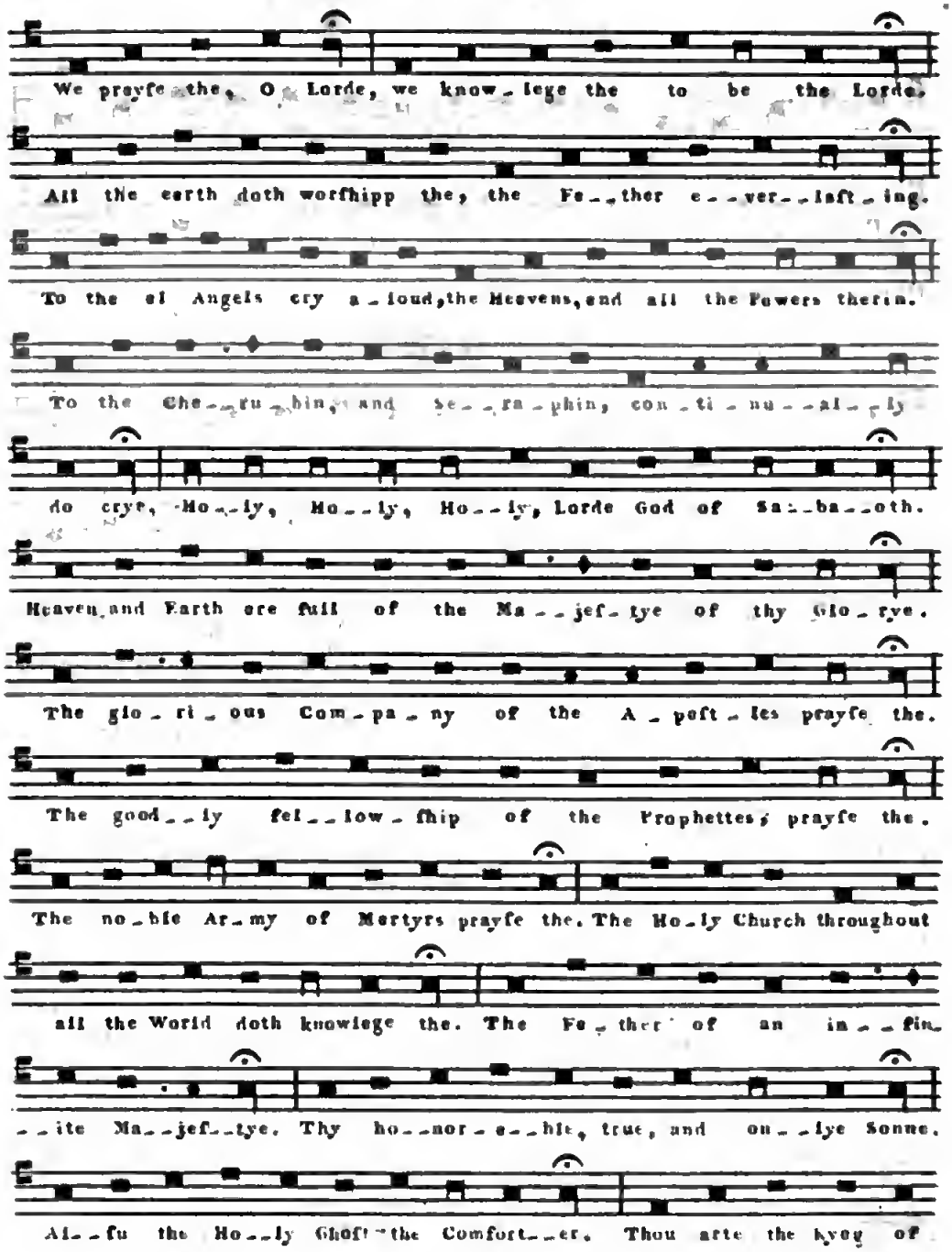
Prieſt.

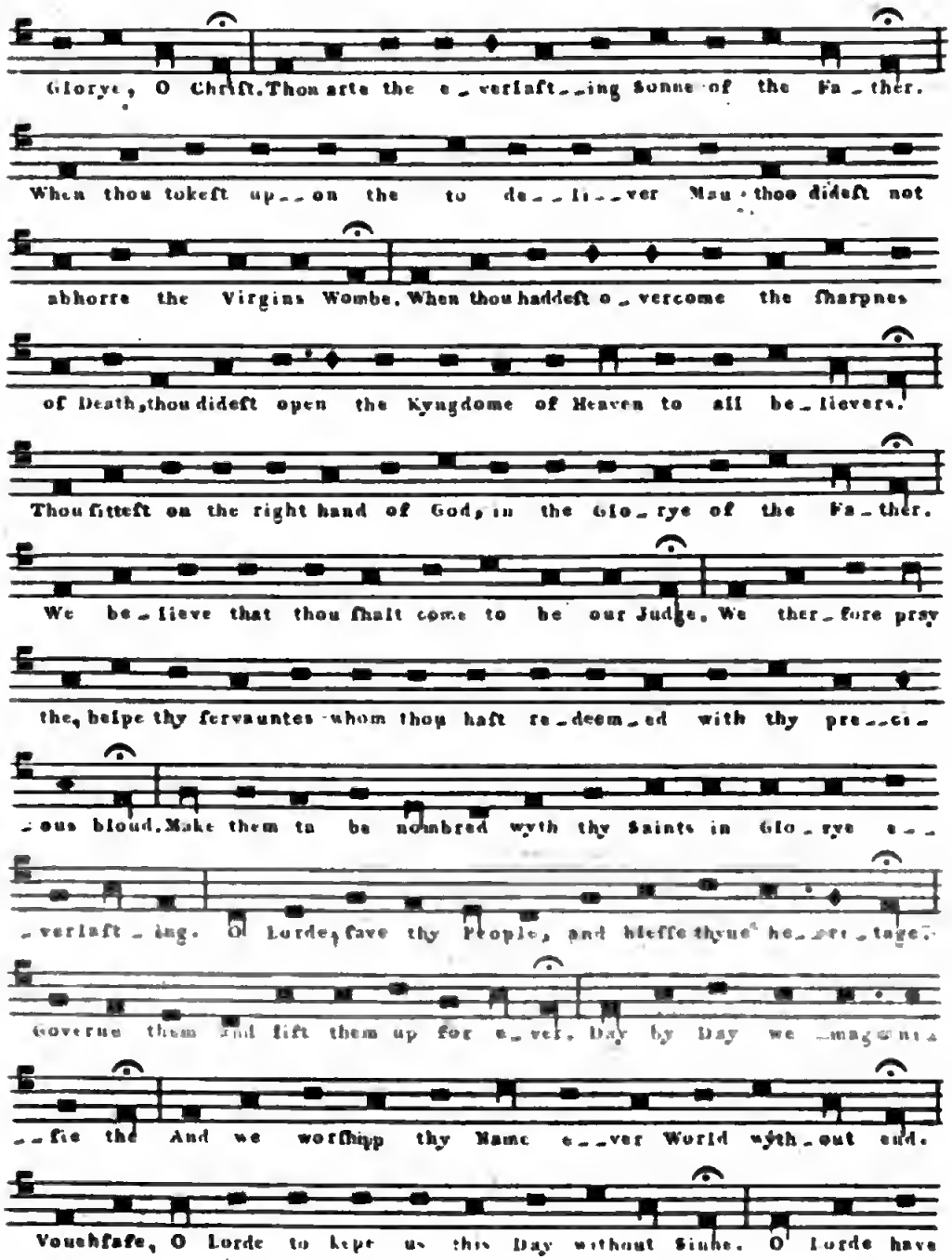


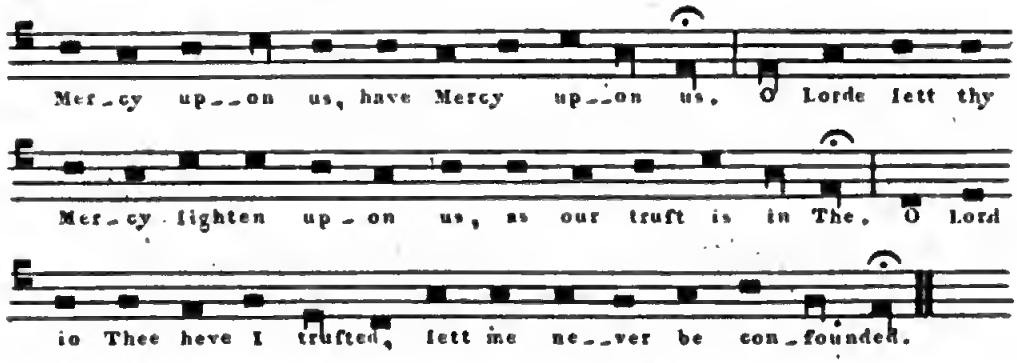

Anuſ.



## Te Deum Laudamus.

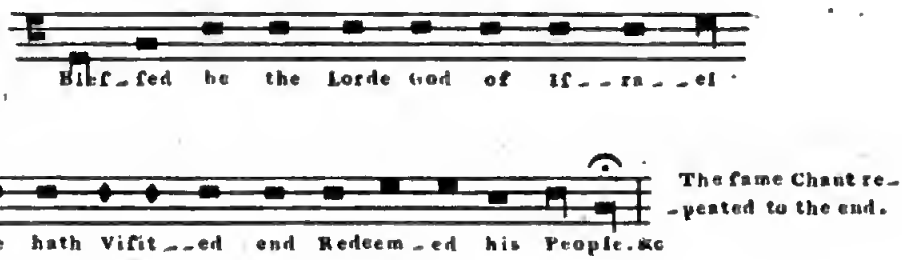



Glorye, O Chriſt. Thou arte the e_verlaſt_ing Sonne of the Fa_ther.
When thou tokeſt up_on the to de_li_ver Man: thoo dideſt not
abhorre the Virgins Wombe. When thou haddeſt o_vercome the ſharpnes
of Death, thou dideſt open the Kyngdome of Heaven to all be_lievers.
Thou ſitteſt on the right hand of God, in the Glo_rye of the Fa_ther.
We be_lieve that thou ſhalt come to be our Judge. We ther_fore pray
the, helpe thy ſervauntes whom thou haſt re_deem_ed with thy pre_ci_
_ous bloud. Make them to be nombred wyth thy Saints in Glo_rye e_
_verlaſt_ing. O Lorde, ſave thy People, and bleſſe thyne he_rit_tage.
Governe them and lift them up for e_ver. Day by Day we magnifie
_fie the And we worſhipp thy Name e_ver World with_out end.
Vouchſafe, O Lorde to kepe us this Day without Sinne. O Lorde have




**After the Second Leſſon one of theſe that follow.**

BENEDICTUS DOMINUS.




**In this manner the whole Morning and Evening Service, as it is now Chanted, is ſet; except the Litany. At the end is the Name of**

JOHN MERBECKE.

At this time, the *Plain-Song* of the Romiſh Church in the Chants of the principal Hymns and Reſponſes, remained nearly the ſame, as may be ſeen in comparing the *Te Deum laudamus*, and other parts of the Cathedral Service, in this publication, with the Miſſals, Graduals, and Antiphonaria of thoſe times. The Chant to the *Te Deum*, as publiſhed by Meibomius (*m*), from a copy nearly as ancient as the Hymn itſelf, and another example of the ſame Canto Fermo, given by Glareanus (*n*), in 1547, correſpond exactly with that which was retained by Marbeck, at the time of the Reformation: as the *Mode*, the *Dominant*, and *Medius*, are all the ſame; nor is the leaſt deviation diſcoverable, except where the different number of ſyllables in the tranſlation required it, and which affect the Melody no more, than thoſe ſlight changes which happen in the *manner* or *uſe* of any two Choirs in Singing the ſame Chants, or even in adjuſting different Stanzas of any Song to the ſame tune (*o*).

Marbeck was admitted in 1549, to the degree of Bachelor in Muſic, at Oxford, according to Anthony Wood (*p*), who erroneouſly calls him *James* Marbeck: he is honourably mentioned by Bale, becauſe he had been perſecuted by the Catholics, and his name is omitted by Pitts, for the ſame reaſon.

It ſeems as if we may ſafely conclude, that the chief part of ſuch portions of Scripture, or Hymns of the Church as have been ſet by Engliſh Muſicians to Latin words, were produced *before* the Reformation, or, at leaſt, in Queen Mary's time: that is, before the year 1558, when Queen Elizabeth aſcended the throne, by which time a School of Counterpoint was formed in this country, that was equal, at leaſt, to that of any other part of Europe. A reaſon, however, may be aſſigned for

(*m*) *Antiquæ Muſ. Auct. Sept. Amſt.* 1652. *Vide præf. Lectori benevolo.*

(*n*) *Dodecad.* p. 110.

(*o*) *A review of the Cathedral Service*, was publiſhed by Edward Lowe, in a ſimilar manner, at Oxford, 1664: and as more than a hundred years have elapſed ſince any book of this kind has appeared, it ſeems as if another were now wanting.

(*p*) *Faſti Oxon.*

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the Choral Muſic of every Chriſtian country, approaching perfection by nearly equal ſtrides.

Before the Reformation, as there was but *one* Religion, there was but *one* kind of Muſic in Europe, which was Plain Chant, and the Diſcant built upon that foundation; and as this Muſic was likewiſe *only* applied to *one* language, the Latin, it accounts for the Compoſitions of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Flanders, and England, keeping pace with each other, in Style and excellence. All the arts ſeem to have been the companions, if not the produce, of ſucceſsful commerce; and they will, in general, be found to have purſued the ſame courſe, which an admirable modern Hiſtorian has ſo well delineated (*q*): that is, *like Commerce*, they will be found, upon enquiry, to have appeared firſt in Italy; then in the Hanſeatic towns; next in the Netherlands; and by tranſplantation, during the ſixteenth Century, when commerce became general, to have grown, flouriſhed, matured, and diffuſed their influence, in every part of Europe.

If this were a place to illuſtrate ſuch an idea, it would be eaſy to ſhew, that Eccleſiaſtical Muſic in the middle ages, was all derived from the Papal Chapel, and Court of Rome; that Counterpoint was firſt cultivated for their uſe; that it travelled thence to the Hanſeatic towns, and the Netherlands, where the affluence, which flowed from ſucceſsful commerce, afforded encouragement and leiſure for its cultivation; till about the middle of the ſixteenth Century, when, by the general intercourſe which traffic and the new art of printing introduced, all the improvements in harmony, which had been made in Italy and the Low-Countries, were communicated to every other part of Europe; which not only ſtimulated the natives to adopt and imitate them, but to improve and render them more perfect, by their own Inventions and Refinements.

(*q*) *Hiſt. of Charles the Fifth*, vol. i. ſect. 1.

We

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We are now arrived at the Reformation, and middle of the ſixteenth Century; a period which ſeems favourable for cloſing this Volume, already more bulky than the firſt. My original intention was, to compriſe the whole work in two volumes; but I ſoon diſcovered, with ſome degree of ſhame and mortification, that to have beſtowed no more pages on *modern* Muſic, concerning which we have ſo much *certain* information, than upon the *ancient*, of which, ſo little can now be even *conjectured*, would be like allowing one volume, in a Hiſtory of England, to the Heptarchy, and only one to all ſubſequent times.

At firſt, imagining that there would be no need of compreſſion, and, indeed, not ſeeing the whole compaſs of my ſubject, I ranſacked antiquity for whatever materials it could furniſh, relative to the Muſic of the Greeks and Romans, of which the effects have been ſo ſplendidly deſcribed, and which have long remained, and, it is to be feared, ever will remain, Enigmas to all who have the misfortune to be born too late for the Strains of Swans and Sirens. When I quitted theſe enquiries, to ſurvey the reſt of my labours, I ſaw "Alps on Alps ariſe," which it was impoſſible to aſcend without great pains and perſeverance; however, as only one could be aſſailed at a time, I ſtill was obliged to work in detail at particular parts, without beſtowing much attention on the *whole*: and in this manner a Second Volume has been produced. If I committed an error, in allotting too many pages of my work to the ancient Muſic, it would have been ill-corrected, by beſtowing too few on the modern. Thus, as one error produced a Second Volume, before the completion of my Deſign, ſo will a Second produce a Third; which, ſoon after the cloſe of the Firſt, appeared inevitable, unleſs, all proportion of the whole, to its parts, had been ſacrificed.

It has never been my wiſh, or intention, to be always in the *Preſs*; or to keep memory and reflection on the rack, at the expence of every moment of leiſure for enjoyment or amuſement. My induſtry, in this undertaking, has not been ſtimulated by profit, and the reputation of an author becomes daily leſs alluring, as reflection ſhews it to be more uncertain. Yet, a repugnance to abandoning, unaccompliſhed, an enterprize, for which ſuch pains and expence have been beſtowed in procuring materials, would be ſtill an incitement to new efforts, though every other ſhould fail.

This apology, for the amplification of my original plan, ſeems due to my firſt Subſcribers. I have been obliged, extremely againſt my inclination, to depart from the letter of my Propoſals; but as it has been done with no ſelfiſh or ſiniſter views, my wiſh being only to render my work more worthy the honour of their patronage, I venture to hope, that no great moral turpitude will be found in the addition, at ſome future time, of a THIRD VOLUME.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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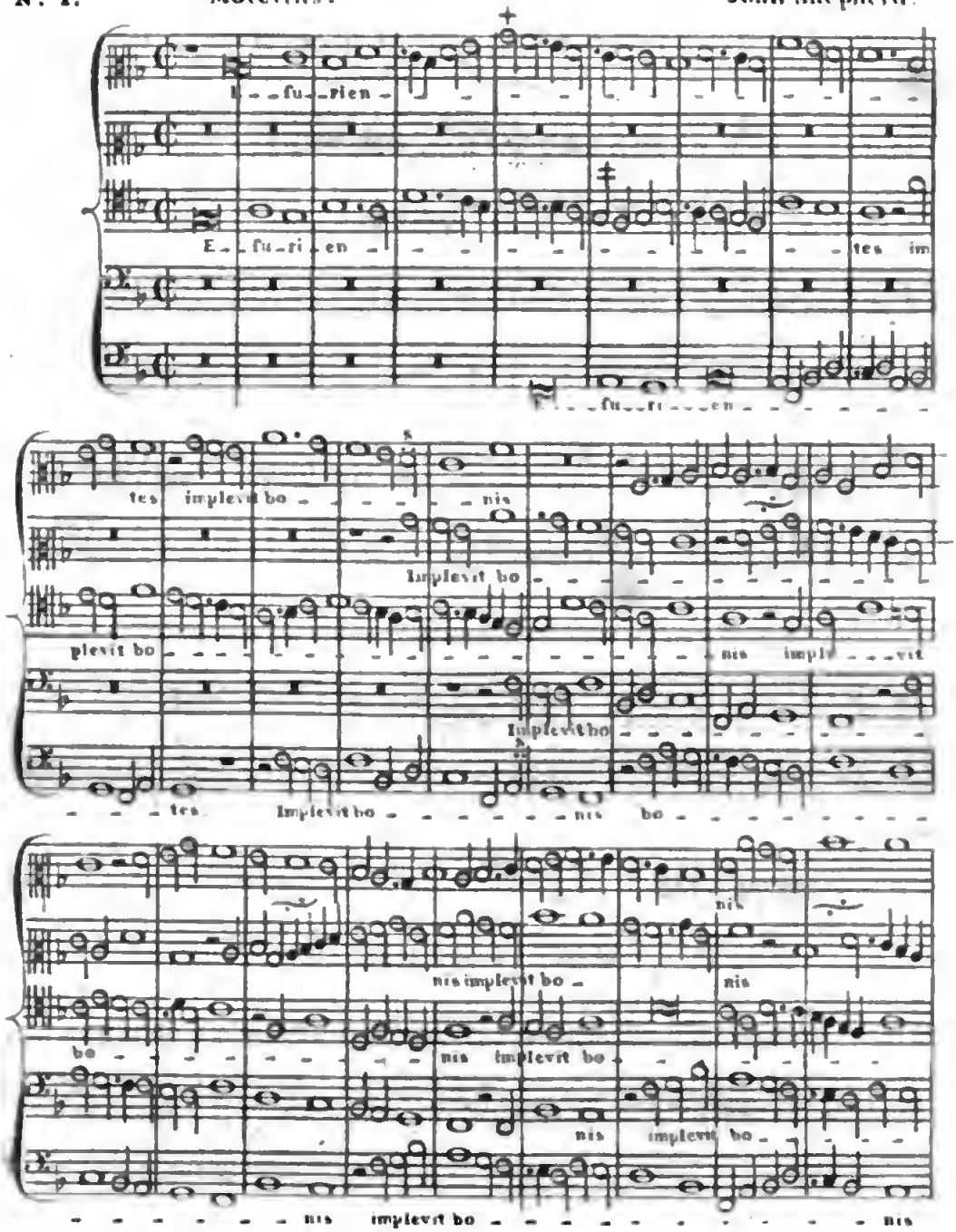
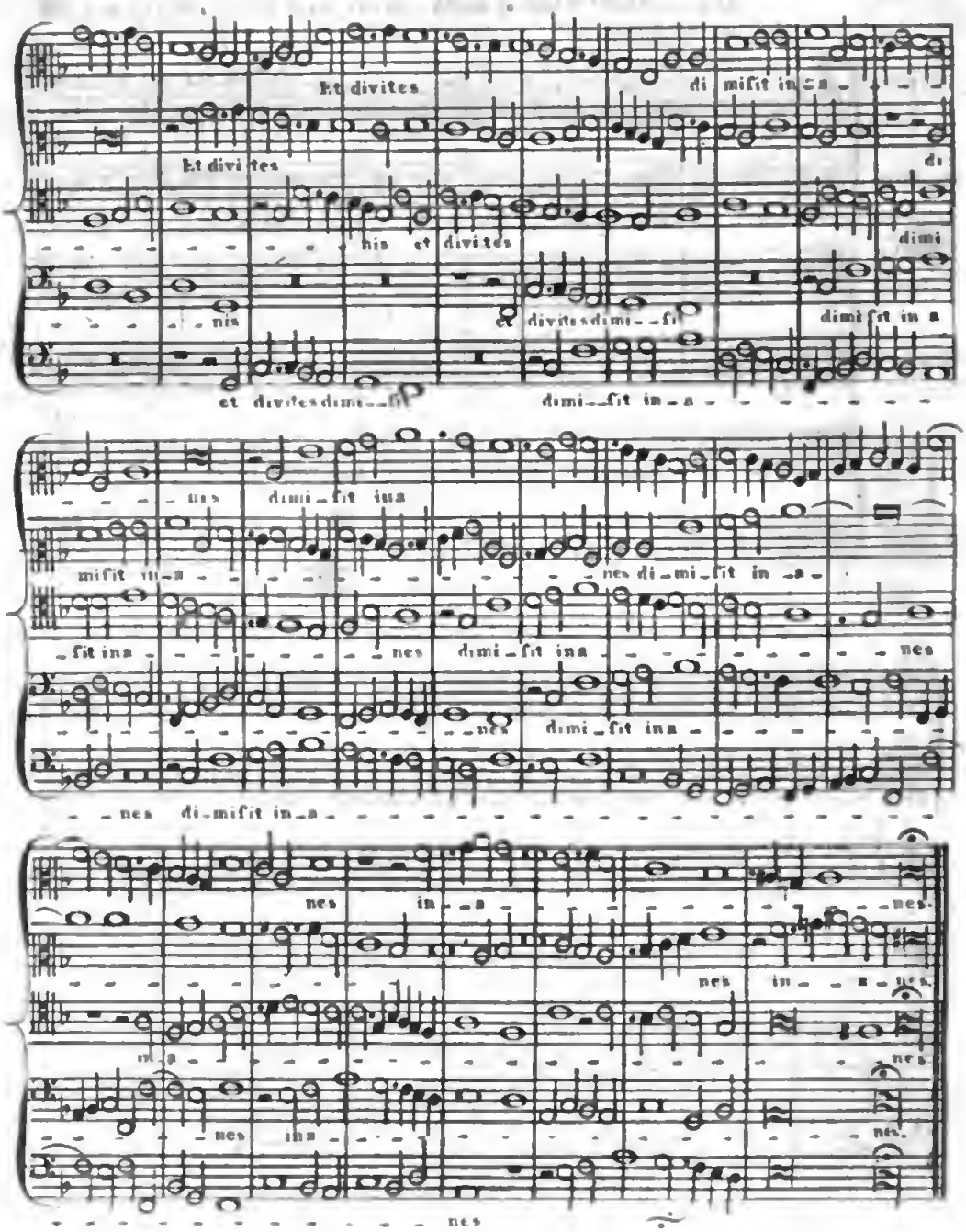
**Nº I.** **Motettus.** **John Shepherd.**


E - - fu - rien - - -


Et divites di misit in a
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nis et divites dimi
nis et divites dimi_sit dimi sit in a
et divites dimi_sit dimi_sit in a
nes dimi_sit in a
misit in a nes di_mi_sit in a
_sit in a nes dimi_sit in a nes
nes dimi_sit in a
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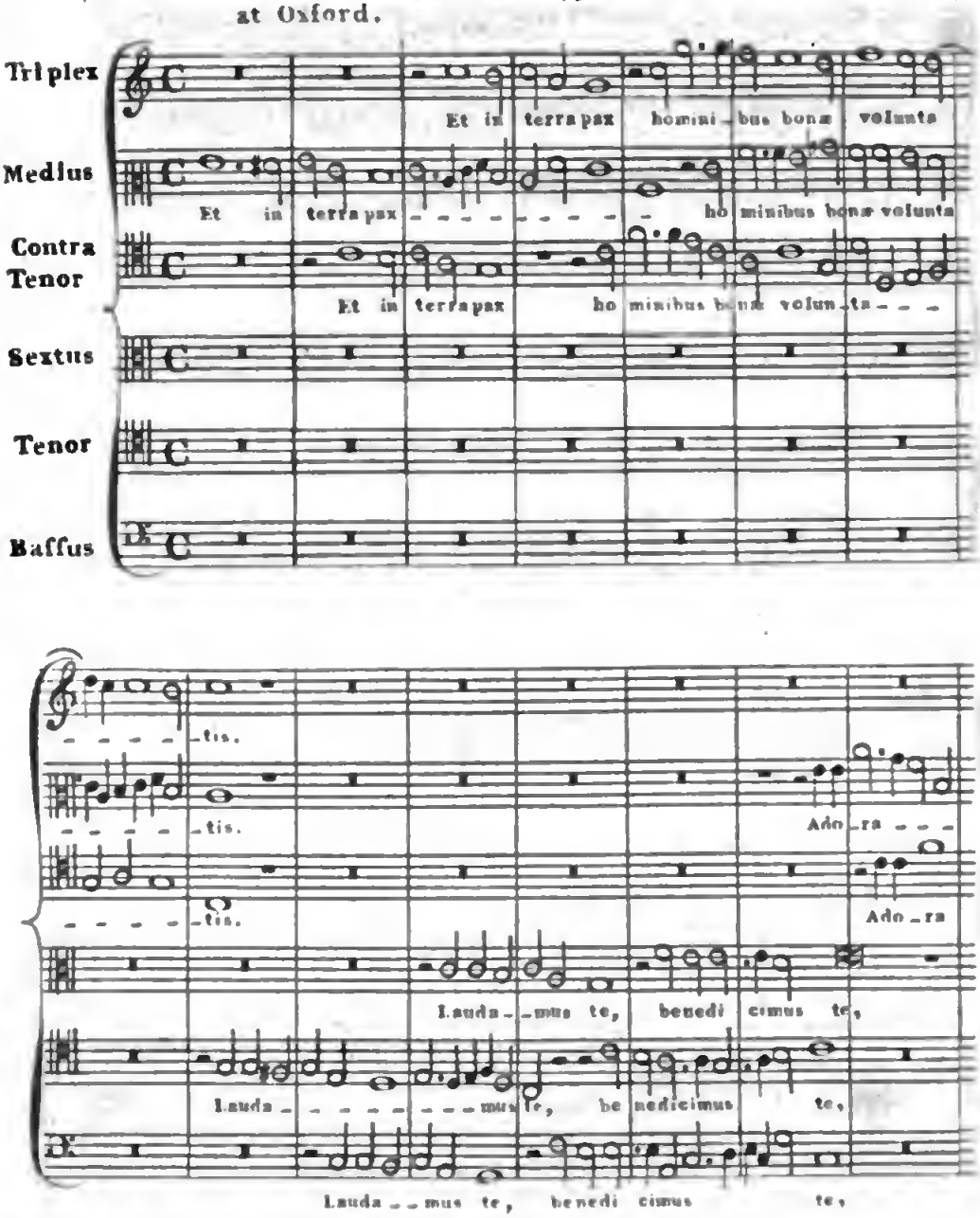
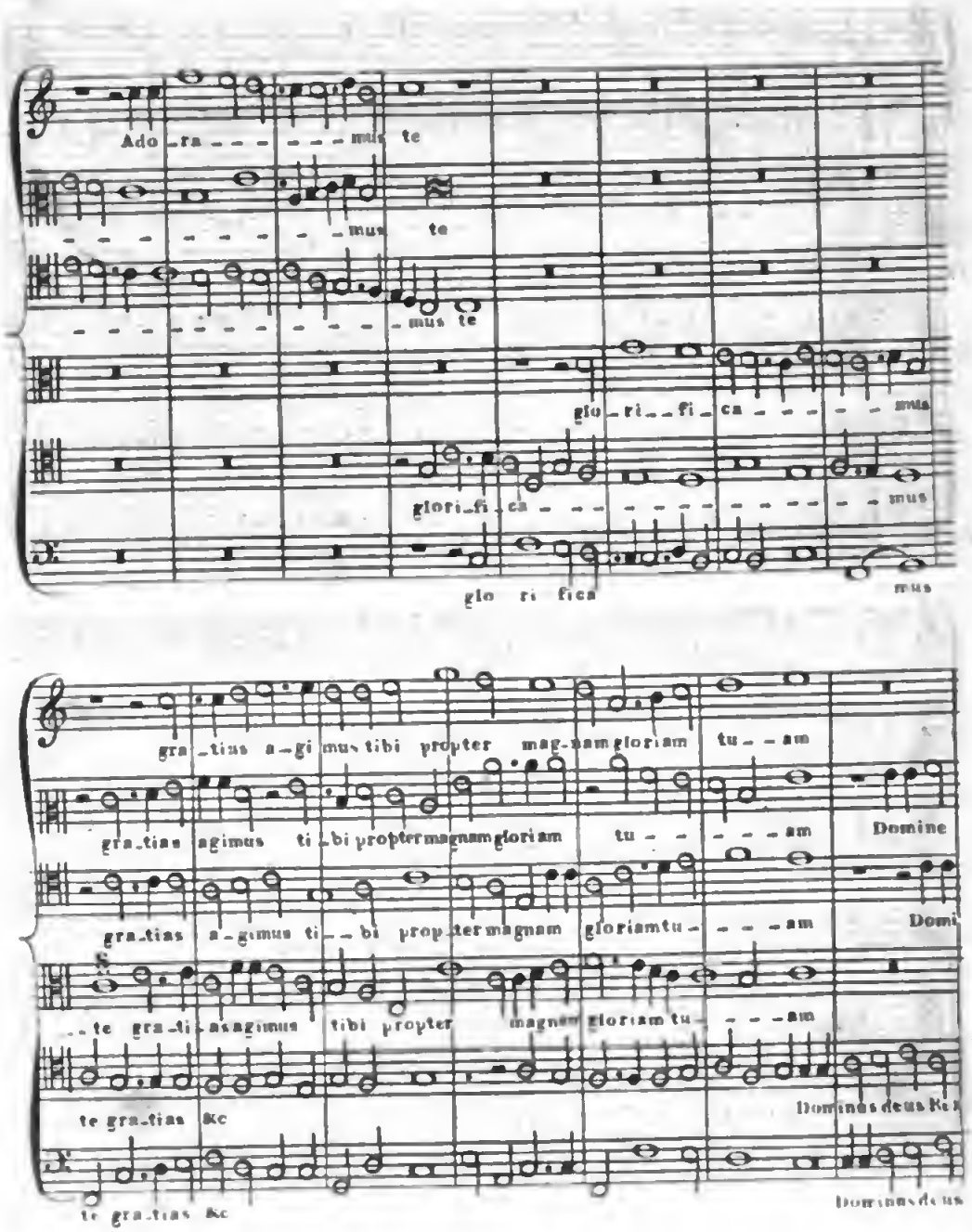
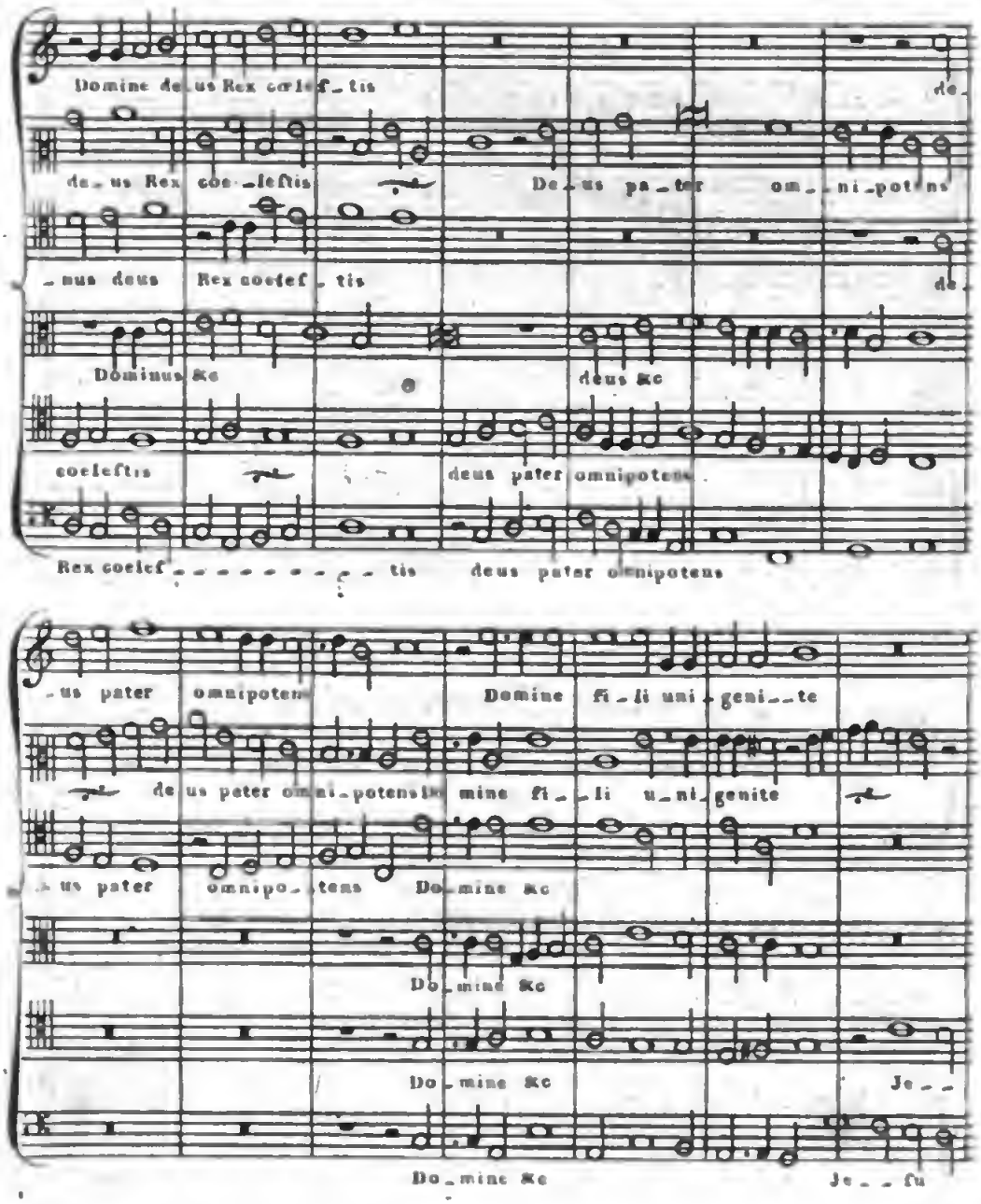
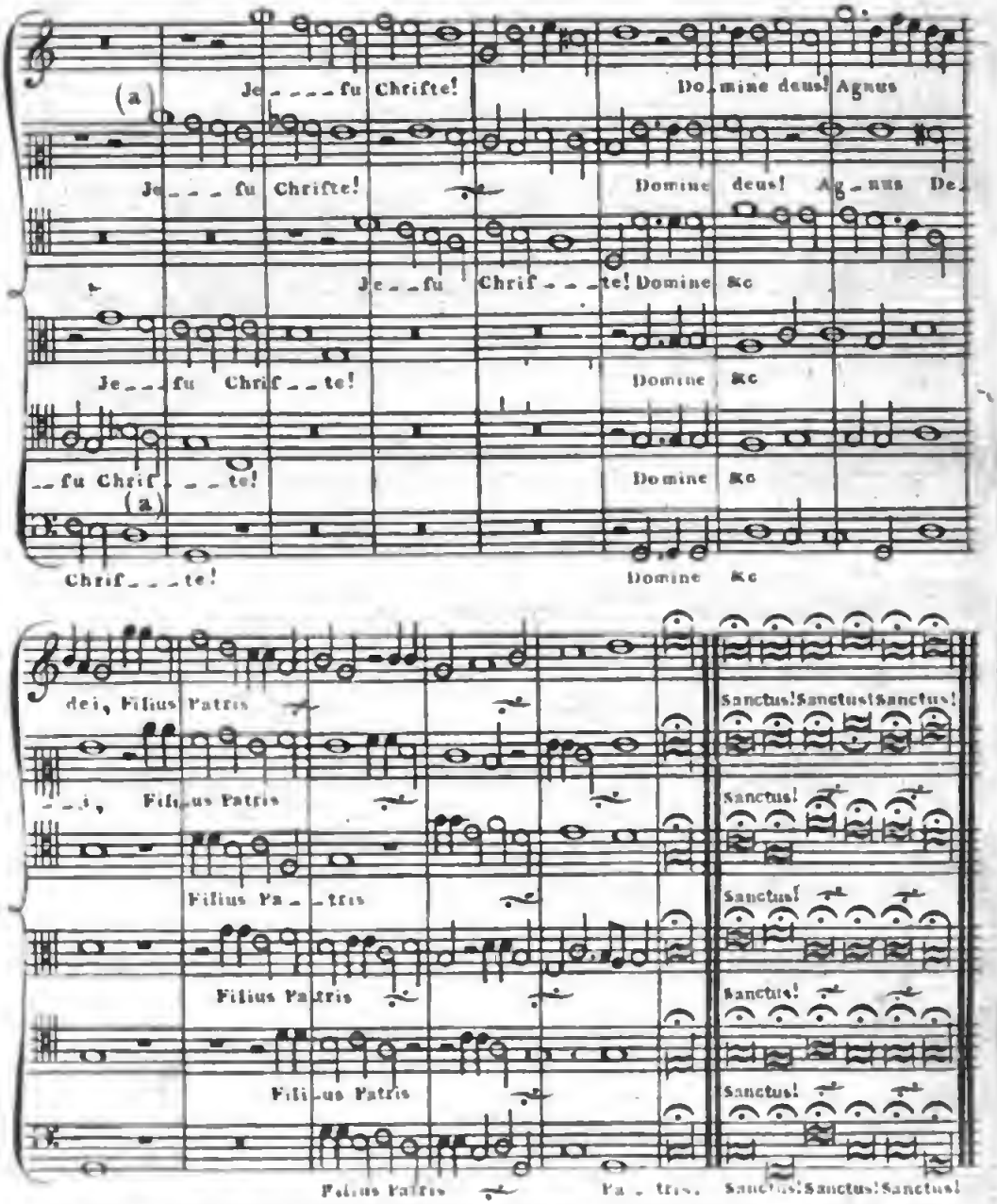
Nº II. The opening of Dr Tye's Mass, Euge Bone, from the antient Choral Books, preserved in the Music School, at Oxford.



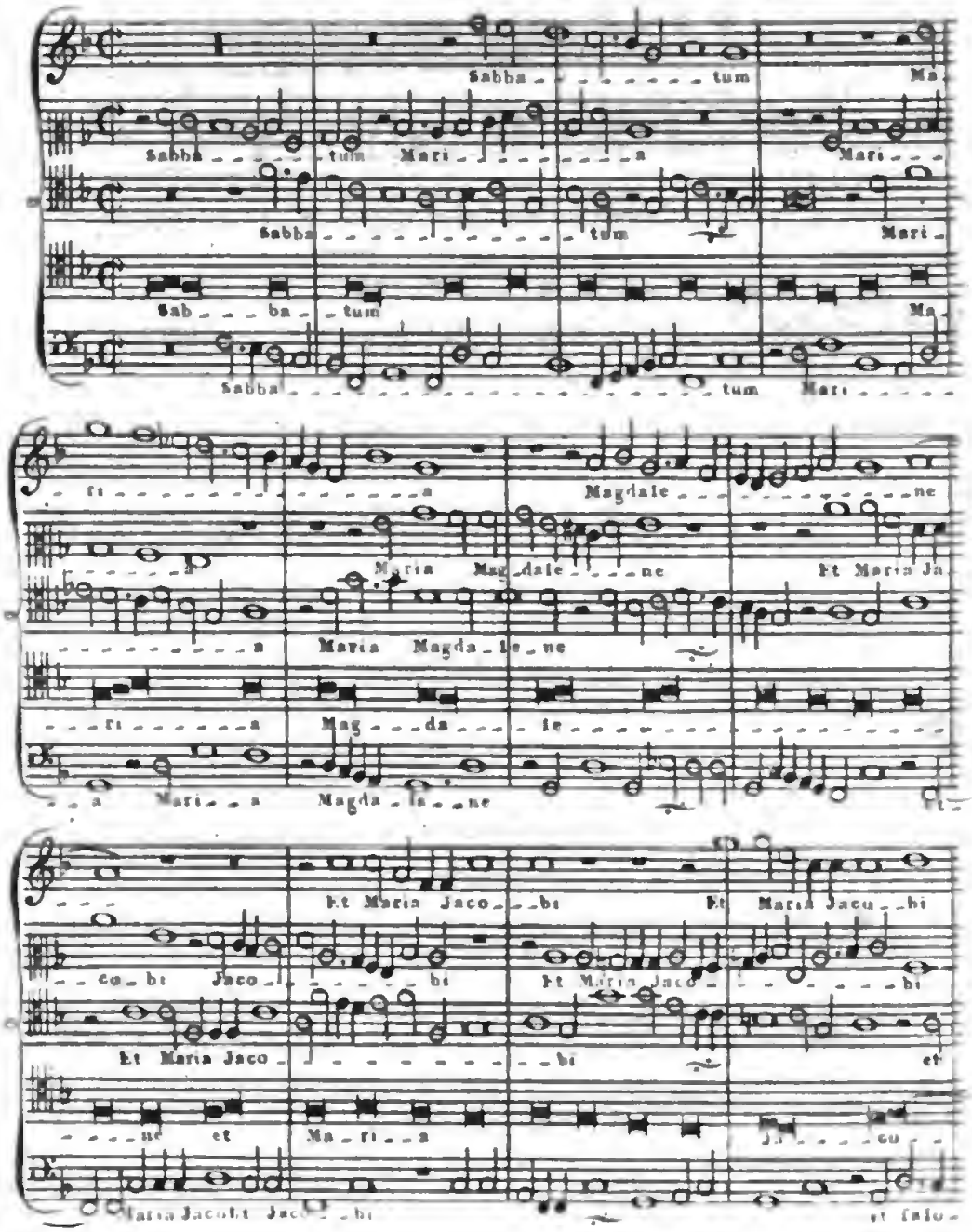

Ado_ra_ _ _ _ _ _ mus te
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ mus te
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ mus te
glo_ri_fi_ca_ _ _ _ _ _ mus
glori_fi_ca_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ mus
glo ri fica
mus
gra_tias a_gi_mus tibi propter mag_nam gloriam tu_ _am
gra_tias agimus ti_bi propter magnam gloriam tu_ _ _ _ _am Domine
gra_tias a_gimus ti_ _bi propter magnam gloriam tu_ _ _ _am Domi
_ _te gra_ti_as agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tu_ _ _ _am
te gra_tias &c
Dominus deus Re
te gra_tias &c
Dominus deus

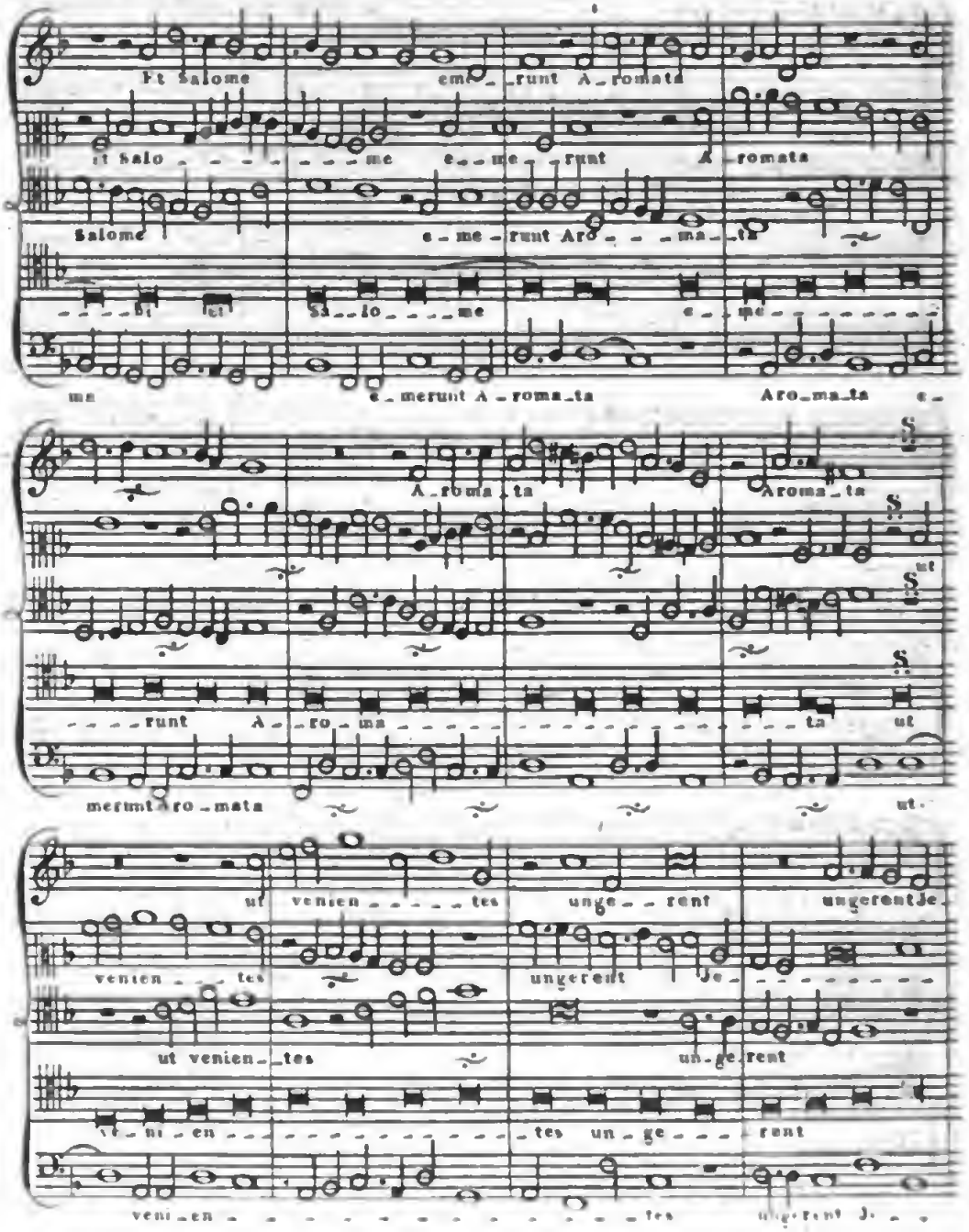

Domine de_us Rex cœlef_tis
de_
de_us Rex coe_leftis
De_us pa_ter om_ni_potens
_nus deus Rex coelef_tis
de_
Dominus &c
deus &c
coeleftis
deus pater omnipotens
Rex coelef_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ tis deus pater omnipotens
_us pater omnipotens
Domine fi_li uni_geni_te
de us pater omni_potens
mine fi_li u_ni_genite
_us pater omnipo_tens
Do_mine &c
Do_mine &c
Do_mine &c
Je_ _
Do_mine &c
Je_ _ fu

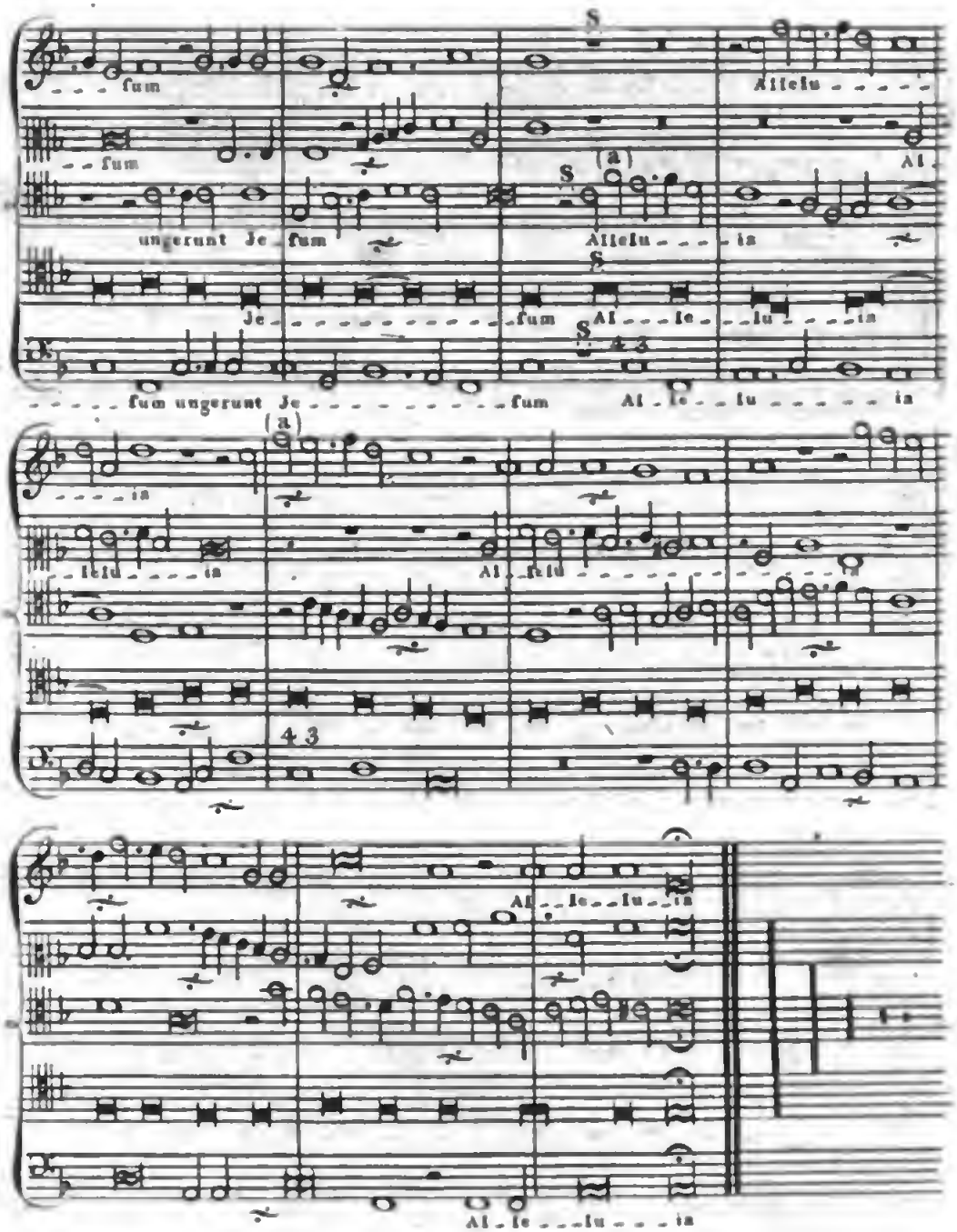



(a) This unprepared 7th would be thought licentious, even in a Composer of the present times.

N°. III. Robert Johnson. From the MSS. of Ch. Ch. Oxon.



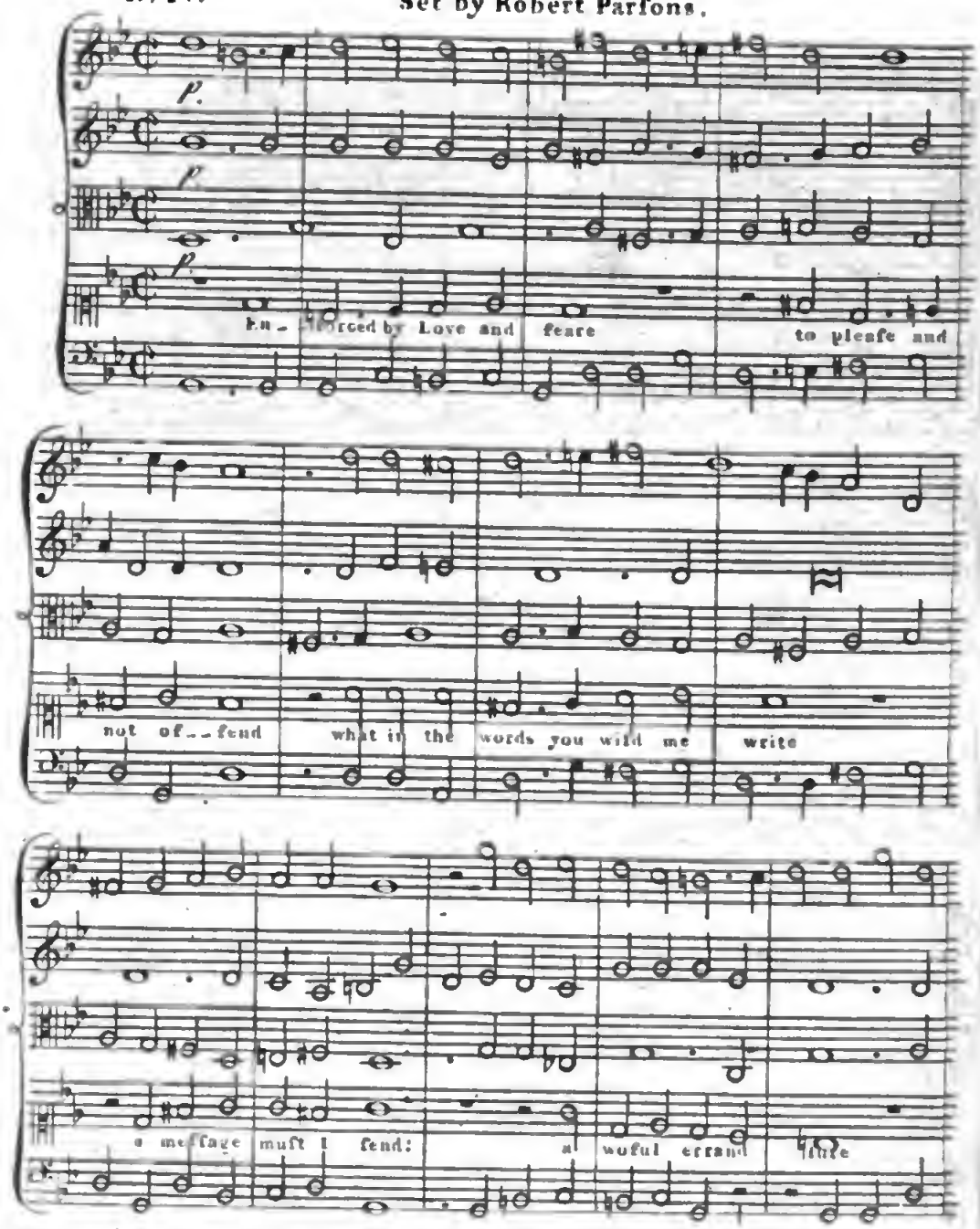

Et Salome eme_runt A_romata
et Salo me e_me_runt A_romata
Salome e_me_runt Aro_ma_ta
bi et Sa_lo_me e_me
me e_merunt A_roma_ta Aro_ma_ta e_
A_roma_ta Aroma_ta
runt A_ro_ma ta ut
merunt Aro_mata ut
ut venien_tes unge_rent ungerent Je_
venien_tes ungerent Je
ut venien_tes un_ge_rent
ve_ni_en tes un_ge_rent
veni_en tes ungerent J

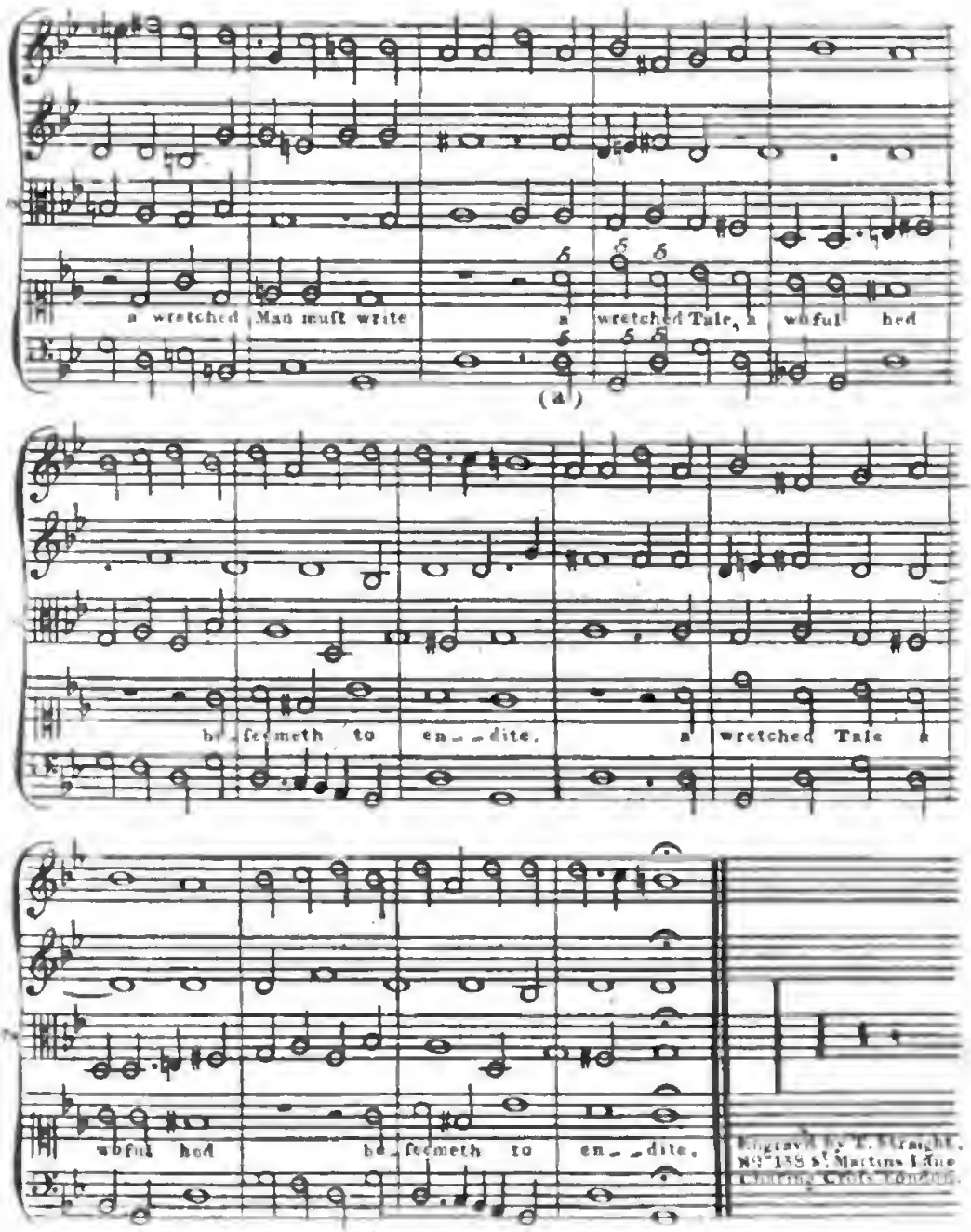



(a) The unprepared 4ths here, and below, seem to be taken as Appoggiaturas.

## SONG.

**Nº IV.** **Set by Robert Parfons.**

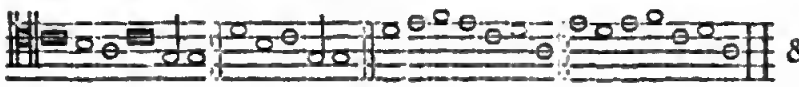





(a) Here is a ſucceſſion of three $6^{ths}$, by contrary motion; a licenſe which the beſt old Maſters frequently took; but an example of ſuch equivocal Modulation as this Song furniſhes, would be difficult to find, elſe-where.

# CORRECTIONS and ADDITIONS.

Page 4, line 14, *dele* they ſing to. P. 8, l. 18, *for* was, *read* were. P. 11, l. the laſt, *after* ſubſiſt. *add*, I applied to the late Mr. J. C. Bach, who had been ſome time Organiſt of the *Duomo*, at Milan, for information on the ſubject; but he confeſſed himſelf unable to furniſh it. However, he undertook to write to Signor Fioroni, the Maeſtro di Capella of that cathedral, concerning the ſpecific difference between the Ambroſian and Gregorian Chant; but the death of Signor Fioroni preceded the anſwer, if not the reception of the letter. I then applied to the learned Padre Martini, who, with his accuſtomed kindneſs and ſpirit of communication, honoured me with a long letter on the ſubject; in which, after acknowledging that the *Cantilena Ambroſiana* is, in general, the ſame as the *Canto Romano*, except in the *Finals*, he has favoured me with copious extracts from a ſcarce book, entitled *Regole del canto fermo Ambroſiano dal Camillo Perego, In Milano*, 1622, *in* 4*to*. The principal difference which I can diſcover in theſe *finals*, from thoſe of the Gregorian Chant, is in the frequent uſe of the favourite Greek interval, the 4th (ſee p. 52) with which, deſcending from the Octave of the Key of C or D, to the 5th, almoſt every cloſe is made.




Note (*l*) *r.* Benevoli. P. 17, note (*t*) *for* viarie, *r.* varie. P. 18, note (*a*) *r.* breathing-place. P. 19, note (*b*) *r.* ΕΥΟΥΑΕ; *and add after* words, ſeculorum amen. P. 32, note (*x*) *r.* Pſalmodia. P. 64, l. laſt but three, *r.* Saxons. P. 65, note (*g*) in the Greek epigram *r.* αναθησουσιν. P. 81 *after* Guido's verſes, *add*, The diſtinction between a ſinger and muſician was firſt made by Boethius, lib i. cap. 34. Next, by Aurelian, then by Guido, and afterwards by almoſt all ſubſequent writers on muſic, down to Pietro Aaron: ſee his *Lucidario in Muſica, Libro* 2*do. fol.* 1. "*Il Cantore, et ſimplice* "*Citaredo ſara in comparatione del muſico come è il bandatore riſpetto al podeſtà*," *&c.* P. 87. * at the bottom, *r.* Artis. ib. note (*b*), it is ſaid that the Enchiridion of Odo is in Baliol Coll. library Oxford; which had been taken for granted, as it had been aſſerted by other writers; but upon examining the MS. myſelf, afterwards, I found, and acknowledged my miſtake: ſee p 120; in which, l. 9. *dele St.* before *Remi*. P. 121. *after* the account of Guido's Tract on the Monochord, *add*, *that* it is cited by Franchinus, in his *Angelicum ac divinum opus*, tract. II. cap. 2.as "celebrated and followed by all muſicians." P. 130, note (*n*) *r. la* before *France*. P. 135, l. 2 *r. menſuratæ*. P. 146, note (*m*) l. 2, *after* the name of, *add* John Tinctor, an excellent writer on Muſic, whoſe works are difficult to find, except in MS. or of Gafurius, &c. P. 210, *ad calcem*, for *primum*, *r. primò*, P. 237, l. 2, for *portrai*, *r. partrai*. P. 264, note (*b*) *for* No. 4, *r.* 5. P. 269, note (*e*) *r.* remarks. P. 288, note (*i*) *r. voyez*. P. 320, l. 3. *r.* Boiardo. P. 336, l. 12. *dele* original. P. 375, l. laſt but one, *after* dance and play, &c. *r.* the lute however appears in the Illuminations of a MS. at Oxford, 1200. ſee (*m*) 2. Bodl. B. 264, fol. P. 400, note (*e*) laſt line, firſt col. *after* title of, *add*, one of his Muſical Treatiſes. P. 473, laſt line, *for* Bird, *r.* Tallis. P. 489, l. 14, *r.* Muſicians.

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